

Fifty-sixth session of the  
OAU Liberation Committee  
Abuja, Nigeria  
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MR CHAIRMAN,

DISTINGUISHED MINISTERS,

EXCELLENCIES,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, -

ALLOW ME TO PREFACE MY INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY JOINING THE HOST AUTHORITIES AND PARTICULARLY FOREIGN MINISTER IKE NWACHUKU IN BIDDING YOU WELCOME TO ABUJA.

THIS DISTINGUISHED COUNCIL ADJOURNED, LAST FEBRUARY, IN THE MIDST OF WAR IN THE GULF. TODAY THE BATTLE FRONTS ARE SILENT WHAT MUST FOLLOW ARE THE PROCESSES OF RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION. IT IS NOT GOING TO BE EASY EITHER FOR KUWAIT OR IRAQ. I WOULD HOPE, THEREFORE THAT THE SAME UNITY AND ZEAL SHOWN TO RIGHT A WRONG DONE UNTO KUWAIT WILL BE DEMONSTRATED IN HELPING BOTH KUWAIT AND IRAQ RECONSTRUCT AND THE ENTIRE ARAB WORLD RECONCILE, AND HEAL THE WOUNDS INFLICTED BY THE WAR.

MR CHAIRMAN,

THE NEED FOR RECONCILIATION IS GREAT AS WELL IN AFRICA WHERE CONFLICTS PERSIST AND NEW ONES EMERGE WITH INCREASING RAPIDITY. WHEN THIS COUNCIL MET LAST JULY, THE CONFLICTS IN RWANDA AND SOMALIA HAD NOT YET ERUPTED. WITH THESE UNFORTUNATE ADDITIONS, TODAY, WE ARE FACED WITH ELEVEN SETS OF ACTIVE CONFLICTS ON THE CONTINENT, EXCLUDING SOUTH AFRICA. THERE ARE OTHER CONFLICTS WHICH ARE LATENT AND COULD BE IGNITED BY THE SLIGHTEST MISUNDERSTANDINGS. THESE CONFLICTS HAVE AND CONTINUE TO SAP THE

ENERGIES AND RESOURCES OF OUR CONTINENT. THEY HAVE PRECIPITATED REFUGEES, RESULTED IN THE DISPLACEMENT, STARVATION AND DEATH OF MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE. THESE CONFLICTS HAVE CAUSED ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION AND DIVERTED PEOPLE AWAY FROM PRODUCTION AND LOCKED THEM INTO HATE AND DESTRUCTION. WE NEED TO PUT AN END TO THIS CALAMITY WHICH HAS BEFALLEN OUR CONTINENT.

MR CHAIRMAN,

THE HORN OF AFRICA IS EMBROILED IN WAR. THE CONFLICTS WHICH RAGE ON IN ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA AND SUDAN HAVE COMBINED TO PRODUCE ONE OF THE SADDEST PICTURE OF HUMAN SUFFERING ON THE CONTINENT. AS A REGION, IT HAS THE LARGEST NUMBER OF REFUGEES IN AFRICA AND MORE ARE STILL TRECKING INTO EXILE WITH ONLY A GRIM FUTURE OF UPROOTEDNESS, POSSIBLE STARVATION AND DEATH IN TRANSIT OR A LIFE OF SQUALOR IN REFUGEE CAMPS TO LOOK FORWARD TO. I AM SADDENED THAT A HUMAN TRAGEDY OF SUCH MAGNITUDE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE.

THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA REMAINS DISQUIETING AS ATTEMPTS AT NATIONAL DIALOGUE HAVE CONTINUED TO FLOUNDER. I CONTINUE TO BE GRAVELY CONCERNED AT THE UNFOLDING HUMAN DRAMA. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN HAVE BEEN FORCED INTO SQUALID CONDITIONS OF EXILE IN REFUGEE CAMPS WITH NO REPRIEVE IN SIGHT. ATTEMPTS TO BRING TOGETHER THE WARRING PARTIES AND NEGOTIATE MODALITIES FOR PEACE AND RESTORE NORMALITY HAVE SO FAR FAILED TO BEAR FRUIT. I AM ALSO CONCERNED THAT THIS

CONTINUED STATE OF CONFLICT AND ITS ATTENDANT HUMAN SUFFERING, SERIOUSLY UNDERMINES THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE REGION AND POSES A THREAT TO ITS LONG TERM STABILITY. I HAVE MADE THIS CONCERN KNOWN TO THOSE INVOLVED SOMALI LEADERS WITH WHOM I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CONSULT. I WISH TO REITERATE MY APPEAL TO THE PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE SOMALI CONFLICT TO SUBORDINATE THEIR DIFFERENCES TO THE GREATER NEED OF ENDING WAR AND PAVING THE WAY TO THE RESTORATION OF PEACE IN THE COUNTRY AND BEGINNING ON THE MORE DAUNTING TASK OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION. I WISH ALSO TO COMMEND THOSE INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES AND LEADERS, PARTICULARLY THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU PRESIDENT MUSEVENI, WHO HAVE TAKEN INITIATIVES AND PLACED THEIR OFFICES AND SERVICES TO THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE COUNTRY. I ALSO WISH TO REITERATE MY APPEAL FOR URGENT INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE MANY INNOCENT VICTIMS WHO ARE NOW LANGUISHING IN REFUGEE CAMPS WITHOUT ADEQUATE SHELTER, FOOD AND MEDICINES.

THE SUDANESE CONFLICT REMAINS UNRESOLVED AND WAR RAGES ON ALSO LEAVING BEHIND THE TRAGEDY OF HUMAN SUFFERING, STARVATION AND DEATH. ON MANY OCCASIONS I HAVE SPOKEN OF THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONTINUATION OF THIS CONFLICT, NOT ONLY TO THE WELFARE OF THE SUDANESE PEOPLE AND COUNTRY, BUT EQUALLY TO THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE REGION AS A WHOLE AND TO THE LONG TERM STABILITY OF THE CONTINENT. IN MY CONTACTS WITH THE SUDANESE GOVERNMENT AND THE SPLM, I HAVE CONTINUED TO APPEAL FOR THE REACTIVATION OF THEIR DIALOGUE. I HAVE NOTED, IN THE COURSE OF MY CONSULTATIONS THAT, WHILE THE ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE THE TWO



PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT ARE NOT INSURMOUNTABLE, THEY COULD NOT OTHERWISE BE RESOLVED UNLESS THEY ARE DISCUSSED. I WISH TO REPORT THAT I CONTINUE TO SEE BOTH PARTIES COMMITTED TO THE UNITY OF THEIR COUNTRY AND TO THE PRINCIPLE OF DIALOGUE. I AM HAPPY ALSO TO REPORT THAT BOTH THE GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SPLM PERSIST IN THEIR CONFIDENCE IN THE OAU AND THE ROLE IT IS AND WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY IN HELPING THE PARTIES NARROW THEIR DIFFERENCES EVEN FURTHER AND FACILITATING A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. IN THIS RESPECT, WE HOPE TO CONSOLIDATE THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE SO FAR, BUILDING ON THE MUTUAL GOOD WILL AND DISPOSITION WHICH NOW EXIST. I WISH TO SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY DEEP APPRECIATION TO THE SUDANESE LEADERSHIP AND PARTICULARLY TO PRESIDENT EL-BESHIR FOR THE CONFIDENCE THEY HAVE PLACE IN THE OAU AND IN THE PERSON OF ITS SECRETARY-GENERAL.

