

ORGANIZATION OF
AFRICAN UNITY
Addis Ababa



ORGANISATION DE
L'UNITE AFRICAINE
Addis Ababa

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منظمة الوحدة الافريقية

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AD HOC COMMITTEE OF HEADS OF
STATE AND GOVERNMENT ON
SOUTHERN AFRICA

FIFTH ORDINARY SESSION

KAMPALA, UGANDA

8th SEPTEMBER, 1990

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE OAU SECRETARY-GENERAL

H.E. DR. SALIM AHMED SALIM, AT THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE

OAU AD HOC COMMITTEE OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

ON SOUTHERN AFRICA: KAMPALA, 8 SEPTEMBER 1990

YOUR EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT YOWERI MUSEVENI,
THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU
YOUR EXCELLENCIES, HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT,
AND HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

IT IS ALMOST SIX MONTHS SINCE THIS DISTINGUISHED COMMITTEE LAST MET
TO REVIEW THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND TO LOOK AHEAD.

YOUR EXCELLENCIES MAY RECALL THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THE FOURTH
SESSION OF THE COMMITTEE WAS CONVENED IN LUSAKA IN MARCH THIS YEAR. THE
RELEASE OF COMRADE NELSON MANDELA AND A FEW OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS, THE
LIFTING OF THE BAN ON THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND OTHER
ANTI-APARTHEID ORGANIZATIONS, THE PARTIAL RELAXATION OF PRESS CENSORSHIP
AND OTHER MEASURES. THESE MEASURES GENERATED A CLIMATE OF EUPHORIA WHICH
ALLOWED SOME CIRCLES TO CALL FOR THE RELAXATION OF SANCTIONS AS A WAY OF
ENCOURAGING THE PRETORIA REGIME TO MOVE ALONG THE PATH OF REFORM. CLEARLY
THERE WAS THE NEED FOR OAU'S QUICK RESPONSE TO THOSE DEVELOPMENTS. YOUR
COMMITTEE ADOPTED THE LUSAKA STATEMENT WHICH IS UNTIL NOW AFRICA'S UNEQUIVOCAL
PRONOUNCEMENT AND RESPONSE TO THE DEVELOPMENTS.

IN SUM, THE STATEMENT, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THE PARTIAL MEASURES
INTRODUCED BY THE PRETORIA REGIME AS BEING POSITIVE, POINTED OUT THAT THE
MEASURES FELL FAR SHORT OF THE CONDITIONS STIPULATED IN THE HARARE AND UN

DECLARATIONS AND CONSEQUENTLY STRESSED THE NEED FOR MAINTAINING AT THE VERY LEAST, EXISTING SANCTIONS. THIS POSITION WAS ENDORSED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT ITS 26TH ORDINARY SESSION IN ADDIS ABABA. THERE IN THEIR HISTORIC DECLARATION, THE AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT, INTER ALIA, STATED:

"WE TOOK NOTE OF THE MEASURES TAKEN BY MR. DE KLERK WHICH PROVIDE GROUND FOR OPTIMISM. WE CAUTION HOWEVER, THAT THESE CHANGES FALL FAR SHORT OF OUR COMMON OBJECTIVE OF TOTALLY DISMANTLING APARTHEID. UNLESS AND UNTIL THE RACIST MINORITY GOVERNMENT IS IRREVERSIBLY COMMITTED TO THE ERADICATION OF THIS ANACHRONISTIC SYSTEM, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST CONTINUE TO EXERT ALL FORMS OF PRESSURE INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA."

MR. CHAIRMAN,

EXCELLENCIES,

THE LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WILL, AS USUAL, PROVIDE DETAILS OF DEVELOPMENTS INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA SINCE YOUR LAST MEETING IN LUSAKA AS WELL AS THEIR ASSESSMENTS AND PROJECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE. FURTHERMORE, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FRONTLINE STATES, HIS EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT KENNETH D. KAUNDA WILL BE BRIEFING YOUR SESSION AND ENRICHING IT WITH HIS

CHARACTERISTIC FORESIGHT AND VISION. I SHALL THEREFORE CONFINE MYSELF TO A FEW REMARKS AND ATTEMPT TO DRAW UP A BALANCE SHEET IN TERMS OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE HARARE DECLARATION TO DETERMINE PROGRESS MADE.

IN BRIEF, THE FOLLOWING ARE THE DEVELOPMENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE YOUR LAST SESSION:

IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE SITUATION HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY:

- i) THE LIFTING OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY EXCEPT IN NATAL,
- ii) TWO MEETINGS BETWEEN THE ANC AND THE PRETORIA REGIME I.E. THE TALKS ABOUT TALKS
- iii) INCREASED ACTS OF VIOLENCE.

