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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO  
THE 9TH SESSION OF THE OAU AD-HOC COMMITTEE  
OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA  
GABORONE, BOTSWANA, 15 OCTOBER 1992

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IT IS NOW SIX MONTHS SINCE THE AD-HOC COMMITTEE MET AT ITS 8TH ORDINARY SESSION IN ARUSHA, UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA. AT THE MEETING, MANY FAR-REACHING DECISIONS WERE TAKEN, REFLECTING THE COMMON APPROACH AND UNANIMITY OF THE AD-HOC COMMITTEE AND THE OAU MEMBERSHIP AT LARGE, IN DEALING WITH THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA. SUCH DECISIONS INCLUDED:

- THE NEED TO FURTHER SENSITIZE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON THE DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA, PARTICULARLY, THE URGENT NEED TO END THE VIOLENCE AND THE ATTENDANT SENSELESS CARNAGE AND LOSS OF LIVES WHICH HAD BEEN VISITED UPON THE BLACK TOWNSHIPS:

- THE NEED TO SEND A MONITORING MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA TO IDENTIFY CONCRETE WAYS OF ASSISTING IN BRINGING TO AN END THE VIOLENCE AS WELL AS OF GIVING IMPETUS TO THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA.

- THE NEED TO PROMOTE UNITY AMONG THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTRY ESPECIALLY THROUGH THE RECONVENING OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

FOLLOWING THAT MEETING A MONITORING TEAM TRAVELLED TO SOUTH AFRICA AND LATER SUBMITTED A REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY. THE REPORT OF THAT MISSION, WAS PRESENTED TO THE FIFTY-SIXTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING IN DAKAR, SENEGAL LAST JUNE.

IN THE INTERIM, CODESA WHICH HELD PROSPECTS AND HOPE FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM, HAD REACHED A DEADLOCK, OCCASIONED BY EXCESSIVE BRINKMANSHIP ON THE PART OF THE SOUTH

AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WHICH KEPT PLACING NEW CONDITIONS WHICH SOUGHT TO CIRCUMSCRIBE THE NEGOTIATIONS EVEN AS THE OTHER PARTIES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE BENDING BACKWARD TO ACCOMMODATE AND ADDRESS THOSE CONCERNS OF THE WHITE POPULATION.

THE BOIPATONG MASSACRE TOOK PLACE AT THE TIME THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WAS DISCUSSING THE REPORT OF THE MONITORING GROUP. IT WAS CLEAR THAT IN THE FACE OF THAT BRUTAL MASSACRE AND THE REVULSION IT PROVOKED AROUND THE WORLD, THAT NEGOTIATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN CONTINUED. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECIDED TO TAKE THE MATTER TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. THE OAU WAS REPRESENTED AT THE MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BY A HIGH LEVEL DELEGATION LED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF SENEGAL, MR. DJIBO KA IN HIS CAPACITY AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN AND COMPRISING THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF 8 MEMBER STATES OF THE ORGANIZATION, AND ALSO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION.

AS A RESULT OF THAT MEETING AND THE ROLE OF MEMBER STATES OF THE OAU, THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVED THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO SOUTH AFRICA, AS WELL AS THE DEPLOYMENT OF UN OBSERVERS IN SOUTH AFRICA TO STRENGTHEN THE PEACE ACCORD STRUCTURES AND ALSO WORK TOWARDS A REDUCTION OF THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE WHICH STILL ENGULFS THE COUNTRY.

IT IS ENCOURAGING TO NOTE THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE EXPRESSED APPEAL OF THIS AD-HOC COMMITTEE, NOT ONLY HAVE OBSERVERS BEEN DEPLOYED AND A UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE ESTABLISHED IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AT LARGE IS AT LAST SERIOUSLY ADDRESSING ITSELF TO THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

APART FROM THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH AS A FOLLOW UP OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CYRUS VANCE MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA, HAS ALREADY DEPLOYED OBSERVERS, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY HAS SENT SOME



