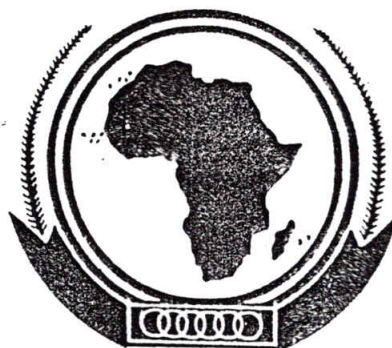


ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

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CM/1633 (LIII)
PART I

FIFTY-THIRD ORDINARY SESSION OF THE
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE OF THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL

Addis Ababa, ETHIOPIA

26 February, 1991

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Fifty-third Ordinary Session

25 February - 1 March, 1991

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

CM/1633 (LIII)
PART I

INTRODUCTORY NOTE OF THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL

MR CHAIRMAN,
HONOURABLE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL,
EXCELLENCIES,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

WHEN THIS COUNCIL ADJOURNED LAST JULY, NO ONE, EVEN IN THE WILDEST IMAGINATION, WOULD HAVE THOUGHT POSSIBLE THE EVENTS WHICH PRECIPITATED THE CURRENT GULF WAR WITH ITS ATTENDANT CONSIDERABLE LOSS OF HUMAN LIFE AND MASSIVE DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY.

FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE CRISIS, THE OAU GENERAL SECRETARIAT ISSUED A STATEMENT ON AUGUST 3 DEPLORING THE INVASION OF KUWAIT BY IRAQ AND APPEALED TO IRAQ TO WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS FROM KUWAIT. IN ISSUING THIS STATEMENT, WE WERE GUIDED BY THE OAU PRINCIPLES UNDERLINING THE SCRUPULOUS RESPECT FOR THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF NATIONS AND THE INADMISSIBILITY OF RESORTING TO FORCE TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES, MISUNDERSTANDING AND DISPUTES AMONG NATIONS. SUBSEQUENT TO THIS STATEMENT, I CONTINUED TO FOLLOW THE SITUATION VERY CLOSELY.

AS THE CRISIS FURTHER DEEPENED WITH MILITARY ACTION AGAINST IRAQ BY THE COALITION FORCES, I EXPRESSED MY DEEP CONCERN OVER THE DEVASTATING CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR AND ITS FAR-REACHING IMPLICATIONS ON THE STABILITY AND SECURITY OF THE REGION AND THE WORLD AT LARGE. I DID SO IN MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENTS AND MINISTERS DURING MY TRAVELS AND IN MEETINGS WITH THE AMBASSADORS, AFRICAN AND NON-AFRICAN, ACCREDITED TO THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA.

IN CONJUNCTION WITH H.E. MR YOWERI KAGUTA MUSEVENI, PRESIDENT OF UGANDA AND CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU, WE ADDRESSED TWO SEPARATE AND SOLEMN APPEALS, ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE AND COUNTRIES OF AFRICA, TO PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN OF IRAQ AND PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WE APPEALED TO PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN TO ACCEPT TO WITHDRAW IRAQI TROOPS FROM KUWAIT IN ACCORDANCE WITH RELEVANT UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS AND TO PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH NOT TO SPARE ANY EFFORT AT THE SLIGHTEST OPPORTUNITY TO GIVE PEACE ANOTHER CHANCE.

IN THESE APPEALS, WE EXPRESSED OUR PROFOUND PREOCCUPATION WITH THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION AND CALLED FOR A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IN ORDER TO AVOID FURTHER LOSS OF LIVES AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY AND INFRASTRUCTURE. PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH REPLIED TO OUR LETTER ON 24 JANUARY IN WHICH HE REITERATED THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES AND COALITION PARTNERS THAT THE WAY TO END THE WAR LAY IN IRAQ'S IMMEDIATE AND COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF IRAQI TROOPS FROM KUWAIT. THE PRESIDENT ALSO STATED THAT, WHEN IRAQ COMPLIES WITH ALL RELEVANT UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS, PEACE CAN BE RESTORED.

I HAVE ALSO SENT MESSAGES TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. AND I HAVE BEEN IN COMMUNICATION WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL.