THE SITUATION IN ETHIOPIA IS NO LESS DISCONCERTING. THE CONTINUED WAR IN THAT COUNTRY HAS BROUGHT GREAT SUFFERING TO THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE. I AM, HOWEVER, ENCOURAGED BY THE RECENT STEPS TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT, AND IN PARTICULAR THE SHENGO DECLARATION CHALLENGING ALL GROUPS TO BROAD DIALOGUE, WHICH HAVE REKINDLED THE HOPES OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. I AM FURTHER ENCOURAGED BY THE ROUNDS OF CONSULTATIONS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE WITH A VIEW TO FINDING COMMON GROUND FOR EVENTUAL NEGOTIATION. I WISH TO URGE THE PARTIES INVOLVED TO SUMMON THE NECESSARY POLITICAL COURAGE AND STAY THE COURSE OF PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF THEIR DIFFERENCES. IT IS ONLY IN THE LARGER INTERESTS OF ALL ETHIOPIANS TO PUT A DEFINITE END TO THIS CONFLICT WHICH HAS



bled the country and caused so much unnecessary suffering to so many innocent citizens. I wish, in particular, to commend the government of Ethiopia for the courage and flexibility it has demonstrated in furthering the process of a peaceful settlement. I sincerely hope that the challenge of a peaceful and negotiated resolution of the conflict will be accepted by all.

MR CHAIRMAN,

While the situation in Liberia remains volatile, I am encouraged by the efforts being expended by the ECOMOG and ECOWAS generally to restore peace and normality in the country and to promote dialogue and national reconciliation. I am at the same time concerned at the current internationalization of the conflict by its spread into Sierra Leonean territory. The violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sierra Leone represents a serious escalation and expansion of the conflict which not only mitigates against its speedy solution but places in serious jeopardy, the prospects for a durable peace and stability of the entire region.

During my visit to West Africa, earlier this month, I consulted broadly with Presidents Eyadema, Babangida, Houphouet Boigny, Lansana Conte and Momoh on the situation in the region and the efforts of ECOMOG and ECOWAS to facilitate an end to the Liberian conflict and to stem its enlargement. Those consultations rekindled my hopes for restoring peace to Liberia and reinforced my belief that regional frameworks,

ARISING OUT OF A REGIONAL CONSENSUS, HOLD MUCH POTENTIAL IN FACILITATING SETTLEMENT OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS. I TOOK ADVANTAGE OF MY VISIT TO UNDERScore THE NEED FOR GREATER COHESION AMONG THE MEMBER COUNTRIES OF ECOWAS. I ALSO REITERATED OAU'S SUPPORT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF SIERRA LEONE.

I LEFT WEST AFRICA AT THE TIME VERY MUCH ENCOURAGED BY THE DETERMINATION OF THOSE LEADERS TO PERSIST IN THEIR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. I CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT THOSE PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT WILL SEE THE WISDOM OF DIALOGUE. FOR IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT IS THE VERY PEOPLE IN WHOSE NAME THEY ARE SUPPOSED TO BE FIGHTING WHO ARE SUFFERING THE MOST WITH THE PERSISTENCE OF THE CONFLICT. I WISH, AT THE SAME TIME, TO RENEW MY APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR MUCH NEEDED HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IN THE FORM OF FOOD AND MEDICINES, ESPECIALLY NOW THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION HAS EASED APPRECIABLY AND THE COUNTRY IS RELATIVELY ACCESSIBLE.

MR CHAIRMAN,

AFTER MUCH DELAY, THE PROCESS TOWARDS THE RESOLUTION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA QUESTION SEEMS NOW BACK ON COURSE. LAST MONTH, THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTED A RESOLUTION APPROVING THE PLAN FOR THE HOLDING OF A REFERENDUM IN THE TERRITORY AND SETTING UP THE MINURSO. THE OAU WILL COOPERATE WITH THE UNITED NATIONS IN SUPERVISING THE REFERENDUM. CONSULTATIONS ARE UNDERWAY TO DETERMINE THE NATURE, EXTENT

AND LEVEL OF THAT COOPERATION INCLUDING IDENTIFYING PERSONNEL FOR THAT PURPOSE. THE STEP MADE BY THE ADOPTION OF THAT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION IS AN IMPORTANT ONE. BUT BEYOND THE ADOPTION OF THAT RESOLUTION LIES THE NEED TO ENSURE THAT THE PROCESS OF HOLDING THE REFERENDUM IS BEGUN SOON AND IS CONDUCTED WITHOUT ANY HINDRANCE.

MR CHAIRMAN,

IN FEBRUARY, I REPORTED ON THE DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES WHICH HAD BEEN UNDERTAKEN OR WERE THEN UNDERWAY TO FIND A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN RWANDA. I SPOKE IN PARTICULAR OF THE MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENTS MUSEVENI OF UGANDA AND HABYARIMANA OF RWANDA WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE ON 17 FEBRUARY IN ZANZIBAR AS WELL AS OF THE DAR-ES-SALAAM REGIONAL SUMMIT WHICH HAD JUST BEEN CONCLUDED AND THE FIRM UNDERTAKINGS WHICH HAD BEEN ENTERED INTO BY THE LEADERS OF THE REGION TO PERSIST IN THEIR SEARCH FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND A STABLE AND LASTING SOLUTION TO THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. IN FURTHER MANIFESTATION OF THE COMMITMENT OF THESE COUNTRIES TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE REGION AND THANKS TO THE MEDIATION EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT MOBUTU OF ZAIRE, IT WAS POSSIBLE TO SUSTAIN THE MOMENTUM FOR DIALOGUE, AND GOODWILL GENERATED BY THE DAR-ES-SALAAM SUMMIT AND FINALLY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A FORMAL CEASEFIRE BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT. THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED AT N'SELE IN ZAIRE, ON THE 29TH OF MARCH 1991, BY THE RWANDESE



GOVERNMENT AND THE RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MEDIATOR. I WAS PRIVILEGED TO ATTEND AND SIGN THE AGREEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE OAU.

THE AGREEMENT REPRESENTED A SIGNIFICANT MOVEMENT. IT UNDERLINED THE COMMITMENT OF THE PARTIES TO MOVE AWAY FROM MILITARY CONFRONTATION AND EMBRACE A COURSE OF NEGOTIATION. IT ALSO EMBODIED AN UNDERTAKING BY THE MEDIATOR ON BEHALF OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION AND BY THE OAU TO HELP THE PARTIES CEASE HOSTILITIES, BUILD CONFIDENCE, NARROW THEIR DIFFERENCES FURTHER AND ULTIMATELY PUT IN MOTION A PROCESS OF DIALOGUE AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. THE AGREEMENT PROVIDED FOR THE CREATION OF A GROUP OF NEUTRAL MILITARY OBSERVERS UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL COMPOSED OF FIFTEEN OFFICERS EACH FROM BURUNDI, UGANDA, AND ZAIRE AND WERE TO BE JOINED BY FIVE OFFICERS EACH FROM THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA AND THE RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THIS TEAM OF NEUTRAL OBSERVERS WAS CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF OBSERVING THE CEASEFIRE AND TO REPORT ON INSTANCES OF ITS VIOLATION BY THE PARTIES. I APPOINTED BRIGADIER HASHIM MBITA, THE EXECUTIVE-SECRETARY OF THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE, AS MY REPRESENTATIVE TO HEAD THE TEAM.

WHILE MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE TO FULLY SECURE THE PEACE PROCESS, WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN RWANDA SO FAR IS A MAJOR BREAK THROUGH ON WHICH WE MUST BUILD BOTH POLITICALLY AND INSTITUTIONALLY. IT HAS DEMONSTRATED THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO PUT TOGETHER AND SUSTAIN A POLITICAL INITIATIVE TO DEAL WITH CONFLICTS

IN AFRICA. IT HAS ALSO DEMONSTRATED THAT, WITH THE COURAGE TO SUMMON THE REQUISITE POLITICAL WILL, IT IS POSSIBLE TO ELABORATE POLITICAL FRAMEWORKS AND MECHANISMS WITHIN WHICH CONFLICTS CAN BE CONSIDERED, CONTAINED AND HOPEFULLY FINALLY RESOLVED. BUT THIS IS POSSIBLE ONLY WHEN IT IS PRECEDED AND, INDEED, UNDERWRITTEN BY POLITICAL DECISIONS BY THE PARTIES INVOLVED TO SUBMIT TO PACIFIC SETTLEMENT AS WELL AS OF THE OTHER COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY THOSE WITHIN PROXIMITY TO SUPPORT THE PEACE PROCESS.