OBSERVERS TO SPECIFICALLY ASSIST THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE RETRAINING AND RE-ORIENTATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE TO ENABLE IT ADAPT TO THE CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE COUNTRY. THE COMMONWEALTH IS ALSO DEPLOYING OBSERVERS WHILE THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN COLLABORATION WITH ITS SOUTH AFRICAN COUNTERPART INTENDS TO SEND A MONITORING MISSION TO HELP IN REDUCING THE LEVEL OF TENSION AND ENCOURAGING PEACEFUL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE CONFLICTING PARTIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

IN DAKAR, THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ALSO TOOK THE DECISION TO SEND AN OAU FACT-FINDING MISSION OF EXPERTS TO SOUTH AFRICA. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT AFTER CONSIDERING THE REPORT OF THE OAU MONITORING TEAM WHICH VISITED SOUTH AFRICA EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE NEED TO EXAMINE IN DETAIL ALL ASPECTS OF THE PHENOMENON OF VIOLENCE BECAME IMPERATIVE.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

THE COMMITTEE IS MEETING AT A PARTICULARLY CRITICAL JUNCTURE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE ARE MEETING AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF THE CONSOLIDATION OF INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE MONITORING OF VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA - AN ENGAGEMENT WHICH WAS ADVOCATED BY THIS COMMITTEE AT ITS LAST SESSION IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA AND WHICH AFRICA GOT THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL TO ACCEPT. WE NOW HAVE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER OBSERVERS WHO ARE COOPERATING IN OBSERVING VIOLENCE. THIS COMMITTEE IS MEETING ALSO WHEN THE MEMORIES OF THE SENSELESS AND BRUTAL MASSACRES AT BOIPATONG AND CISKEI ARE STILL VERY FRESH; AND IN CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN THE CODESA FRAMEWORK HAS BEEN IMPEDED. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE RECENT RECORD OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PRESIDENT MANDELA AND MR. DE KLERK. I REALIZE THAT THE UNDERSTANDING COULD NOT HAVE ADDRESSED THE CONCERNS OF EVERYONE. I DO HOWEVER BELIEVE THAT THE UNDERSTANDING IS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT, WHICH IF BUILT-ON COULD LEAD TO A BREAK OF THE IMPASSE IN

THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS. I THEREFORE HOPE THAT THE SPIRIT OF THAT UNDERSTANDING WILL BE MAINTAINED, CONSOLIDATED AND ITS SCOPE EXPANDED TO COVER THE MANY OTHER ISSUES WHICH REMAIN OUTSTANDING.

I HAVE ALSO BEEN FORMALLY INFORMED BY THE PAC OF ITS IMPENDING BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO BE HELD HERE IN GABORONE. THIS WILL BE A FOLLOW UP OF THE DISCUSSION THEY HAD IN ABUJA AND PRETORIA. IT IS MY SINCERE HOPE THAT THESE DISCUSSIONS WILL PAVE THE WAY FOR THE PAC'S FULL INVOLVEMENT IN THE GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME HOWEVER, I WOULD LIKE TO UNDERScore THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND THE ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES GENERALLY TO WORK TOGETHER AND TO PRESENT A UNITED FRONT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

BEFORE THIS DISTINGUISHED COMMITTEE IS A REPORT OF THE FACT-FINDING MISSION OF EXPERTS WHICH I DISPATCHED TO SOUTH AFRICA, PURSUANT TO THE DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS IN DAKAR LAST JUNE CONTAINED IN RESOLUTION CM/1386(LVI) REVISION 1, ENDORSED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT. THE MISSION WAS LED BY THE AMBASSADOR OF SENEGAL TO ZIMBABWE, H.E. OUSMANNE CAMARA AND COMPRISING REPRESENTATIVES FROM CAMEROUN, EGYPT, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA AS WELL AS TWO OFFICIALS FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT.

THE MISSION WENT TO SOUTH AFRICA PRIMARILY TO INVESTIGATE VIOLENCE BUT ALSO WITHIN THE LARGER PERSPECTIVE OF ASSESSING THE POLITICAL SITUATION ON THE GROUND AND OF EXPLORING HOW THE OAU CAN BE HELPFUL IN ACHIEVING THE TRIPPLE CHALLENGE OF ENDING VIOLENCE, OF PROMOTING UNITY AMONG THE BLACK MAJORITY AND OF SUPPORTING THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS.