THE OAU AD-HOC COMMITTEE OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, AT ITS SIXTH ORDINARY SESSION ON 7 FEBRUARY, 1991, IN HARARE, ZIMBABWE, REVIEWED THE GRAVE SITUATION IN THE GULF, REGRETTED THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF THE ONGOING CONFLICT, IN PARTICULAR THE IMPACT ON THE DEFENCELESS CHILDREN, WOMEN AND OTHER VULNERABLE GROUPS AND CALLED FOR THE INTENSIFICATION OF EFFORTS TO PROVIDE EMERGENCY HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO ALL POPULATION AFFECTED BY THE ARMED CONFLICT THE SUMMIT ALSO COMMENDED THE EFFORTS OF THOSE COUNTRIES, ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS TRYING TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT.

OUR MAJOR CONCERN HAS BEEN TO SEE AN END TO THIS CONFLICT. AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE ALL ALONG BEEN VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT SUCH AN END IS ONLY REALISTICALLY FEASIBLE WHEN THE ORIGINAL CAUSE OF THE CRISIS IS ADDRESSED - THUS, OUR CONSISTENT AFFIRMATION FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF IRAQI TROOPS FROM KUWAIT AND THE RESTORATION OF KUWAIT'S SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. AND THAT IS WHY IN OUR APPEAL OF 21 JANUARY, 1991, TO PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN, WE URGED HIM TO ACCEPT THE WITHDRAWAL OF IRAQI FORCES FROM KUWAIT. WE, THEREFORE, TOOK NOTE, WITH KEEN INTEREST AND GUARDED OPTIMISM, IRAQ'S ANNOUNCEMENT ON 15 FEBRUARY OF ITS PREPAREDNESS TO IMPLEMENT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 660(1990). OUR CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM WAS BASED ON THE FACT THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME, SINCE THE GULF CRISIS BEGAN WITH THE INVASION OF KUWAIT ON 2 AUGUST, THAT THE IRAQI LEADERSHIP ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF WITHDRAWAL, NOTWITHSTANDING THE FACT THAT THE

ANNOUNCEMENT HAD OTHER CONDITIONS. WE CONTINUED TO HOPE FOR A MORE POSITIVE EVOLUTION OF THE SITUATION AND WERE ENCOURAGED WHEN, ON 22 FEBRUARY, IRAQ ACCEPTED PRESIDENT GORBACHEV'S PEACE PLAN WHICH, ABOVE ALL, PROVIDED FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF IRAQI FORCES FROM KUWAIT IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 660(1990). CLEARLY, THERE WERE STILL ISSUES TO BE CLARIFIED, INCLUDING MATTERS PERTAINING TO MODALITIES FOR WITHDRAWAL. BUT WE FELT THAT AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF PEACE, BASED ON INTERNATIONAL LEGALITY, HAD BEEN TAKEN. WE, THUS, LOOKED FORWARD TO AN INTENSIFICATION OF DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO SECURE A DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT. IT IS A MATTER OF REGRET THAT MATTERS HAVE NOT TURNED THAT WAY. WE ARE NOW CONFRONTED WITH AN ALL OUT GROUND WAR WITH ATTENDANT SUFFERING, DEATH AND DESTRUCTION. EVEN AT THIS VERY LATE HOUR, WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT AN END SHALL BE PUT TO THE WAR, KUWAIT'S SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY RESTORED, IRAQ AND ITS PEOPLE, AS WELL AS KUWAIT AND ITS PEOPLE, SPARED FURTHER AGONY AND DEATH. OUR HOPE IS ALSO BASED ON THE NO LESS URGENT DESIRE TO AVOID INJURY AND DEATH TO SOME OF THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO CONSTITUTE THE COALITION FORCES.

MR CHAIRMAN,

IN VIEW OF THE MAGNITUDE AND DIMENSION OF THE CURRENT WAR IN THE GULF, IT IS ONLY LOGICAL THAT I SHOULD HAVE STARTED MY REMARKS WITH THIS TRAGIC CONFLICT. CLEARLY, WE HAVE YET TO BE

IN A POSITION TO PROPERLY EVALUATE THE LASTING REPERCUSSIONS AND RAMIFICATIONS OF THE CONFLICT FOR WORLD STABILITY AND SECURITY AS WELL AS ITS VERY ADVERSE EFFECTS ON OUR CONTINENT. THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT WILL, THEREFORE, CONTINUE TO MONITOR THE SITUATION VERY CLOSELY.

MR CHAIRMAN,

IN MY REPORT TO THE FIFTY-SECOND SESSION OF THE COUNCIL IN JULY, 1990, I SPOKE OF THE INITIATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES WHICH WILL ENSURE SMOOTHER COORDINATION OF WORK AND GREATER PRODUCTIVITY OF STAFF THROUGH THE REGULARIZATION OF MANY ISSUES WHICH HAD UNDERMINED THE CONFIDENCE OF THE STAFF.