WE DID INITALLY ENCOUNTER SOME PROBLEMS MAINLY OF A LOGISTICAL AND LEGAL NATURE. FROM THE LEGAL STANDPOINT, THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA RAISED TWO ISSUES, NAMELY, THE SELECTION OF A COUNTRY TO REPLACE TANZANIA WHICH COULD NOT SERVE AS A MEMBER OF THE MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP AS PROVIDED IN THE N'SELE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT AND THE INTERPRETATION OF THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT REGARDING THE ROLE AND PARTICIPATION OF THE PARTIES IN CONFLICT IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP. DESPITE THESE INITIAL DIFFICULTIES, I AM HAPPY TO REPORT THAT THE WORK OF THE GROUP IS PROCEEDING REASONABLY WELL. MY REPRESENTATIVE WAS ABLE TO APPOINT HIS HEADQUARTERS STAFF AND DEPLOY THE UNITS IN THE OBSERVATION SECTORS. HE WAS ABLE TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT ON THE STATUS OF THE MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP IN RWANDA WITH THE RWANDESE GOVERNMENT ON THE 4TH OF MAY THIS YEAR. I WISH TO REPORT THAT, THANKS TO THE COOPERATION EXTENDED BY THE GOVERNMENT, IT WAS POSSIBLE TO DEPLOY THE MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP IN THE BYUMBA, MUTARA AND RUHENGERI OPERATIONAL SECTORS IN THE NORTHERN PART OF RWANDA.

AS THE MONITORING EXERCISE GETS MORE COMPREHENSIVE, WE HOPE AN ATMOSPHERE OF CONFIDENCE WILL BE CREATED AMONG THE PARTIES SO AS TO MOVE AHEAD WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE OTHER ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT, PARTICULARLY THOSE RELATING TO POLITICAL DIALOGUE AND THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN THE COUNTRY.

THIS UNDERTAKING HAS ENTAILED SUBSTANTIAL EXPENDITURE WHICH WAS UNBUDGETTED FOR. NATURALLY, THIS WILL WEIGH SIGNIFICANTLY ON THE BUDGET OF THE ORGANIZATION. THIS NOTWITHSTANDING, I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE CONTINUED READINESS OF THE CONTINGENT CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES TO BEAR THE FINANCIAL BURDEN OF THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE MONITORING EXERCISE.

SINCE THE ERUPTION OF THIS UNFORTUNATE CONFLICT, MANY GOVERNMENTS OUTSIDE OUR CONTINENT HAVE MANIFESTED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE OAU EFFORTS IN HELPING TO FIND A RESOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT. SOME OF THEM HAVE GONE FURTHER THAN THE AFFIRMATION OF POLITICAL SUPPORT. THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS REPEATEDLY DECLARED BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY ITS DISPOSITION TO PROVIDE CONCRETE ASSISTANCE TO FACILITATE THE OPERATIONS OF THE NEUTRAL MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP. AS YET HOWEVER, WE HAVE NOT BEEN APPRISED OF THE CONCRETE TYPE OF ASSISTANCE TO BE PROVIDED. AT THE SAME TIME, THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE HAS FORMALLY COMMUNICATED TO US THEIR PLEDGE TO PROVIDE 2 MILLION FRENCH FRANCS IN KIND TO SUPPORT OUR OPERATIONS. I WISH TO THANK



THEM ALL FOR THEIR POSITIVE DISPOSITION. IN PARTICULAR, I WISH TO THANK THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE FOR ITS CONCRETE PLEDGE OF ASSISTANCE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF BELGIUM FOR THE ANTICIPATED ASSISTANCE.

MR CHAIRMAN,

THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA HOLDS PROMISE. IN ONLY A FEW DAYS TO COME, A FORMAL CEASEFIRE WILL BE SIGNED IN LISBON THUS CONFIRMING AN EARLIER AGREEMENT INITIALLED IN EARLY MAY. THE COMING INTO EFFECT OF A CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT WILL NOT ONLY PUT A DEFINITE END TO THE SENSELESS AND RAVAGING WAR WHICH WAS IMPOSED ON THAT COUNTRY BUT ALSO PAVE THE WAY TO NATIONAL DIALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION. SETTLEMENT IN ANGOLA HOLDS PROMISE ALSO FOR THE LARGER PEACE IN THE REGION. I WISH, IN THIS RESPECT, TO EXPRESS THE CONFIDENT HOPE THAT THE MOMENTUM FOR PEACE, WHICH HAS BEEN TRIGGERED BY THIS BROAD AGREEMENT, WILL BE SUSTAINED AND CONSOLIDATED SO AS TO ENSURE THAT THE HOPES OF A PEACEFUL AND UNIFIED ANGOLA, WHICH ARE NOW ON THE HORIZON, ARE SPEEDILY REALIZED. I WISH TO COMMEND BOTH PARTIES TO THIS UNFORTUNATE CONFLICT FOR THE WISDOM AND FORESIGHT THEY HAVE DISPLAYED IN ARRIVING AT THIS AGREEMENT. I WISH, IN PARTICULAR, TO PAY TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT JOSE EDUARDO DOS SANTOS AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA FOR THEIR PERSISTENCE AND COMMITMENT TO THE PROCESS OF PEACE EVEN AT TIMES IN THE FACE OF THE MOST BLATANT AND PERSISTENT PROVOCATIONS. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT IS THIS PERSEVERENCE AND COMMITMENT WHICH HAS BEEN CRITICAL IN

FACILITATING THE LISBON AGREEMENT. I WISH, IN THIS RESPECT, TO PAY TRIBUTE TO THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION AND PORTUGAL FOR THEIR ROLE IN BROKERING THE AGREEMENT. I HOPE THEY WILL SHOW GREATER READINESS TO SEE TO IT THAT THE PEACE PROCESS NOW BEGINNING IS NOT UNDERMINED AND THAT ULTIMATELY THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE WILL BE ALLOWED TO PUT THE SAD CHAPTER OF WAR BEHIND THEIR BACKS AND REDIRECT THEIR ENERGIES AND RESOURCES AWAY FROM DESTRUCTION AND TOWARDS THE REALIZATION OF THE VAST DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL OF THEIR TORMENTED COUNTRY.

MR CHAIRMAN,

WHILE THE SITUATION IN MOZAMBIQUE IS NOT AS YET PROMISING, I AM ENCOURAGED THAT BOTH PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT REMAIN COMMITTED, IN PRINCIPLE, TO THE AVENUE OF PEACE AND CONTINUE WITH THEIR NEGOTIATIONS. THE ROME ROUNDS OF NEGOTIATIONS HAVE SO FAR PROVED TO BE A SUSTAINABLE FRAMEWORK FOR DIALOGUE AND HENCE A VIABLE ROUTE TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. I WISH TO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THOSE INVOLVED WILL CONTINUE TO DEPLOY ALL EFFORT TO ENSURE THAT A STABLE, LASTING SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT IN MOZAMBIQUE IS FOUND. I WISH TO PAY DESERVING TRIBUTE TO THE MOZAMBIKAN GOVERNMENT AND TO PRESIDENT CHISSANO, IN PARTICULAR, FOR HIS PERSEVERENCE AND COMMITMENT TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. ULTIMATELY, IT IS THIS GOODWILL AND PERSEVERENCE WHICH CONTINUE TO SUSTAIN THE DIALOGUE AND WHICH WILL UNDERWRITE A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. I HOPE THOSE WITH INFLUENCE AND LEVERAGE OVER THE RENAMO WILL PREVAIL UPON THEM SO THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS NOW IN

PROGRESS ARE NOT UNDERMINED OR EXPEDIENTLY STALLED ANY LONGER. .