THE MISSION HAS MADE SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON THE WIDE-RANGING CONSULTATIONS IT HAD WITH VARIOUS ACTORS ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE MISSION HAD AN OBJECTIVE OBSERVATION AND EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION IN ASSESSING THE NEEDS OF THE HOUR. APART FROM THE USEFUL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE TEAM, THE PRESENCE OF THE OAU MISSION WAS AN ASSERTIVE STATEMENT THAT THE ORGANIZATION IS DETERMINED TO PLAY AN ACTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. I AM ENCOURAGED THAT SUCH A ROLE FOR THE OAU IS APPRECIATED AND WELCOME BY THE VARIOUS INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH THE TEAM WAS ABLE TO MEET ON THIS AS WELL AS THE FIRST OBSERVER MISSION WHICH WAS SENT TO THE COUNTRY.

I AM EQUALLY ENCOURAGED THAT THERE IS GENRAL CONSENSUS IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT THE PRESENCE OF INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS INCLUDING THOSE FROM THE OAU, HAS ACTED AS A FORM OF DETERRENT AGAINST VIOLENCE. TO THE EXTENT THAT VIOLENCE HAS TENDED TO ABATE WHEN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE IS PRONOUNCED, IT IS MY VIEW THAT SUCH PRESENCE SHOULD BE AUGMENTED. THIS IS WHY THE NEED FOR A DECISION NOW AUTHORIZING SOME FORM OF EXTENDED PRESENCE OF THE OAU IN SOUTH AFRICA IS COMPELLING.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

WHETHER IN HELPING TO BRING AN END TO THE SEEMINGLY ENDEMIC VIOLENCE IN THE TOWNSHIPS, IN PROMOTING UNITY AND FORGING A UNITED FRONT OF THE ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES OR IN HELPING SUSTAIN THE PROCESS OF CHANGE AND OF NEGOTIATION, THE REST OF AFRICA THROUGH THE OAU WILL NEED TO BE ACTIVELY IN TOUCH WITH EVENTS AND ACTORS IN SOUTH AFRICA. FOR IT IS ONLY THROUGH REMAINING IN TOUCH THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO EVALUATE THE SITUATION ON A CONTINUING BASIS, AND BE ABLE TO ASSIST TIMELY AND EFFECTIVELY IN THE ATTAINMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES WE HAVE SET FOR



OURSELVES. BY BEING READILY ACCESSIBLE TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, THE ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES AND INDEED TO THE GOVERNMENT, WE SHALL BE ABLE TO GIVE INFORMED OPINION AND GENERALLY CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS STEERING THE VARIOUS PLAYERS ON THE POLITICAL SCENE IN THE COUNTRY, TOWARD A CONVERGENCE OF VIEW ON HOW TO MANAGE THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION LEADING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NON-RACIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY WE WANT TO SEE BUILT IN A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA.

OVER THE LAST YEAR, THERE HAS BEEN A FEELING AMONG MEMBERS OF THIS AD HOC COMMITTEE AND EVEN AMONG THE LARGER MEMBERSHIP OF THE OAU, THAT WE NEED SOME FORM OF A CONTINUING PRESENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA. SOME HAVE SUGGESTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MISSION RESIDENT IN THE COUNTRY AS WE DID IN THE CASE OF NAMIBIA IN THE COURSE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435 (1978) AND SOME SEE GREATER MERIT IN DESPATCHING PERIODIC MISSIONS ON A NEED BASIS' AS WE HAVE DONE UNTIL NOW. WHATEVER THE CASE MAY BE, I AM OF THE STRONG VIEW THAT THIS IS AN ISSUE WHICH NOW DESERVES GREATER CONSIDERATION AND DECISION. THE MERIT AND DEMERITS OF BOTH OPTIONS NEED TO BE EXAMINED WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE OVERRIDING NEED OF THE OAU TO BE EFFECTIVE.