THE LIFTING OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THE WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM THE TOWNSHIPS EXCEPT NATAL, THUS ONCE AGAIN DEMONSTRATING A PARTIAL ATTEMPT TO MEET TWO OF THE CONDITIONS IN THE HARARE DECLARATION. THE ANC HELD TWO SUCCESSFUL MEETINGS WITH THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT IN MAY AND IN AUGUST. THE TWO PARTIES SEEM TO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO REMOVE THE OBSTACLES TO FULL SCALE NEGOTIATIONS. ACCORDING TO THE PRETORIA MINUTE, THE REGIME IN PRETORIA HAS COMMITTED ITSELF TO A TIME SCALE RELEASE OF POLITICAL

PRISONERS, THE RETURN OF EXILES AND THE RE-ASSESSMENT OF SOME SECURITY LEGISLATIONS. IN A GESTURE OF GOODWILL AND AS A DEMONSTRATION OF ITS GENUINE COMMITMENT TO THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS THE ANC ALSO DECIDED TO SUSPEND THE ARMED STRUGGLE WITH IMMEDIATE EFFECT. THUS THE PRETORIA MEETING SET THE STAGE FOR THE COMMENCEMENT OF FULL SCALE NEGOTIATIONS.

YET THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND AS OF NOW IS NOT SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT WHICH OBTAINED IN MARCH. THE LIFTING OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY ITSELF WITHOUT A CORRESPONDING REPEAL OF A HOST OF SECURITY-RELATED LEGISLATIONS STILL LEAVES THE POLICE WITH WIDE DISCRETIONARY AND ARBITRARY POWERS TO INTIMIDATE AND HARRASS THE BLACK MAJORITY.

MORE IMPORTANTLY HOWEVER IS THE FACT THAT THE MANY DRACONIAN LEGISLATIONS WHICH SUSTAIN THE APARTHEID STRUCTURE, ARE STILL IN FORCE. THE LAND ACT, THE GROUP AREAS ACT, THE SECURITY ACT, THE POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT, AND A HOST OF OTHERS STILL PROSCRIBE FREE MOVEMENT, AND MEANINGFUL POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

THE ISSUE OF SANCTIONS IS OF COURSE CENTRAL TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID. IT IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE STRATEGY OF COMBINING INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FORCES TO COMBAT APARTHEID. SO FAR, THIS COMBINATION OF PRESSURE HAS BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN COMPELLING THE APARTHEID AUTHORITIES TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS THIS PRESSURE WHICH HAS BROUGHT THE STRUGGLE THIS FAR, AND IT IS THE SAME COMBINATION OF PRESSURE WHICH WILL KEEP THE PRETORIA REGIME AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. IT IS CLEAR THAT IF SANCTIONS WERE TO BE REPEALED TODAY, THE ENVISAGED CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS COULD FLOUNDER ON THE ROCKS OF PRETORIA'S PENCHANT FOR INTRANSIGENCE. IF I HAVE RETURNED TO THE SUBJECT OF SANCTIONS, IT IS BECAUSE RECENTLY, THERE APPEARS TO BE SOME WORRISOME SIGNS OF AN EROSION OF THE AFRICAN CONSENSUS ON THE MAINTENANCE OF SANCTIONS. SUCH EROSION CAN NOT ONLY THREATEN THE COLLECTIVE POSITION OF THE OAU, BUT ALSO OPEN THE FLOOD-GATE TO OTHERS IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS COMRADE NELSON MANDELA, UNDERTOOK AN EXTENSIVE TOUR OF EUROPE, CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES. HIS PRINCIPAL MESSAGE OF THE MAINTENANCE OF SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

WAS IN THE MAIN UNDERSTOOD AND ACCEPTED OVERWHELMINGLY. THIS UNDERSTANDING AND ACCEPTANCE HAS KEPT THE GLOBAL CONSENSUS ON SANCTIONS IN PLACE DESPITE UNILATERAL DECISIONS TAKEN BY SUCH COUNTRIES AS BRITAIN. OF COURSE THE TEMPTATION ON THE PART OF THE APOLOGISTS OF APARTHEID TO ARGUE FOR THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS WILL INCREASINGLY BE EDGED ON IF AFRICAN UNITY AGAINST APARTHEID IS SEEN TO FLOUNDER OR WE FALL PREY TO MR. DE KLERK'S HALF-HEARTED MEASURES. NATURALLY, THEREFORE ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TASKS BEFORE THIS DISTINGUISHED COMMITTEE IS TO TAKE CONCRETE MEASURES AIMED AT MAINTAINING AND CONSOLIDATING AFRICA'S UNITY AND COHESION ON THE ISSUE OF CONTINUED PRESSURE AGAINST THE APARTHEID REGIME INCLUDING THE PRESSURE OF SANCTIONS. IT IS ONLY THROUGH OUR OWN CLEAR DEMONSTRATION OF COMMITMENT TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS ON THE APPLICATION OF SANCTIONS, THAT WE CAN FORCIBLY ARGUE FOR THEIR MAINTENANCE AND AGAINST THEIR RELAXATION AT THIS STAGE. CONVERSELY, IF AFRICA IS SEEN TO BE ANY LESS RESOLUTE IN ITS COMMITMENT TO SANCTIONS, OTHER COUNTRIES SHALL CERTAINLY HAVE NO MOTIVATION OR INDEED THE PRESSURE TO MAINTAIN THEM. IN A VERY REAL WAY, AFRICA WILL HAVE ACHIEVED FOR MR. DE KLERK WHAT HE FAILED TO DO ON HIS EXTENSIVE TOUR OF EUROPE.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