I CAN REPORT, NOW, THAT THE OAU COMMITTEE ON RECRUITMENT, APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT (RAPSD) HAS SINCE HELD NUMEROUS WEEKLY MEETINGS TO TACKLE A BACKLOG OF MANY ADMINISTRATIVE AND PERSONNEL ISSUES WHICH WERE REFLECTING NEGATIVELY ON STAFF AS WELL AS ON THE ORGANIZATION.

IN ADDITION TO THE RECRUITMENT OF NEW STAFF, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT, THROUGH THE RAPSD COMMITTEE, INTENDS TO FILL SEVERAL VACANT POSTS AT HEADQUARTERS AND REGIONAL OFFICES THROUGH TRANSFERS, PROMOTIONS AND INTERNAL COMPETITION, PARTICULARLY FOR JUNIOR PROFESSIONAL AND GENERAL SERVICE POSTS. THIS EXERCISE, WHICH IS IN LINE WITH RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE, IS INTENDED TO GIVE ADDITIONAL INCENTIVE TO STAFF MEMBERS BESIDES MINIMIZING RECRUITMENT EXPENSES.

IN JULY, 1990, I ALSO ADDRESSED THIS COUNCIL ON THE STAFF AND MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT PROJECT BEING UNDERTAKEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH THE UNDP. I WOULD LIKE TO REPORT THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS COOPERATION PROGRAMME HAS ALREADY STARTED. THE PRINTING UNIT AT HEADQUARTERS HAS ALREADY RECEIVED AND INSTALLED SEVERAL HEAVY AND LIGHT PIECES OF EQUIPMENT SUPPLIED BY THE UNDP UNDER THE PROJECT. SEVERAL PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL STAFF HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED TRAINING ON THE USE AND OPERATION OF THIS EQUIPMENT, MOST OF WHICH IS NOW FULLY OPERATIONAL.

I WOULD LIKE TO ADD ALSO THAT A GLOBAL TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR OAU STAFF MEMBERS HAS ALREADY BEEN DRAWN UP AND WILL BE IMPLEMENTED OVER A THREE-YEAR PERIOD UNDER THE COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH THE UNDP. OAU STAFF MEMBERS WILL HAVE THE CHANCE TO BE ATTACHED, FOR LIMITED PERIODS OF TIME, TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS TO ACQUIRE NEW SKILLS AND EXPERIENCES IN THE FIELDS OF THEIR FUNCTIONAL SPECIALIZATION IN THE OAU. THIS PROJECT IS BUT PART OF OUR FAR WIDER DESIGN TO IMPROVE THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGEMENT CAPACITY OF THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT IN ORDER TO ENABLE OUR ORGANIZATION TO COPE WITH THE DAUNTING CHALLENGES OF THE 1990s AND ALSO IN ORDER TO CUT DOWN ON OPERATIONAL COSTS BY RAISING THE QUALITY OF MANPOWER. WE BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A DIRE NEED TO ENSURE THAT BOTH QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF OUR ORGANIZATION'S MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT CONSIDERING THE NEW CHALLENGES OF THE ORGANIZATION.

IN MY REPORT TO THE COUNCIL, LAST JULY, I SPOKE ON THE NEED OF A MEDIUM BUT FUNCTIONAL CONFERENCE ROOM FACILITY WHICH WOULD INCORPORATE AN OFFICE BLOCK FOR THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT. THE NEED FOR SUCH FACILITY IS MADE EVEN MORE URGENT BY THE PRESENT CONGESTION IN THE OFFICES AS WELL AS BY THE NEW CHALLENGES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION. THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE DISCUSSED THE MATTER, LAST YEAR, AND DECIDED THAT THE PROJECT SHOULD BE REFERRED TO YOUR COUNCIL FOR CONSIDERATION AND APPROVAL BEARING IN MIND THAT THE FUNDING WOULD BE ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS. AT THIS JUNCTURE, I WISH TO TAKE UP THIS OPPORTUNITY TO THANK THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE ALREADY CONTRIBUTED AND THOSE WHICH HAVE PLEDGED TO DO SO. I WISH ALSO TO STRONGLY APPEAL TO THE OTHERS TO MAKE SUCH CONTRIBUTIONS SO THAT THE PROJECT MAY COMMENCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