WE HAVE SO FAR SENT TWO MISSIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA. EACH HAD A SPECIFIC MANDATE. THE JUST ENDED FACT-FINDING MISSION OF EXPERTS HAD THE SPECIFIC TASK OF GATHERING INFORMATION, CONSULTING WITH ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED, WITH A VIEW TO RECOMMENDING THE KIND OF ROLE THE OAU CAN PLAY IN HELPING END VIOLENCE, PROMOTING UNITY AMONG THE ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES AND HELPING PROMOTE THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION. THE MISSION HAS COME FORWARD WITH SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS ALIGNED TO ITS TASK. THERE IS NOW HOWEVER AN ADDED FACTOR RELATED TO FUTURE MISSIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH WE WILL ALSO HAVE TO CONSIDER WHEN SETTING UP FUTURE MISSIONS AND ELABORATING THEIR MANDATES. THERE IS NOW RESOLUTION 772(1992) OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL CALLING UPON

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING THE OAU TO SEND OBSERVER MISSIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA. UNLIKE THE TWO PREVIOUS MISSIONS, THE ONES BEING ENVISAGED UNDER THE COUNCIL RESOLUTION, ARE OF A LONGER DURATION WITH AN EXPANDED MANDATE.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

I SHARE THE VIEW OF THE OAU FACT FINDING MISSION THAT IN ORDER TO BE EFFECTIVE AND MEANINGFULLY INVOLVED IN SOUTH AFRICA, WE OUGHT TO MAINTAIN A PRESENCE OF APPRECIABLE LENGTH; AND IN SUFFICIENT NUMBERS. IT MUST BE A MISSION WHICH IS ADEQUATELY EQUIPPED AND WITH THE REQUISITE ADMINISTRATIVE AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT. I AM THEREFORE RECOMMENDING THAT THIS COMMITTEE DECIDE TO SEND A TEAM OF TEN TO FIFTEEN OBSERVERS FOR AN INITIAL PERIOD OF THREE MONTHS. ITS DURATION MAY BE EXTENDED IF NEED ARISES AND SUBJECT TO APPROPRIATE CONSULTATIONS THE TEAM WILL BE HEADED BY A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL WHO WILL ACT AS THE COORDINATOR OF THE TEAM.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

NEEDLESS TO SAY, THESE MISSIONS ARE ENGAGING AND RESOURCE DEMANDING. IT FOLLOWS THEREFORE THAT ALONG WITH CONSIDERING ALL THE POLITICAL AND LOGISTICAL ASPECTS OF THE MISSIONS, SERIOUS CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN AS TO HOW ADDITIONAL RESOURCES CAN BE MOBILIZED. IN THIS, THE COMMITTEE MAY WISH TO DRAW FROM THE EXPERIENCES AND LESSONS OF THE MISSION WHICH THE OAU SENT TO NAMIBIA NOT SO LONG AGO.



MR. CHAIRMAN,

IF THE OAU HAS DISPATCHED MISSIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA, IT IS IN THE STRONG BELIEF THAT ESTABLISHING CONTACTS AND BEING INFORMED ABOUT THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND IS THE FIRST CRUCIAL STEP IN FORMING OPINION AND ELABORATING A FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH THE ORGANIZATION CAN GET MEANINGFULLY INVOLVED IN HELPING THE PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTRY -BLACK AND WHITE, DEFEAT THE TYRANNY OF APARTHEID. IT IS NO LONGER IN DOUBT THAT ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY FORCES ARE INVOLVED IN THE TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE. THE GOVERNMENT HAS FUNDED VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRY. IT CONTINUES TO BE AMBIVALENT ABOUT TAKING CONCRETE ACTION TO PUT AN END TO VIOLENCE. APART FROM BEARING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONTINUATION OF VIOLENCE, THE GOVERNMENT HAS THE DUTY TO SAFEGUARD THE LIVES AND PROPERTY OF THE PEOPLE. ON BOTH PREMISES WE CONTINUE TO HOLD THE GOVERNMENT PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONTINUING VIOLENCE.