OF COURSE THE LATEST AND MOST DISTURBING DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRY, IS THE UPSURGE OF VIOLENCE. THE BLACK-ON-BLACK VIOLENCE HAS NOW REACHED

ALARMING PROPORTIONS. THIS CARNAGE IS UNACCEPTABLE AND MUST BE CONDEMNED. BUT BEYOND CONDEMNATION MUST BE A READINESS AND DETERMINATION BY ALL THOSE CONCERNED TO BRING THE VIOLENCE TO AN IMMEDIATE AND DEFINITIVE END. THIS VIOLENCE SERVES NO ONE'S INTEREST EXCEPT THE INTERESTS OF THOSE WHO WANT TO PERPETUATE APARTHEID. IT PROVIDES READY AMMUNITION TO THOSE DETRACTORS OF AFRICA'S FREEDOM WHO WILL ONLY BE TOO EAGER TO USE IT GRATUITOUSLY IN AN ATTEMPT TO BLOCK OR AT LEAST UNDERMINE THE PROCESS OF CHANGE.

THE ROLE OF ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY SERVICES IN ENCOURAGING, SUPPORTING AND EVEN ARMING SOME INKHATA ELEMENTS IN ORDER TO PERPETRATE VIOLENCE IS MOST DISTURBING. AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT CANNOT ESCAPE RESPONSIBILITY FROM THIS.

FURTHERMORE, THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER IS A RESPONSIBILITY OF THE RACIST GOVERNMENT. THIS RESPONSIBILITY DOES NOT CEASE WHEN A BLACK MAN KILLS ANOTHER BLACK MAN. THE LESS THAN ENTHUSIASTIC MANNER IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAS RESPONDED TO THE CALLS TO INTERVENE TO CONTAIN THE VIOLENCE PUTS INTO QUESTION THE COMMITMENT OF THE APARTHEID REGIME TO PUT A DEFINITE END TO THE VIOLENCE.

AGAIN, BEYOND THE ROLE OF THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT SECURITY - MACHINERY TO CONTAIN VIOLENCE, THE LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS MUST REDOUBLE THEIR EFFORTS TO OVERCOME THIS TRAGEDY. CLEARLY, THE LEADERSHIP

OF THE ANC, THE PAC AND OTHER ANTI-APARTHEID GROUPS MUST WORK TOGETHER WITHIN THE LARGER INTERESTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND PUT AN END TO THIS CARNAGE. AT THE SAME TIME THE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES MUST CONTAIN AND PUT AN END TO THE INCREASING ACTS OF VIOLENCE AND LAWLESSNESS OF THE ULTRA RIGHT ELEMENTS OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY.

OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DEVELOPMENTS ON THE GROUND IN SOUTH AFRICA, THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER DEVELOPMENTS. I REFER SPECIFICALLY TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LUSAKA STATEMENT. YOUR EXCELLENCIES WILL RECALL THAT A MONITORING GROUP WAS SET UP TO FOLLOW CLOSELY, THE DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AS THEY RELATE IN PARTICULAR TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 1989 UNITED NATIONS CONSENSUS DECLARATION ON APARTHEID AND TO SUBMIT A REPORT TO THE OAU SECRETARY GENERAL. THE REPORT WAS TO BE AFRICA'S INPUT INTO THE REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THAT CONSENSUS DECLARATION. I AM HAPPY TO REPORT THAT THE MONITORING GROUP DID A COMMENDABLE JOB. APART FROM MONITORING AND EVALUATING THE SITUATION INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA, THE GROUP CONSULTED EXTENSIVELY WITH THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND HELD HEARINGS WITH MANY INDIVIDUALS AND ANTI-APARTHEID GROUPS FROM INSIDE THE COUNTRY. THE VERDICT OF THE GROUP WAS UNANIMOUS. IN SUM, THE GROUP CONCLUDED THAT IN SPITE OF THE MEASURES TAKEN BY MR. DE KLERK NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE HAD OCCURED IN SOUTH AFRICA TO WARRANT A REVIEW OF THE POSITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN TERMS OF SANCTIONS.