IN THE COURSE OF PREPARING THE 1991/1992 DRAFT PROGRAMME-BUDGET WHICH IS TABLED FOR THE APPROVAL OF COUNCIL, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT DID BEAR IN MIND THE ALARMING SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION AND THE FINANCIAL PLIGHT OF MOST MEMBER STATES. THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT IS WELL AWARE OF THE FACT THAT THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC RECESSION OF THE 1980S HAS HAD A DEVASTATING IMPACT ON THE ECONOMIES OF OAU MEMBER STATES. AFRICA'S ECONOMIC

PLIGHT CONTINUES TO BE CHARACTERIZED BY EVER-DIMINISHING RETURNS ON ITS MAJOR EXPORTS AND A RELENTLESSLY SOARING BILL ON ITS IMPORTS, A SITUATION THAT HAS RESULTED IN EVER-DWINDLING FOREIGN CURRENCY RESERVES AS WELL AS A GROWING DEBT BURDEN. IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THIS SITUATION HAS, AT TIMES, MADE IT DIFFICULT FOR MEMBER STATES TO MEET THEIR FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS TO THE ORGANIZATION. YET, IT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSCORE THAT THIS GRAVE ECONOMIC SITUATION APPLIES TO ALL COUNTRIES ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION AND, THEREFORE, ALL NEED TO LIVE UP TO THEIR COMMITMENTS FOR THE GREATER GOOD OF THE ORGANIZATION EVEN IF IT MEANS THAT, AT TIMES, SMALL SACRIFICES ARE NEEDED.

IT IS FOR ALL THE ABOVE REASONS AND IN AN EFFORT TO LIGHTEN THE BURDEN THAT WEIGHS SO HEAVILY ON MEMBER STATES THAT THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT, IN PREPARING THE 1991/1992 DRAFT PROGRAMME-BUDGET ENGAGED IN AN OBJECTIVE APPRAISAL OF THE RESOURCES AS WELL AS THE EXPENDITURE OF THE ORGANIZATION AND PROCEEDED TO SELECT ONLY PRIORITY PROGRAMMES AND ACTIVITIES WHICH CONSTITUTE THE BASIC MINIMUM.

IT IS FOR THE SAME REASONS THAT THE GENERAL SECRETARIA REFRAINED FROM SUBMITTING PROPOSALS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE CONDITIONS OF SERVICE OF OAU STAFF TO THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE. SUCH PROPOSALS WOULD HAVE APPLIED TO THE SALARIES OF STAFF WHICH HAVE NOT INCREASED FOR OVER A DECADE AND TO POST-ADJUSTMENT ALLOWANCE WHICH HAS BEEN STATIC FOR THE SAME LENGTH OF TIME, NOTWITHSTANDING THE FACT THAT THE COST OF LIVING HAS BEEN ON AN UPWARD TREND AND THE US DOLLAR, WHICH IS THE CURRENCY OF

REFERENCE OF THE ORGANIZATION, HAS BEEN DEPRECIATING. THIS HAS ADVERSELY AFFECTED STAFF MORALE AND IT WOULD BE SUITABLE THAT EFFORTS BE MADE IN THE NEXT BUDGETARY EXERCISE TO REVERSE THE SITUATION.

THE 1991/1992 DRAFT PROGRAMME-BUDGET BEING TABLED FOR APPROVAL OF THE COUNCIL AMOUNTS TO US\$ 27,156,166.00. THIS REPRESENTS A DECREASE AMOUNTING TO US\$ 1,906,906.00 WHEN COMPARED TO THE 1990/1991 PROGRAMME-BUDGET AMOUNTING TO US\$ 29,063,072.00. IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT THERE IS A 10 % INCREASE IN THE 1991/92 DRAFT PROGRAMME-BUDGET WHEN CONSIDERED AGAINST THE REAL EXPENDITURE INCURRED DURING THE 1989/90 FINANCIAL YEAR WHICH WAS USED AS THE YEAR OF REFERENCE IN PURSUANCE OF RESOLUTION CM/RES. 1279(LII) ON THE QUESTION OF ARREARS OF CONTRIBUTIONS. ACCORDING TO THAT RESOLUTION, THE BUDGET OF THE ORGANIZATION SHOULD REGISTER NO MORE THAN A 10 % INCREASE EACH FISCAL YEAR ON THE ACTUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE PRECEDING FISCAL YEAR.

THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT IS DETERMINED TO ENSURE THAT THE 1991/1992 PROGRAMME-BUDGET IS IMPLEMENTED IN CONFORMITY WITH THE RELEVANT REGULATIONS AND THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE AND THE BOARD OF EXTERNAL AUDITORS AND WILL ENDEAVOUR TO ENSURE THAT THERE IS STRINGENT MANAGEMENT OF THE FUNDS PROVIDED BY THE MEMBER STATES.