THAT SAID IT IS HOWEVER IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE BLACK POPULATION ALSO BEARS SOME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE VIOLENCE. IN THIS, THE LEADERS OF THE BLACK MAJORITY MUST PLAY THE KEY ROLE, BRINGING INTO PLAY IMAGINATION, BOLDNESS AND DETERMINATION, SO AS TO ENSURE THAT THE BLACK PEOPLE ARE NOT USED TO PERPETRATE VIOLENCE OR AS THE OPERATIONAL ARM OF THE APARTHEID FORCES. TO DO THIS EFFECTIVELY, THE LEADERS MUST RESOLVE TO WORK TOGETHER AND CONVERGE INTO AN ALLIANCE AGAINST VIOLENCE AND DIVISION. CONTINUED VIOLENCE CAN ONLY BE IN THE INTEREST OF APARTHEID.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

THERE IS THE OTHER ASPECT OF THE CHALLENGE WHICH WE FACE IN SOUTH AFRICA. TO BE ABLE TO ASSIST IN PUTTING AN END TO VIOLENCE, WE MUST HANDLE THE QUESTION OF UNITY OF THE ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES DECISIVELY. THE CONTINUED PROBLEMS AND DIFFERENCES WITHIN THEM ARE

DISTURBING AS THEY HAVE UNDERMINED THE COHESIVENESS AND UNITY OF THE BLACK MAJORITY. WHILE WE MUST CONTINUE TO WORK TOWARDS AN ALL-INCLUSIVE FRAMEWORK, WE HAVE IN MY VIEW TO BRING INTO OUR POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE, THE NECESSARY FLEXIBILITY WHICH WILL ENABLE THE ORGANIZATION REACH OUT TO A WIDER CIRCLE OF POLITICAL FACTORS IN THE COUNTRY WITHOUT OF COURSE UNDERMINING OR DILUTING THE LONG STANDING AND PRINCIPLED SUPPORT TO THE TWO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS - THE ANC AND PAC. THIS WILL ENABLE THE OAU TO BUILD NEW POLITICAL BRIDGES, AND OPEN NEW INROADS INTO THE VARIOUS SEGMENTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY. THE MORE WE ARE EXPOSED TO THE FULL REALITIES IN THE COUNTRY, THE MORE WE ARE EDUCATED ABOUT THE FACTORS, AND ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE THE BLACK MAJORITY, THE MORE WE WILL BE ABLE TO HELP THE PARTIES RALLY AROUND COMMON OBJECTIVES, EMPHASIZING WHAT UNITES THEM AND SUBORDINATING THAT WHICH DIVIDES THEM TO THE LARGER OBJECTIVE OF FIGHTING AGAINST APARTHEID AND BUILDING A NEW SOUTH AFRICA FOUNDED ON JUSTICE, DEMOCRACY AND UNITY.

BY BUILDING NEW BRIDGES, WE WILL NEED TO ENLARGE THE CIRCLE OF OUR POLITICAL DEALING IN SOUTH AFRICA, BOTH WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF BRINGING AN END TO VIOLENCE AND OF PROMOTING A RESOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

THE COMMITTEE HAS ALWAYS RECOGNIZED THE CENTRAL NEED FOR UNITY AMONG THE BLACK MAJORITY AND ESPECIALLY OF THE LEADERSHIP. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, THIS COMMITTEE HAS APPEALED FOR UNITY OF PURPOSE AND ACTION, WHETHER IN COMBATTING THE SENSELESS VIOLENCE, OR FORGING UNITY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. PERHAPS NOW, MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, TIME HAS COME TO HAVE A MORE COORDINATED APPROACH TO THIS MATTER. NOTWITHSTANDING ANY DIFFERENCES WE MAY HAVE WITH ANY OF THE LEADERS, THE FACT REMAINS THAT

WE HAVE TO REACH OUT TO THEM. TO LEAVE THEM OUT WOULD ONLY ALIENATE THEM FURTHER AND MAKE THEM MORE SUSCEPTIBLE TO THE POLITICAL MANIPULATION OF THE FORCES OF APARTHEID. WHAT WE NEED AT THIS HOUR IS AN ALL-EMBRACING PLATFORM.