THIS COLLECTIVE VIEW WAS TRANSMITTED THROUGH ME TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL. I WISH TO COMMEND ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE GROUP FOR WORKING SO HARD AND FOR A GOOD REPORT THEY PRODUCED.

IN A FEW DAYS, THE 44TH RESUMED SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL BE MEETING TO CONSIDER THE REPORT OF THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL AND TO REVIEW GENERALLY THE DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND TO CHART A COURSE AHEAD. THOSE OF YOUR EXCELLENCIES WHO HAVE READ THE REPORT AND FOLLOWED INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSIONS ON IT, WILL HAVE OBSERVED THAT DIFFERENCES OF VIEW EXIST ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE REPORT. THE AFRICAN GROUP AT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS EXPRESSED ITS RESERVATIONS ON THOSE SECTIONS OF THE REPORT WHICH GIVE THE ERRONEOUS IMPRESSION THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS DOING A MARVELOUS JOB, OR THOSE WHICH ACCENTUATE THE VIEWS OF THE PRETORIA REGIME AT THE EXPENSE OF THOSE OF THE BLACK MAJORITY. WITHIN THIS UNCERTAIN ATMOSPHERE, IT IS THEREFORE NECESSARY TO COORDINATE AFRICA'S VIEWS AND PRESENT A COMMON POSITION AT THE FORTHCOMING 44TH RESUMED UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION.

YOUR EXCELLENCIES WILL ALSO RECALL THAT AT LUSAKA, THIS COMMITTEE DECIDED TO LAUNCH AN APPEAL TO THE OAU MEMBER STATES FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, IN THEIR NEW TASK OF READJUSTING TO THE CHANGED POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES. ACCORDINGLY, I SENT MESSAGES TO ALL MEMBER STATES TRANSMITTING THIS APPEAL. SOME COUNTRIES RESPONDED TO THE APPEAL EXPRESSING THEIR READINESS TO HELP. IT IS ALSO MY UNDERSTANDING THAT SOME COUNTRIES HAVE ALREADY PROVIDED FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE DIRECTLY TO THE ANC; AND THAT SOME MORE ASSISTANCE MAY BE FORTHCOMING. I WISH TO THANK ALL THOSE STATES WHICH HAVE RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO YOUR APPEAL AND TO URGE THOSE WHO HAVE NOT YET DONE SO TO BE FORTHCOMING.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

ADMITTEDLY, THE TWO MEETINGS BETWEEN THE ANC AND THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT. BOTH MANAGED TO PUT THE TALKS ABOUT THE TALKS ON A COURSE TOWARDS CONSTITUTIONAL NEGOTIATIONS. BOTH THE GROOTE SCHUUR AND PRETORIA MINUTES SUBSUME THIS SPIRIT. BOTH PARTIES TO THESE TALKS HAVE TALKED OF HAVING REMOVED THE OBSTACLES ALONG THE ROAD TOWARDS NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE YET TO START.

IN LUSAKA, THIS COMMITTEE WAS CATEGORICAL IN ITS DECLARATION THAT ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND OTHER FORMS OF INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE MUST BE MAINTAINED UNTIL THERE IS IN EVIDENCE AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS TOWARDS THE TOTAL DISMANTLING OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. TODAY THAT PROCESS IS NOT YET IN CLEAR EVIDENCE MUCH LESS BEING IRREVERSIBLE.

YES THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF TALK ABOUT CHANGE BUT SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE IS A LONG WAY TO COME. THIS IS WHY AFRICA MUST PERSIST IN ITS INSISTENCE ON THE MAINTENANCE OF SANCTIONS. THESE PRESSURES HAVE AN OBJECTIVE. IT IS TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE END OF APARTHEID. UNDOUBTEDLY ONCE THE PATH TOWARDS AN IRREVERSIBLE CHANGE HAS BEEN TRAVERSED AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY WILL HAVE TO RECONSIDER THE ISSUE OF SANCTIONS. BUT FOR THE PRESENT SUCH A RECONSIDERATION IS NOT WARRANTED. INDEED THE REMOVAL OR DILUTION OF THESE PRESSURES AT THIS JUNCTURE CAN ONLY RUN THE RISK OF UNDERMINING IF NOT ABORTING THE PROCESS OF CHANGE.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

ALLOW ME TO CONCLUDE BY DISCHARGING A VERY PLEASANT DUTY. THIS IS TO THANK YOUR EXCELLENCY, THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF UGANDA FOR THE WARM RECEPTION, GENEROUS HOSPITALITY AND EXCELLENT COOPERATION EXTENDED TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT. I WISH AT THE SAME TIME TO PUT ON RECORD MY PERSONAL APPRECIATION FOR ~~THE~~ FULL SUPPORT WHICH YOUR EXCELLENCY, AS CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU, HAS GIVEN TO THE SECRETARIAT AND MYSELF PERSONALLY SINCE YOUR ASSUMPTION OF YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES.