MR CHAIRMAN,

I NOW TURN TO THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. AFRICA HAS REPEATEDLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOME IMPORTANT AND POSITIVE CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE WELCOMED THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS, EVEN IF MANY MORE REMAIN INCARCERATED. WE WELCOMED THE UNBANNING OF ANC, PAC AND OTHER ANTI-APARTHEID GROUPS EVEN THOUGH MANY APARTHEID LEGISLATIONS CONTINUE TO PROSCRIBE THEIR POLITICAL ACTIVITY. WE DID ALSO WELCOME OTHER MEASURES INCLUDING THE MEETINGS BETWEEN THE ANC AND THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT. WE BELIEVE THE PRETORIA AND GROOTE SCHUUR MINUTES REPRESENT UNDERTAKINGS ON BOTH SIDES TO SEE EVOLVE A FUTURE SOUTH AFRICA BUILT ON FOUNDATIONS OF UNITY, EQUALITY AND DEMOCRACY. AS AN OBJECTIVE, WE COMMEND IT AND WE COULD WISH NOTHING BETTER FOR SOUTH AFRICA. BUT IT REMAINS A STATED OBJECTIVE WHICH IS NOT CORROBORATED BY ANY APPRECIABLE MOVEMENT IN THE FIELD OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE TABLING FOR REPEAL BY THE APARTHEID PARLIAMENT OF THE LAND, POPULATION REGISTRATION AND GROUP AREAS ACTS HAVE UNDERSTANDABLY REKINDLED HOPES AND OPTIMISM AMONG THE OPPRESSED BLACK MAJORITY FOR A LET UP IN THE APARTHEID GRIP. QUITE UNDERSTANDABLE, HOWEVER, IS THE POSITIVE REACTION IT HAS GENERATED WITHIN MANY COUNTRIES INCLUDING IN AFRICA AND THE CLAMOUR FOR THE REPEAL OF SANCTIONS IT HAS GIVEN EXPEDIENT EXCUSE TO WITHIN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. I AM, HOWEVER, CONCERNED THAT



SUCH UNILATERAL MOVES COULD HAMPER AND RETARD THE PROCESS OF CHANGE WHICH HAS BEGUN IN SOUTH AFRICA.

MR CHAIRMAN,

AFRICA IS NOT IMPERVIOUS TO REASON NOR IS IT INSENSITIVE TO CHANGE. WE HAVE COLLECTIVELY STATED OUR WILLINGNESS TO EXERCISE THE NECESSARY FLEXIBILITY IN RESPECT OF THE SITUATION IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA INCLUDING RECONSIDERATION OF SANCTIONS WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES SO WARRANT. WE HAVE SAID THAT, ONCE THERE IS, IN DEMONSTRABLE EVIDENCE, AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS TOWARDS THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A NON-RACIAL UNITARY AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA, AFRICA WILL BE READY TO WELCOME THAT COUNTRY IN ITS COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. THIS IS A STANDING AND COLLECTIVE POSITION OF AFRICA AS ARTICULATED IN THE HARARE DECLARATION. THIS POSITION IS ALSO SHARED, IN PRINCIPLE, BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND ENSHRINED IN THE UNITED NATIONS CONSENSUS DECLARATION ON APARTHEID. CONSISTENT WITH OUR WISH TO URGE ON THE PROCESS TOWARDS CHANGE, WE HAVE ENCOURAGED THE BLACK MAJORITY ALONG THE PATH OF NEGOTIATIONS WHENEVER POSSIBILITIES FOR DIALOGUE EXISTED. THIS IS THE POSITION OF AFRICA AS FAR BACK AS 1969 WHEN THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO WAS ADOPTED. THE PREFERENCE OF AFRICA HAS BEEN AND CONTINUES TO BE NEGOTIATIONS. WE WOULD, THEREFORE, BE THE FIRST TO INSIST THAT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN SOUTH AFRICA. AND IF GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS WERE TO BEGIN AND TAKE ROOT, WE WOULD EQUALLY BE AMONG THOSE WHO WOULD URGE THAT INCENTIVES BE GIVEN TO THAT

PROCESS AS BOTH A RECOGNITION OF THE PROGRESS MADE AND AS AN INSURANCE AGAINST REACTION. INDEED, IT IS APPROPRIATE TO DEBATE THE FUTURE OF THE SANCTIONS REGIME TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE POSITIVE CHANGES THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN SOUTH AFRICA AND WITH DUE CONSIDERATION FOR THE CONTINUED PROSECUTION OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID.

MR CHAIRMAN,

WE DO, INDEED, RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE SOME CHANGES. SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL LEGISLATIONS OF APARTHEID ARE SLATED FOR REPEAL AND THERE IS NOW AN INCREASED MEASURE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY ARISING FROM THE UNBANNING OF POLITICAL GROUPINGS. INDEED, DE KLERK HAS CONTINUED TO PROMISE MORE CHANGES AND CONTINUES TO CLAIM COMMITMENT TO CHANGE. HOWEVER, THE FACTS ON THE GROUND WOULD URGE CAUTION. MAY I POINT OUT IN THIS REGARD THAT THE CONSULTATIONS, WHICH HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN BETWEEN THE ANC AND THE GOVERNMENT, HAVE BEEN LARGELY ON TALKS ABOUT TALKS.

FURTHERMORE, EVEN IF ALL PRINCIPAL LEGISLATIONS ARE REPEALED, THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF THE CONSTITUTION WHICH EMBODIES THE PHILOSOPHICAL PREMISE OF APARTHEID REMAINS OUTSTANDING. IT IS A CARDINAL ISSUE. FOR EVEN WHEN THOSE LEGISLATIONS DISAPPEAR, UNLESS THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION, APARTHEID WILL ONLY BE IN ABEYANCE AND NOT ELIMINATED.

WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID. AS A WORLD JOINED BY COMMON HUMANITY, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY DECLARED APARTHEID A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY. IN DEMONSTRATION OF ITS DEEP ABHORANCE OF THAT OBNOXIOUS SYSTEM, THE WORLD INSTITUTED MEASURES TO FORCE THE DIE-HARD RACIST IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA TO ABANDON THEIR EVIL WAYS. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WERE A MANIFESTATION AND PILLAR OF THAT POLICY. INDEED, THIS WAS IN COMPLEMENT OF THE INTERNAL STRUGGLES, INCLUDING ARMED, WHICH WERE BEING WAGED BY THE OPPRESSED MAJORITY INSIDE THE COUNTRY. THIS COMBINATION OF PRESSURE OF INTERNAL RESISTANCE AND INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS RAISED THE PRICE OF APARTHEID AND ULTIMATELY FORCED MR DE KLERK TO BEGIN TALKING OF CHANGE. THE CHANGES SO FAR UNDERTAKEN ARE A DIRECT RESULT OF THIS SYNERGY OF STRUGGLE. NEEDLESS TO SAY, IT IS THIS VERY SYNERGY WHICH IS NOW MORE THAN CRUCIAL TO SUSTAIN THIS PROCESS, TO CONSOLIDATE THE GAINS MADE AND TO EVENTUALLY UNDERWRITE THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR THE COUNTRY.

BUT WHATEVER ONE MAY SAY ABOUT THE DEBATE ON SANCTIONS, TIME HAS COME FOR AFRICA TO RESEIZE THE INITIATIVE AND DICTATE THE PACE INSTEAD OF REACTING TO THE AGENDA OF OTHERS. WE SHOULD REASSESS THE SITUATION AND SEE WHETHER, INDEED, WE NEED A REVIEW OF POLICY AND WHETHER THE NECESSITY OF SANCTIONS HAS WANED OR NOT. TO REMAIN AMBIVALENT IN OUR WORDS AND DEEDS WILL ONLY GIVE SOLACE AND CREDENCE TO THE DETRACTORS OF AFRICA'S FREEDOM AND FURTHER DIVIDE OUR RANKS. WHATEVER EMERGES OUT OF THIS REEVALUATION, IT WOULD BE TRAGIC IF, TACITLY OR BY IMPLICATION, AFRICA WERE TO BE SEEN AS CONTRIBUTING TO UNDERMINING THE



INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS AGAINST APARTHEID. BY LOGIC OF THE SAME ARGUMENT, WE SHOULD NOT BE SEEN TO BE OBLIVIOUS TO CHANGE AND POSSIBLY MISS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR CONSTRUCTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN THE EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS NOW UNDER WAY IN SOUTH AFRICA. ULTIMATELY, WHAT WE NEED IS UNITY OF ACTION AND ONE VOICE. WHICHEVER COURSE OF ACTION WE TAKE, IT MUST BE A COMMON ONE, ARRIVED AT COLLECTIVELY.