IN THIS CONNECTION, I SEE URGENT NEED TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF PROMOTING UNDERSTANDING WITH FINDING A SUITABLE FRAMEWORK TO BRING CHIEF BUTHELEZI AS WELL AS OTHER LEADERS, TO TALK TO THE LEADERS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. SUCH A FRAMEWORK MUST NOT BE ONE WHICH WOULD CREATE PARRALLELISM OR NEW OBSTACLES BUT ONE WHICH WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY AND FORUM FOR THE LEADERS OF THE ANC, PAC, INKATHA AND OTHERS TO SIT DOWN TOGETHER, DISCUSS THEIR DIFFERENCES AND EARNESTLY ATTEMPT TO BUILD STRUCTURES WHICH WILL ENABLE THEM WORK TOGETHER. IT IS ONLY THROUGH SUCH DIALOGUE THAT THEY CAN DIFFUSE THE TENSION, DE-ESCALATE VIOLENCE AND WORK TOWARDS THE ELABORATION OF A FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH THEY CAN COOPERATE ON LONG TERM BASIS INCLUDING ESPECIALLY DURING THE CRUCIAL STAGE OF THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION. IT IS MY STRONG HOPE THAT THIS SESSION OF THE COMMITTEE, WOULD SEE IT OPPORTUNE TO TAKE A CONCRETE DECISION ON THE ELABORATION OF SUCH A FRAMEWORK. IN MY VIEW I SEE ONE SUCH POSSIBILITY BEING TO MANDATE THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU AND CHAIRMAN OF THIS COMMITTEE, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FRONTLINE STATES AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO EXPLORE WAYS ON HOW BEST TO WORK TOWARDS ACHIEVING THIS OBJECTIVE OF BRINGING THE LEADERS OF THE ANC, PAC, INKATHA AND OTHERS TOGETHER AND AT THE VERY LEAST WORK TOWARDS EASING TENSION AND CREATE CONDITIONS CONDUCIVE FOR ASSISTING THE PROCESS TOWARD THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL AND UNITED SOUTH AFRICA..

MR. CHAIRMAN,

IN ADDITION TO FINDING WAYS TO EFFECTIVELY ASSIST IN RESOLVING THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE AND PROMOTING UNITY AMONG THE BLACK



MAJORITY, THIS COMMITTEE MUST EQUALLY SEE HOW IT CAN MOST DECISIVELY HANDLE THE THIRD TIER OF THE TRIPPLE CHALLENGE ON SOUTH AFRICA - NAMELY THE SUPPORT TO THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION. AS VIOLENCE CONTINUES AND DIVISION PERSISTS, THE CAPACITY OF THE BLACK MAJORITY TO HANDLE THE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS IS SERIOUSLY CONSTRAINED. AND WHILE RESOLVING VIOLENCE AND BRINGING ABOUT UNITY WILL GREATLY BOOST THAT CAPACITY, AFRICA STILL NEEDS TO SEE HOW IT CAN ASSIST THE BLACK MAJORITY IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION. WHEN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS IS COMPLETED AND ELECTIONS ENSURED, THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BE ASSISTED TO FACE THE CHALLENGE OF COMPETITION FROM A GOVERNMENT WITH MASSIVE RESOURCES AND AN EXCEEDINGLY EFFICIENT PROPAGANDA MACHINERY. WE SHOULD THEREFORE FIND OUT IN PRACTICAL TERMS WHAT KIND OF SUPPORT IS NEEDED AND WITH WHAT KIND OF RESOURCES AND AT WHAT LEVEL OF MAGNITUDE. THIS AFRICA CAN DO INDEPENDENTLY AND IF NEED ARISE, WE SHOULD BE READY TO MOBILIZE ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FROM OTHER SUPPORTIVE SOURCES OUTSIDE THE CONTINENT. I UNDERSTAND THAT NEED FOR SUCH MASSIVE ASSISTANCE MAY NOT ARISE IN THE IMMEDIATE. IT IS HOWEVER PRUDENT TO THINK AHEAD AND TO HAVE ALL ELEMENTS OF A STRATEGY IN PLACE AND READY FOR DEPLOYMENT ONCE THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS HAS REACHED THAT CRITICAL STAGE.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

TO RECAP, THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA PRESENTS THE TRIPPLE CHALLENGE OF ENDING VIOLENCE, PROMOTING HARMONY AND UNITY AMONG THE ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES AND OF SUPPORTING THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS INCLUDING SUPPORT TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. IN ORDER TO FACE THIS CHALLENGE COMPREHENSIVELY THIS COMMITTEE WILL HAVE TO TAKE FIRM DECISIONS ON HOW TO ADDRESS EACH ASPECT OF THAT CHALLENGE.