MR CHAIRMAN,
EXCELLENCIES,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT CONTINUED TO FOCUS ITS ATTENTION ON ACTIVITIES RELATING TO AFRICA'S PRIORITIES FOR THE 1990s. PARTICULAR EMPHASIS WAS LAID ON THE FINALIZATION OF THE DRAFT TREATY ESTABLISHING THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT, FOLLOWING THE ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION AHG/RES. 190(XXVI) OF THE 26TH SESSION OF OUR HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN JULY, LAST YEAR, AN AD-HOC DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE WAS SET UP WITH THE SPECIFIC MANDATE OF FINALIZING THE TREATY WITHIN A GIVEN TIME-FRAME. THE AD-HOC COMMITTEE WAS SPECIFICALLY INSTRUCTED TO PREPARE THE DRAFT TREATY AND WITH A VIEW TO SUBMITTING IT THROUGH THE PERMANENT STEERING COMMITTEE TO THE 53RD SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, FOR ITS ADOPTION AND SIGNATURE BY HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT.

FOLLOWING THIS MANDATE, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT WORKED TIRELESSLY IN ORDER TO FINALIZE THE DRAFT. IN THIS REGARD, THE AD-HOC COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE MET IN AUGUST 1990. AFTER AN IN-DEPTH EXAMINATION OF THE ENTIRE TREATY AND AFTER ITS ADOPTION ARTICLE BY ARTICLE, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE SUBMITTED THE DRAFT TREATY TO THE 21ST SESSION OF THE OAU PERMANENT STEERING COMMITTEE WHICH MET FROM 26 NOVEMBER TO 1 DECEMBER, 1990. I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CONGRATULATE AND COMMEND THE WORK OF BOTH THE PERMANENT STEERING COMMITTEE AND THE AD-HOC COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE FOR AN EXERCISE WELL DONE. THE RESULTS OF THEIR WORK ARE EMBODIED IN THE DRAFT TREATY BEFORE THE

COUNCIL FOR ITS CONSIDERATION AND APPROVAL. (VIDE DOC. NO CM/1643/LIII ADD.I AND IN THE REPORT OF THE PERMANENT STEERING COMMITTEE).

MAY I, MR CHAIRMAN, PAY TRIBUTE TO THE COOPERATING SECRETARIATS OF THE ADB, ECA AND THE UNDP AND TO ALL REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROUPINGS WITHOUT WHOSE SUPPORT THIS WORK WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN FINALIZED AS SPEEDILY AS IT HAS. I WOULD, THEREFORE, URGE COUNCIL TO APPROVE AND RECOMMEND THIS DRAFT TO THE 27TH SESSION OF OUR HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT FOR SIGNATURE. IT HAS BEEN A LONG AND ARDUOUS EXERCISE BUT THE LONG-TERM BENEFITS TO BE DERIVED FROM CLOSER ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION WILL UNDOUBTEDLY ACCRUE TO THE ENTIRE CONTINENT. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE GLOBAL CHANGES AND THE TENDENCY TOWARDS GREATER ENTITIES IN THE WORLD, I NEED HARDLY TO EMPHASIZE THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN OUR CONTINENT. THE EXPECTED SIGNING IN ABUJA OF THE TREATY ESTABLISHING THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY WILL BE AN IMPORTANT MILESTONE IN THIS DIRECTION. BUT BEYOND THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY LIES THE NEED AND AND UNAMBIGUOUS COMMITMENT IN WORD AND DEED ON THE PART OF OUR GOVERNMENTS AND OUR PEOPLE TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF THIS HISTORIC UNDERTAKING.

THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT ALSO CONTINUED TO DEEPEN THE PROCESS OF COOPERATION WITH THE REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROUPINGS THROUGH PARTICIPATING IN MEETINGS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE LEGISLATIVE ORGANS AND VICE-VERSA. WE INTEND TO CONTINUE TO ENHANCE THIS PROCESS ESPECIALLY BECAUSE THESE REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES CONSTITUTE BUILDING BLOCKS FROM WHICH THE COMMUNITY WILL DERIVE

ITS STRENGTH. IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS PROCESS OF CONSOLIDATING SUCH COOPERATION, A MEETING OF THE CHIEF EXECUTIVES OF THE OAU, ECA AND ADB WAS HELD AT THE ADB HEADQUARTERS IN ABIDJAN ON 9 DECEMBER, LAST YEAR. WE JOINTLY DECIDED TO MAKE THIS MEETING A PERMANENT FORUM FOR CONSULTATION ON THE ISSUES BEFORE THE CONTINENT AND FOR COORDINATING OUR JOINT STRATEGIES. THE NEXT SUCH MEETING IS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN ZANZIBAR LATER THIS YEAR.