MR CHAIRMAN,

AS THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA YEARN FOR PEACE, THEIR BRETHREN IN PALESTINE YEARN FOR A HOMELAND AS THEY DO ALSO FOR PEACE. THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO TRAMPLE UNDERFOOT THE PALESTINIAN RIGHTS IN TOTAL DEFIANCE AND DISREGARD FOR INTERNATIONAL OPINION. I REMAIN CONCERNED THAT, AS ISRAEL PERSISTS IN ITS OCCUPATION OF PALESTINIAN TERRITORY AS WELL AS ARAB LANDS AND PROGRESSES WITH THE ALTERATION OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION OF THESE LANDS THROUGH ESTABLISHING NEW SETTLEMENTS, IT WILL ONLY WORSEN AN ALREADY EXPLOSIVE SITUATION. WE CALL FOR URGENT INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO ELABORATE A POLITICAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH THE PALESTINIAN AND MIDDLE-EAST PROBLEMS CAN BE COMPREHENSIVELY DEALT WITH. FOR ULTIMATELY, A STABLE AND LASTING SOLUTION DOES NOT LIE IN AGGRESSION AND OCCUPATION BUT IN A POLITICAL FRAMEWORK WHICH RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT OF ALL STATES IN THE REGION TO EXIST WITHIN SECURE AND INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED BORDERS. IT MUST ALSO BE ONE WHICH, AT THE SAME TIME, REFUSES TO ACQUIESCE IN AGGRESSION AND RECOGNIZES THE RIGHTS OF

THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO SELF DETERMINATION INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO A HOMELAND. TO THIS END, WE CONTINUE TO URGE FINALIZATION OF THE CONSULTATIONS AND THE PAVING OF THE WAY FOR THE CONVENING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE-EAST.

MR CHAIRMAN,

THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA AND THOSE IN THE ARAB WORLD ARE INEXTRICABLY LINKED BY BLOOD, HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND THOUSANDS OF YEARS OF INTERACTION. THESE BONDS FOUNDED ON THE MUTUALITY OF INTERESTS HAVE BEEN SUSTAINED BY STRONG SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE TWO PEOPLES OVER THE CENTURIES. AT THIS JUNCTURE IN HISTORY, THIS SOLIDARITY IS ALL THE MORE NEEDED TO SUSTAIN THOSE BONDS AND TO FORGE UNITY AND COMMON INTERESTS. STRONGER AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION MUST BE THE MANIFESTATION OF THAT SOLIDARITY. ACCORDINGLY, WE INTEND TO PURSUE VIGOROUSLY THOSE OF OUR COMMON PROGRAMS WITH THE ARAB LEAGUE WHICH ARE IN PROCESS. I WOULD LIKE TO SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXTEND MY CONGRATULATIONS TO DR ESMAT ABDEL-MAGUID, THE NEWLY ELECTED SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES. WITH THIS ELECTION AND THE EFFORTS AT RECONCILIATION AMONG THE MEMBER STATES OF THE ARAB LEAGUE, IT IS OUR INTENTION TO PURSUE VIGOROUSLY OUR RELATIONS OF COOPERATION WITH THE LEAGUE. MOREOVER AND WITH THE TRANSFER OF THE ARAB LEAGUE BACK TO CAIRO, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT HAS BEGUN ARRANGEMENTS TO SHIFT OUR EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT TO THE ARAB LEAGUE TO CAIRO AS WELL.

MR CHAIRMAN,  
EXCELLENCIES,  
DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES,

WE HAVE COME TO ABUJA FOR A RENDEZ-VOUS WITH HISTORY. TEN YEARS AGO IN LAGOS, AFRICA ADOPTED THE LAGOS PLAN OF ACTION AND ITS FINAL ACT. IN 1980, OUR MEMBER STATES COMMITTED THEMSELVES, INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY, TO THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE. IT WAS A COMMITMENT TO STRENGTHEN THE EXISTING REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES AND TO CREATE NEW ONES WHERE THEY DO NOT EXIST SO AS TO PAVE THE WAY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. THE TREATY, WHICH WILL BE SIGNED, IS A CLEAR DEMONSTRATION OF THE FULFILLMENT OF THESE COMMITMENTS. IT CONSTITUTES AN EMBODIMENT OF THE POLITICAL WILL TO COOPERATE THAT IS REQUIRED IN ORDER TO REALIZE THE OBJECTIVES WHICH THE OAU MEMBER STATES SET FOR THEMSELVES TO ATTAIN DURING THE 1990s. THIS IS A SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT FOR THE OAU. IT IS AN IMPORTANT LEAP INTO THE 1990s PARTICULARLY SINCE THE IMPERATIVES OF CURRENT FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES AND DEVELOPMENTS WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE IN THE WORLD REQUIRE OF US TO RELAUNCH OUR COLLECTIVE POLITICAL RESOLVE IN ORDER TO SURVIVE THE UNDER-CURRENTS OF THE ECONOMIC DOLDRUMS OF OUR CONTINENT.

SINCE FEBRUARY, THIS YEAR, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT HAS CONTINUED WITH THE WORK ON THE DRAFT TREATY ESTABLISHING THE COMMUNITY BEFORE ITS SUBMISSION TO OUR HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT. IN ADDITION, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT CONTINUED TO



CARRY OUT DESK RESEARCH ON THE STUDIES RELATING TO THE VARIOUS PROTOCOLS WHICH SHALL BE ANNEXED TO THE TREATY. THIS IS A MAJOR EXERCISE WHICH REQUIRES IN-DEPTH STUDIES AND RESEARCH BOTH AT THE DESK AND IN THE FIELD. I AM GLAD TO REPORT, MR CHAIRMAN, THAT WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE UNDP, AND TOGETHER WITH THE COOPERATING SECRETARIATS OF THE ECA AND ADB, WE HAVE NOW RECRUITED A TEAM OF CONSULTANTS WHOM WE HAVE FIELDDED OUT AND WHO ARE CURRENTLY VISITING THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES AND THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN EACH OF THE REGIONS. THE TEAM OF CONSULTANTS WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY THEIR COUNTERPARTS FROM THE OAU, ECA AND ADB SECRETARIATS. THEY WILL COLLECT THE DATA WHICH IS RELEVANT TO THE TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THEIR STUDIES. WE HAVE, IN ADDITION, ASKED THE CONSULTANTS TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH GOVERNMENTS OF THE REGION IN ORDER TO GET THEIR VIEWS. FOLLOWING THE OUTCOME OF THEIR STUDIES AND CONSULTATIONS, IT IS EXPECTED THAT THEY WILL PREPARE A COMPREHENSIVE DRAFT PROTOCOL ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FUTURE COMMUNITY AND THE REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROUPINGS.

AS ENVISAGED, SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES OF THE COMMUNITY SHALL CONSIST, FIRST AND FOREMOST, OF STRENGTHENING, HARMONISING AND COORDINATING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE EXISTING REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES. THEY WILL, IN ADDITION, STUDY AND RECOMMEND THE MODALITIES FOR THE RATIONALIZATION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF OTHER INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN EACH OF THE REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES SUCH AS : THE ECONOMIC

COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS), THE PREFERENTIAL TRADE AREA FOR EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA (PTA), THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES (ECCAS) AND THE ARAB MAHGREB UNION. THESE AND OTHER RELATED STUDIES WILL BE SUBMITTED TO COUNCIL THROUGH THE PERMANENT STEERING COMMITTEE DURING THE THIRD QUARTER OF THIS YEAR.