WITH REGARD TO VIOLENCE, I FULLY AGREE WITH THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE FACT-FINDING MISSION OF EXPERTS THAT THE OAU MUST

DEPLOY OBSERVERS ON AN EXTENDED TIME BASIS WITH THE COMPLEMENT OF THE REQUISITE ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT. THIS TEAM OF OBSERVERS WILL BE HEADED BY A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL WHO WILL ALSO ACT AS ITS COORDINATOR. THE TEAM SHOULD BE DEPLOYED FOR THREE MONTHS AT THE INITIAL PERIOD AND ITS DURATION MAY BE EXTENDED IF CIRCUMSTANCES SO REQUIRE. THE FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF SUCH A MISSION WILL NATURALLY HAVE TO BE FULLY CONSIDERED BEFORE SUCH A MISSION IS DEPLOYED.

SECONDLY, WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF BOTH HELPING IN BRINGING AN END TO VIOLENCE, DE-ESCALATING TENSION AND PROMOTING UNITY AMONG THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. THIS COMMITTEE MAY WISH TO MANDATE THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FRONTLINE STATES AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO EXPLORE HOW BEST TO GO ABOUT ACHIEVING THIS OBJECTIVE. THIRDLY, THIS COMMITTEE MUST THINK AHEAD AND SEE HOW THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS CAN BE ASSISTED MATERIALLY BOTH IN THE SUSTENANCE OF THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION AND ULTIMATELY IN THE ELECTION PROCESS, AT A TIME WHEN THEY WILL HAVE TO COMPETE AGAINST A GOVERNMENT WITH MASSIVE RESOURCES AND AN EFFICIENT PROPAGANDA MACHINERY.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

AS WE REMAIN PREOCCUPIED BY THE EVOLUTION OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA, WE ARE SERIOUSLY DISTURBED AT THE POST-ELECTION DEVELOPMENTS IN ANGOLA AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS TO PEACE AND DEMOCRACY IN THE COUNTRY. I WISH TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA NEED RESPITE FROM THE WAR WHICH LED TO SO MUCH DESTRUCTION. A RETURN TO THE DAYS OF THE CIVIL WAR CAN NOT BE ACCEPTED. THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR WISH THROUGH THE BALLOT AND THE PARTIES WHICH CONTESTED IN THE ELECTION MUST RESPECT THE VERDICT. WHAT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND IS THAT THERE IS NO VICTOR OR VANGUISHED IN THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS. IT IS RATHER THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY AND VICTORY FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF

ANGOLA, IN THEIR LONG SEARCH FOR PEACE, UNITY AND NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION. THEY DESERVE OUR CONGRATULATIONS. WHAT IS OF OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE IS FOR BOTH UNITA AND MPLA TO EXERCISE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT AND TO COOPERATE IN ORDER TO LIVE UP TO THE SPIRIT OF THE ESTORIL ACCORDS THEY BOTH SIGNED LAST YEAR. BOTH PARTIES WILL HAVE TO WORK IN TANDEM IN FACING THE MORE DAUNTING TASKS OF HEALING THE WOUNDS OF WAR AND RECONSTRUCTING THE ECONOMY, WHICH LIE AHEAD. BUT TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES AFRICA AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST EXERT PRESSURE IN FAVOUR OF A SCRUPULOUS RESPECT FOR THE VERDICT OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE. AS THE NEW YORK TIMES IN ITS EDITORIAL OF WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7 APTLY PUT IT: "FOR YEARS, MR. SAVIMBI HAS INSISTED THAT ALL HE WISHED WAS FOR A FREE ELECTION. HE CAN BEST DEMONSTRATE HIS SINCERITY BY ACCEPTING THE RESULT."