MR CHAIRMAN,

DURING THE FIFTY-THIRD SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, I REPORTED ABOUT THE PREPARATORY ARRANGEMENTS FOR HOLDING A HIGH-LEVEL MEETING ON THE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE OAU AND THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM. I AM NOW PLEASED TO INFORM THE COUNCIL THAT THE MEETING WAS HELD IN ADDIS ABABA, FROM 2-5 APRIL 1991. THE REPORT OF THIS MEETING IS CONTAINED IN A DOCUMENT BEFORE THE COUNCIL. THE MEETING RECOMMENDED A NUMBER OF MEASURES WHICH WILL ENSURE CLOSER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS AND PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS THE UN SUPPORT TO OAU'S EFFORTS TO BUILD THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. IN THIS CONNECTION, IT WAS AGREED THAT THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM-WIDE ORGANIZATION AND ITS AGENCIES WILL TAKE DUE ACCOUNT OF OAU'S PRIORITIES AND REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY IN PREPARING THEIR RESPECTIVE WORK PROGRAMMES. THE UN SYSTEM WILL, IN ADDITION, ASSIST THE OAU IN VARIOUS OTHER SECTORAL ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE, ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AS WELL AS IN DEALING WITH THE QUESTION OF REFUGEES, DISPLACED PERSONS AND EMERGENCY SITUATIONS.

MR CHAIRMAN,

I WOULD LIKE TO SINGLE OUT AN IMPORTANT AREA OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE OAU AND THE UNDP, AT A TIME WHEN THE UNDP IS CURRENTLY INVOLVED IN THE PREPARATION OF ITS FIFTH PROGRAMME CYCLE FOR THE PERIOD 1991-1996. THE OAU GENERAL SECRETARIAT HAS TAKEN KEEN INTEREST IN THE WORK OF THE UNDP ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS ITS REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT COMPONENTS OF ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA. IT IS IN THIS CONNECTION THAT THE OAU PARTICIPATED IN THE PREPARATORY MEETING OF THE UN AGENCIES AND AFRICAN INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH WAS HELD IN ABIDJAN, IN FEBRUARY THIS YEAR. THE OAU UNDERLINED THE NEED FOR THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS AGENCIES TO COOPERATE WITH THE OAU IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE RATIONALIZATION, COORDINATION AND PROGRAMMING OF UN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO AFRICAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION GROUPINGS WITHIN THE CONTEXT AND FRAMEWORK OF THE TREATY ESTABLISHING THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW-UP THIS MATTER SO THAT UNDP DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO THE REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES AND TO THE OAU SHALL BE ALIGNED WITH THE NEED TO SUPPORT THE PROGRAMMES RELATED TO INTEGRATION.

LAST YEAR, I SPOKE OF THE UNDP SPONSORED PROJECT TO IMPROVE THE SERVICES AND FUNCTIONING OF THE PRINTING UNIT. YOUR EXCELLENCIES WILL HAVE NOTICED A MARKED IMPROVEMENT IN THE QUALITY OF PRINT IN THE DOCUMENTS BEFORE YOU. THIS IS A RESULT OF THE COMPUTERIZATION OF THE PRINTING UNIT AND COMPLETION OF



THE INSTALLATION OF THE PLANT. THE UNIT IS NOW IN FULL OPERATION AND WAS OFFICIALLY COMMISSIONED ON 20 MAY THIS YEAR. I WISH, ONCE AGAIN, TO THANK THE UNDP FOR THIS AND THE CONTINUING ASSISTANCE IN OTHER AREAS, ESPECIALLY THE COMPUTERIZATION AND THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE MANAGERIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SKILLS OF THE STAFF OF THE ORGANIZATION.

IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION ISSUES, I HAVE ALREADY REPORTED ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNIT ON POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE SECRETARIAT. THE UNIT IS NOW PREPARING THE GROUNDWORK INCLUDING CONSULTATIONS WITH RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN ORDER TO CONVENE THE FIRST SESSION OF THE OAU POPULATION COMMISSION IN THE SECOND HALF OF THIS YEAR. WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT IS WORKING VERY CLOSELY WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN TRADE UNION UNITY (CATUU), THE PAN-AFRICAN EMPLOYER'S CONFEDERATION (PAEC), THE EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE (ESAMI) AND THE ILO IN ORDER TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES FOR SETTING UP REGIONAL PRODUCTIVITY CENTRES. THESE, IT IS HOPED, WILL BE EVENTUALLY MERGED INTO AN AFRICAN CENTRE FOR MANAGEMENT, PRODUCTIVITY AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP DEVELOPMENT, SUPPORTING DIRECTLY THE INTEGRATION PROCESS.

MR CHAIRMAN,

THE SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY AND THE CONSEQUENT FUSION

OF THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY WITH THE OAU WILL, OF COURSE, ENTAIL FUNDAMENTAL REVIEW OF THE SECRETARIAT IN TERMS OF ITS AGENDA, MANDATE AND STRUCTURE. IT WILL REQUIRE A RE-APPRAISAL OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE EXISTING INSTITUTIONAL SET-UP WITHIN THE SECRETARIAT AND A RE-ASSESSMENT OF THE HUMAN RESOURCE CAPACITY NOW AVAILABLE SO AS TO SEE ITS POTENTIAL IN DEALING WITH THE NEW CHALLENGES BEFORE THE ORGANIZATION. APART FROM THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY MATTERS, IT WILL BE NECESSARY, IN ADDITION, TO TAKE COGNIZANCE OF THE NEW PERSPECTIVES EMERGING IN AFRICA AND WHICH THE OAU WILL HAVE TO ADDRESS. I HAVE IN MIND HERE THE NEW ISSUES SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS, ENVIRONMENT, CONFLICT RESOLUTION, DEMOCRATIZATION AND OTHERS, WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH COMPREHENSIVELY IF THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY IS TO TAKE-OFF AND FUNCTION. IN THIS EXERCISE OF APPRAISAL, I REALIZE THAT THERE ARE THOSE RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH REST WITHIN THE COMPETENCE OF MEMBER STATES AND THOSE WHICH ARE FOR THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT. AT OUR LEVEL, WE HAVE BEGUN TO THINK LOUD ON HOW WE SEE THE FUTURE OAU WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THESE NEW CHALLENGES AND THE KIND OF MANPOWER, INSTITUTIONAL AND STRUCTURAL REFORMS OR ADJUSTMENTS WHICH WILL BE REQUIRED. FOR THIS PURPOSE, I HAVE SET UP A TASK FORCE ON THE FUTURE ROLE AND STRUCTURE OF THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT TO STUDY AND ADVISE ON HOW THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT SEES AND SITUATES ITSELF WITHIN THE NEW IMPERATIVES. THE FULL REPORT ON THE MATTER WILL, SUBSEQUENTLY, BE SUBMITTED TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

MR CHAIRMAN,

AFRICA IS INCREASINGLY AFFLICTED BY THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE DEGRADATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT. THE SURVIVAL OF AFRICA WILL DEPEND UPON HER ABILITY TO REVERSE THE CURRENT TREND OF DEGRADATION OF THE CONTINENT'S NATURAL RESOURCES AND LIFE SUPPORT SYSTEM AND CLEANING UP OF OUR URBAN CENTRES. POOR HEALTH PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF POOR SANITATION, WATER POLLUTION, DEFORESTATION, POOR LAND HUSBANDRY AND OTHER THREATS TO ENVIRONMENTAL STABILITY ARE LINKED TO POVERTY AND UNDER-DEVELOPMENT. THE EFFORTS TO SAFEGUARD OUR ENVIRONMENT WILL, THEREFORE, BE MEANINGFUL IF THEY ARE LINKED TO THE WHOLE QUESTION OF DEVELOPMENT.

IT WILL ALSO BE NECESSARY TO ENSURE THAT THE PRESERVATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT IS RECOGNIZED AS A KEY COMPONENT OF DEVELOPMENT AND INTEGRATED IN OUR RESPECTIVE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND PROGRAMS. BUT A SUSTAINABLE ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY MUST BE ONE WHICH PROMOTES GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT AND PLACES, AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE COMMON MAN IN AFRICA, VIABLE OPTIONS. THESE VIABLE OPTIONS SUCH AS ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ENERGY, BETTER FARMING METHODS, PRESERVING THE BALANCE OF THE ECOSYSTEM WITH IMPROVED YIELDS ARE ALL POSSIBLE ONLY WITH DEVELOPMENT. THIS, THEREFORE, MAKES IT IMPERATIVE THAT, AS AFRICA PREPARES FOR THE BRAZIL ENVIRONMENT CONFERENCE IN 1992, ACCENT SHOULD BE PUT ON THE DUAL APPROACH OF AFRICA TO THE ISSUE OF PRESERVING THE ENVIRONMENT. IT MUST BE LINKED WITH THE



ELIMINATION OF GLOBAL POVERTY AND TO DEVELOPMENT GENERALLY. TO SUSTAIN THIS POSITION IN THE FACE OF SO MUCH LIKELY OPPOSITION, WE MUST FIRM UP OUR PREPARATION OF A COMMON POSITION AS A GROUP AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

WITH THE ADOPTION OF THE BAMAKO COMMITMENT ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT THIS JANUARY, AFRICA HAS BEGUN ON THE RIGHT COURSE OF LINKING ENVIRONMENT TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT. ALSO, THE ADOPTION OF THE BAMAKO CONVENTION ON THE BANNING OF THE IMPORT OF HAZARDOUS WASTES INTO AFRICA AND THE CONTROL OF THEIR TRANSBOUNDARY MOVEMENT WAS A MILESTONE IN THE EFFORTS TO STEM THE POLLUTION OF OUR ENVIRONMENT. I, THEREFORE, URGE THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE NOT SIGNED THE CONVENTION TO DO SO AND THOSE WHICH HAVE DONE SO TO DEPOSIT THEIR INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

MR CHAIRMAN,

LAST YEAR, I REPORTED ON MY CONSULTATIVE VISITS TO MEMBER STATES. IN THE COURSE OF THE PAST YEAR, I HAVE CONTINUED WITH THESE VISITS. I HAVE FOUND THEM TO BE INVALUABLE IN AFFORDING ME NOT ONLY THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT WITH THE LEADERSHIP BUT ALSO TO SEE THE COUNTRIES AND THE PEOPLE : TO SEE, AT CLOSER RANGE, THEIR PROBLEMS AND APPRECIATE THEIR EFFORTS. THESE VISITS, WHICH HAVE SO FAR TAKEN ME TO THIRTY FIVE COUNTRIES, HAVE SHOWN ME THE FULL MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEMS AND THEIR COMMONALITY TO AFRICA.

THIS HAS, IN TURN, REINFORCED MY CONVICTION THAT, GIVEN THE COMMON NATURE OF OUR PROBLEMS, AFRICA CAN SOLVE THEM ONLY THROUGH A COMMON, INTEGRATED APPROACH. I AM HAPPY TO SAY THAT THIS, I FOUND ALSO, TO BE THE VIEW COMMONLY HELD BY ALL THE LEADERS I WAS PRIVILEGED TO MEET.

IN MARCH, THIS YEAR, I PAID VISITS TO THE COMOROS, MAURITIUS, KENYA AND SEYCHELLES. IN ALL THESE COUNTRIES, I WAS ABLE TO CONSULT WITH PRESIDENT DJOHAR, PRIME MINISTER ANEEROOD JUGNAUTH, PRESIDENTS MOI AND RENE RESPECTIVELY ON THE SITUATION IN AFRICA AND THE WORLD AT LARGE AND WHAT THE OAU CAN DO TO FACE THE MULTIPLICITY OF CHALLENGES BEFORE OUR CONTINENT. I BENEFITED GREATLY FROM THEIR WISE COUNSEL I ALSO HELD LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MINISTERS AND TOP OFFICIALS OF THESE COUNTRIES. IN THE THREE INDIAN OCEAN STATES, I WAS ENCOURAGED BY THEIR DETERMINED EFFORTS TO CONSOLIDATE THE BONDS WHICH LINK THEM TO MAINLAND AFRICA AND JOINTLY WITH MADAGASCAR TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE PTA THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION OF INDIAN OCEAN STATES. I URGED THEM TO BRING MAINLAND AFRICA INTO EVEN GREATER FOCUS IN THE ISLANDS.

IN COMOROS, IN PARTICULAR, I APPRECIATED THE EFFORTS OF THE PEOPLE STRUGGLING TO SHIRK THE LEGACY OF MERCENARISM AND STEADILY BUILDING IN ITS PLACE THE FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC RULE. I LEFT ENCOURAGED BY THE PROGRESS MADE SO FAR AND CONFIDENT THAT COMOROS IS FINDING HER FEET AGAIN AND ON THE ROAD TO NATIONAL UNITY AND CONSOLIDATING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. DURING MY TRIP

TO THE COMOROS, THE ISSUE OF MAYOTTE WAS BROUGHT TO MY ATTENTION BY THE COMORIAN LEADERSHIP. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO REPORT THAT THE OPPOSITION LEADERS, WHOM I WAS ABLE TO MEET, ALSO INSISTED ON THE COMORIAN SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE RESTORATION OF THE ISLAND OF MAYOTTE. THIS IS EVIDENCE OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PEOPLE OF THE COMOROS ARE UNITED OVER THIS ISSUE. THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON MAYOTTE WILL CONVENE, IN THE COURSE OF THIS SESSION OF COUNCIL, TO CONSIDER THIS ISSUE. IT IS MY HOPE, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE NEW CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE WORLD, THAT GREATER COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING WILL BE DEMONSTRATED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE SO THAT THE ISSUE OF THE RETURN OF MAYOTTE TO COMOROS CAN BE RESOLVED.

IN APRIL, I PAID A VISIT TO BURUNDI WHERE, IN ADDITION TO MEETING AND HOLDING CONSULTATIONS WITH PRESIDENT BUYOYA AND MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT, I WAS ABLE TO ATTEND THE DONORS CONFERENCE ON THE REPATRIATION AND RESETTLEMENT OF BURUNDI REFUGEES. DURING MY VISIT THERE, I WAS MUCH INSPIRED BY THE POLITICAL COURAGE DEMONSTRATED BY THE LEADERSHIP IN PUTTING AN END TO DIVISIVE POLITICS AND DETERMINING TO PURSUE VIGOROUSLY THE ROAD OF UNITY AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AMONG ITS PEOPLE. IF THE PROGRAM OF REPATRIATING THE REFUGEES IS FINALLY SUCCESSFUL, WE WILL HAVE BEGUN TO WRITE A NEW POLITICAL CHAPTER IN OUR HISTORY AS A PEOPLE. BURUNDI WILL, OF COURSE, NEED FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO HANDLE THE REPATRIATION AND RESETTLEMENT OF THE RETURNEES.



MR CHAIRMAN,

IN MY LAST YEAR ADDRESS, I SPOKE OF THE EFFORTS WE ARE DEPLOYING TO REGULARIZE THE RECRUITMENT AND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEMS WITHIN THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT. WITH THE ADOPTION OF THE NEW STAFF RULES AND REGULATIONS, WE HAVE CONTINUED TO SEEK BETTER METHODS OF RECRUITMENT, PLACING EMPHASIS ON PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE AND ON THE NEED TO GRADUALLY EFFECT GREATER BALANCE OF REPRESENTATION OF MEMBER STATES. INTERNALLY, WE HAVE MANAGED TO IDENTIFY POSTS FOR INTERNAL PROMOTION AND PERSONNEL MOVEMENTS AS A MEANS OF BETTER UTILIZATION OF THE MANPOWER WE HAVE. GREATER EFFICIENCY AND RATIONAL UTILIZATION OF THE HUMAN RESOURCES WILL NATURALLY IMPACT POSITIVELY ON SAVINGS.