MR. CHAIRMAN,

I WISH TO PLACE ON RECORD MY APPRECIATION TO THE ANGOLAN NATIONAL ELECTION COMMISSION AND TO ALL THE PARTIES, FOR HAVING ASSOCIATED THE OAU IN THE PROCESS OF OBSERVING THE ELECTIONS. WE CONTINUE TO FOLLOW VERY CLOSELY THESE DEVELOPMENTS AND FOUR DAYS AGO UPON AN URGENT REQUEST OF PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS WITH THE ADVICE OF THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN, PRESIDENT DIOUF, I DISPATCHED AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL TO LUANDA TO ASSESS THE SITUATION IN LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS THERE AND COORDINATE OUR ACTION WITH THAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS WITH A VIEW TO FINDING A WAY OF DIFFUSING THE TENSION AND FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE DEVELOPMENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE AND IN PARTICULAR BY THE SIGNING IN ROME, ON THE 4TH OCTOBER, OF A GENERAL



PEACE AGREEMENT ESTABLISHING THE PRINCIPLES AND MODALITIES FOR ACHIEVING PEACE IN THE COUNTRY. I WANT TO CONGRATULATE BOTH THE GOVERNMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE AND RENAMO FOR THE AGREEMENT AND TO EXPRESS THE STRONG HOPE THAT ALL EFFORT WILL BE EXPENDED TO ENSURE THAT ITS TERMS ARE FULLY IMPLEMENTED AND PEACE IS RESTORED TO THE COUNTRY. IN PARTICULAR, I WANT TO PAY SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT CHISSANO WHOSE FLEXIBILITY, COURAGE AND STATESMANSHIP, PRINCIPALLY MADE THE AGREEMENT POSSIBLE. I WANT ALSO TO PAY DESERVING TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENTS MUGABE, MASIRE AND MOI FOR THEIR SUSTAINED DETERMINATION TO MEDIATE IN THE CONFLICT IN MOZAMBIQUE AND FOR THE CENTRAL ROLE THEY PLAYED IN BROKERING THE ROME AGREEMENT. ONLY FOUR DAYS AGO, I RECEIVED A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CHISSANO INVITING THE OAU TO PARTICIPATE IN MONITORING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GENERAL PEACE AGREEMENT AND IN VERIFYING THE GENERAL ELECTIONS: AS WELL AS TO SERVE ON THE VERIFICATION AND MONITORING COMMISSION AS PROVIDED FOR IN PROTOCOL FIVE OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT. I WANT TO EXPRESS MY GRATITUDE TO THE PARTIES TO THE AGREEMENT FOR THE CONFIDENCE THEY HAVE THUS REPOSED IN THE OAU. I HAVE ALREADY DISPATCHED A TEAM OF TWO OFFICIALS OF THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT TO MAPUTO TO DISCUSS THE PRACTICAL MODALITIES OF THE OAU'S INVOLVEMENT AND THE ROLE WE CAN PLAY IN HELPING THE PARTIES IMPLEMENT FULLY THE PEACE AGREEMENT.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

EXCELLENCIES,

I CAN NOT CONCLUDE WITHOUT REFERRING TO THE RAVAGING DROUGHT SITUATION IN THE REGION. I AM, HOWEVER, ENCOURAGED BY THE BOLD AND IMAGINATIVE STEPS TAKEN BY THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION, THROUGH THE COORDINATION OF SADC TO ALLEVIATE THE PROBLEMS CAUSED BY DROUGHT. WE MUST PERSIST IN OUR APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO CONTINUE TO ACT IN CONCERT WITH SADC SO THAT THE INITIATIVES WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN PUT INTO PLACE CAN BRING RELIEF AND SUCCOUR TO THOSE AFFECTED BY HUNGER

AS A RESULT OF THE DROUGHT IN THE REGION. AT A TIME AS THIS WHEN THERE ARE MANY COMPETING NEEDS IN THE WORLD, IT IS ONLY LOGICAL THAT EVEN IF WE APPEAL FOR INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE, WE OURSELVES MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN FINDING SOLUTIONS TO OUR PROBLEMS. I THEREFORE HOPE THAT COUNTRIES OF THE REGION WILL CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER TO MEET THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS AND TO WORK ON LONG TERM STRATEGY TO CONFRONT SUCH NATURAL CALAMITIES.

I THANK YOU.