WHILE WE ENDEAVOUR TO DEMAND EFFICIENCY ON THE PART OF THE STAFF, WE INTEND TO COUPLE IT WITH IMPROVED WORKING CONDITIONS INCLUDING REMUNERATIONS. THIS IS INESCAPABLE IF, AS AN ORGANIZATION, OAU WILL BE ABLE TO ATTRACT NEW AND HIGHLY MOTIVATED TALENT OR RETAIN THOSE ALREADY EMPLOYED. THIS IS MADE ALL THE MORE URGENT BY THE NEW CHALLENGES WHICH WE ARE GOING TO FACE. IF WE ARE TO FULLY HANDLE THE CHALLENGES OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND OTHERS, WE WILL CERTAINLY REQUIRE A VERY HIGH CALIBRE OF STAFF, HIGHLY COMPETENT AND MOTIVATED AND NATURALLY PROPERLY REMUNARATED.

MR CHAIRMAN,

CONFLICTS BEAR DIRECTLY ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATE OF THE CONTINENT. THE PHENOMENON OF REFUGEES, EXTREME POVERTY AND SOCIAL UP-HEAVALS ARE INVERSELY PROPORTIONAL TO THE STATE AND LEVEL OF CONFLICTS IN MANY OF OUR COUNTRIES. AS WE EMBARK ON THE NEW PHASE OF ECONOMIC LIBERATION, WE MUST, IN ADDITION TO CONSOLIDATING OUR MANY GAINS, ALSO LIBERATE OUR ENERGIES AND RESOURCES NOW LOCKED IN WASTEFUL CONFLICTS THAT AFFLICT OUR CONTINENT. WE CAN BE ABLE TO DO SO IF WE ESTABLISH A SYNERGY IN OUR EFFORTS AND STRATEGIES GENERALLY. WE MUST LINK STRATEGIES AND PROCESSES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WITH THOSE OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PURSUE THEM IN TANDEM. WE MUST ACCEPT THAT, IF CONFLICTS ON OUR CONTINENT SEEM ENDEMIC AND HAVE CONSISTENTLY DEFIED SOLUTION, IT IS NOT TO SAY, THEREFORE, THAT THEY ARE INFINITELY INTRACTABLE. RATHER IT IS TO SAY THAT THERE HAVE BEEN DEFICIENCIES EITHER IN THE REALM OF POLITICAL UNDERTAKINGS AND COMMITMENTS ON THE PART OF MEMBER STATES OR IN THE MECHANISMS AVAILABLE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION.

THERE IS, THEREFORE, AN URGENT NEED FOR A NEW OUTLOOK. THIS OUTLOOK MUST ENTAIL A DEEP RETHINKING ON THE POLITICAL PRIORITY WE GIVE TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND THE MEANS WE PLACE AT ITS DISPOSAL. THIS OUTLOOK MUST EQUALLY INVOLVE IMAGINATION AND DYNAMIC APPROACH TO THE ISSUE AS A WHOLE. IT MUST INVOLVE BOLD INITIATIVES. THE DECISION TAKEN BY THIS DISTINGUISHED COUNCIL, LAST FEBRUARY; TO SET ASIDE TOKEN FINANCIAL APPROPRIATION IN THE

BUDGET TO FUND EFFORTS AT CONFLICT RESOLUTION WAS A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL STATEMENT. WHILE THE MONEY WILL FUND SECRETARIAT ACTIVITIES IN THIS RESPECT, THE NEED FOR A MECHANISM - MORE ELABORATE AND MORE EMPOWERED TO DEAL WITH CONFLICT RESOLUTION - REMAINS AN IMPERATIVE WHICH NEEDS YOUR CONSIDERATION IN DUE COURSE.

MR CHAIRMAN,

THIS COUNCIL IS MEETING AT A CRUCIAL JUNCTURE IN THE HISTORY OF OUR CONTINENT AND THE WORLD AS A WHOLE. WE ARE MEETING AT A TIME WHEN A NEW WORLD ORDER IS EMERGING. THE POLITICS OF COLD WAR HAVE GIVEN WAY TO COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. EASTERN EUROPE IS UNDERGOING FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE. WE ARE ALREADY SEEING SOME INDICATIONS OF WHAT THIS NEW WORLD ORDER WILL LOOK LIKE. THE RECENT WAR IN THE GULF AND ITS ONGOING REPERCUSSIONS BEAR IMPORTANT LESSONS. BUT THE CHALLENGE BEFORE THIS COUNCIL IS TO SEE WHAT ROLE AFRICA WILL PLAY IN THE FASHIONING OF THE NEW WORLD ORDER. WE MUST INSIST THAT, WHATEVER EMERGES EVENTUALLY, IT MUST BE AN ORDER HINGED ON LEGALITY AND THE SCRUPULOUS RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. IT MUST BE AN ORDER WHICH RECOGNIZES THE INDIVISIBILITY OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY AND ONE WHICH WILL CHALLENGE THE WORLD TO GENUINE INTERDEPENDENCE. AFRICA MUST BE PERMITTED TO BENEFIT FROM THE IMPROVED INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL CLIMATE. A PEACE DIVIDEND ACCRUING FROM THIS NEW ORDER MUST BE A COMMITMENT OF THE WORLD, IN PARTICULAR OF THE



DEVELOPED ECONOMIC NORTH, TO THE ERADICATION OF POVERTY.

BUT FOR AFRICA TO ENJOY THE FULL BENEFITS OF THIS NEW EMERGING ORDER, IT MUST BE PREPARED TO RESEIZE THE INITIATIVE AND PROVE TO THE WORLD THAT WE ARE COMMITTED AND READY TO DEPLOY OUR FULL ENERGIES AND RESOURCES TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND TO A UNITED ASSAULT ON POVERTY AND UNDER-DEVELOPMENT.

MR CHAIRMAN,

IN MY REPORT ON THE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE WORLD AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS TO AFRICA TABLED BEFORE THE SUMMIT LAST YEAR, I TALKED OF THE IMPERATIVES AND CHALLENGES BEFORE AFRICA. I TALKED OF THE URGENT NEED FOR AFRICA TO RESPOND TO THE CHALLENGE OF WORKING TOGETHER. A KEY ELEMENT IN AN AFRICAN RESPONSE TO THESE CHANGES, I SAW TO BE OUR UNITY AND COLLECTIVE ACTION. THE ANTICIPATED SIGNING OF THE TREATY ESTABLISHING THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY SUBSUMES THAT SPIRIT AND EMBODIES AFRICA'S RESOLVE TO RISE TO THE CHALLENGE OF COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE. IT HAS BEEN A LONG JOURNEY OF TEN YEARS SINCE THE ADOPTION OF THE LAGOS PLAN OF ACTION AND THE FINAL ACT. WHAT THE TREATY REPRESENTS IS NOT ONLY A FRAMEWORK FOR COOPERATION OR SIMPLY A MECHANISM FOR INTEGRATION OR JUST A BLUE PRINT FOR COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE. INDEED, IT IS ALL THESE. BUT ABOVE ALL, ITS SIGNATURE WILL BE A STATEMENT OF SOLEMN POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO WORK TOGETHER, TO PULL TOGETHER. IT WILL BE A COMMITMENT TO

END CONFLICTS, TO PUT AN END TO THE SCOURGE OF REFUGEES, TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO ENCOURAGE FURTHER DEMOCRATIZATION. FOR ONLY THEN CAN THE BUILDING OF THE COMMUNITY STAND A CHANCE. THE WORLD WILL BE WATCHING TO SEE AFRICA EMERGE TRIUMPHANT. CERTAINLY, AFRICA CANNOT AFFORD ANOTHER MISSED CHANCE. I REMAIN VERY OPTIMISTIC THAT AFRICA WILL RISE TO THE CHALLENGE AND CONFOUND THE SCEPTICS. THIS IS OUR CHALLENGE AND WE HAVE THE ABILITY, THE WILL AND RESOURCES TO DO IT.

I THANK YOU.