AS YOUR EXCELLENCIES WILL HAVE LEARNT, PROFESSOR ADEBAYO ADEDEJI HAS RESIGNED AND INTENDS TO LEAVE HIS POST AT THE END OF JULY THIS YEAR. WHILE HE WILL STILL BE WITH US UNTIL THE NEXT COUNCIL SESSION, IN ABUJA, AND HOPEFULLY IN ZANZIBAR AT OUR NEXT JOINT MEETING, I, NONETHELESS, WISH TO TAKE THIS EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO SAY HOW SO MUCH AFRICA, THE OAU GENERAL SECRETARIAT AND ME PERSONALLY WILL MISS HIM. IN THE SHORT PERIOD I HAVE BEEN AT THE OAU, WE MANAGED TO ESTABLISH CLOSE, FRIENDLY AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL WORKING RELATIONSHIP IN THE SERVICE OF OUR CONTINENT. IN THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS AT THE HELM OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA, HE HAS DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF AS A TIRELESS AND INDEFATIGABLE FIGHTER FOR THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF AFRICA. AFRICA HAS COME TO IMMENSELY APPRECIATE HIS COMMITMENT TO THE CAUSE OF ITS PEOPLE AND HIS EFFORTS TO ELABORATE ECONOMIC STRATEGIES MORE RELEVANT TO THEIR NEEDS AND TO GROWTH AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE CONTINENT. WITHOUT BEING OVER PRESUMPTIOUS, I AM SURE I WILL BE EXPRESSING THE COLLECTIVE SENTIMENTS OF YOUR EXCELLENCIES IF I SAID THAT AFRICA HAS EVERY REASON TO BE PROUD OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF PROFESSOR ADEDEJI AND THE LEGACY HE WILL LEAVE AT THE ECA.

MR CHAIRMAN,

IT WILL ALSO BE RECALLED THAT, FOLLOWING COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF JULY LAST YEAR, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT WAS ASKED TO CONTINUE TO COOPERATE WITH THE UN SYSTEM. WE, ACCORDINGLY, HELD A HIGH-LEVEL MEETING, IN OCTOBER, WITH OFFICIALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT AND PARTICULARLY WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION, THE UNDP AND OTHER AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN NEW YORK. DURING THE NEXT MEETING, WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN ADDIS ABABA, IN APRIL THIS YEAR, WE SHALL FOCUS ON THE WAYS AND MEANS IN WHICH THE UN SYSTEM CAN EXTEND SUPPORT TO THE OAU ESPECIALLY WITH REGARDS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY.

IN OTHER AREAS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT CONTINUED TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON SECTORAL PROGRAMMES IN TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS, FOOD AND AGRICULTURE, MONEY AND FINANCE, TRADE AND INDUSTRY AS WELL AS RESEARCH AND PLANNING. OUR HOPE IS THAT AS THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY GRADUALLY ASSUMES AN INSTITUTIONAL EXPRESSION, ALL THESE SECTORAL PROGRAMMES WILL BE SYNCHRONIZED WITH THE LARGER AGENDA OF THE COMMUNITY. IN ORDER TO LAY A FOUNDATION FOR THE HARMONIZATION OF POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES, BOTH AT LEVEL OF THE ORGANIZATION AND MEMBER STATES AND EVENTUALLY ACCELERATE THAT PROCESS OF SYNCHRONIZATION, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT WILL GRADUALLY TARGET FOR PRIORITY IMPLEMENTATION, THOSE MOST INTEGRATIVE SECTORS SUCH AS TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATIONS, TRADE AND INDUSTRY.

MAY I ALSO POINT TO ANOTHER IMPORTANT ACTIVITY WHICH THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT ADDRESSED DURING THIS PERIOD. THIS RELATES TO POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES. WE HAVE NOW STRENGTHENED THE POPULATION UNIT IN EDECO DEPARTMENT. THAT UNIT IS NOW FULLY ENGAGED IN THE PREPARATION OF STUDIES TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF OAU POPULATION COMMISSION TO BE HELD IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1991.

GREATER MEANING WILL BE GIVEN TO THE PROGRAMS OF OUR ORGANIZATION ONCE WE CAN PURSUE THEM IN AN INTEGRATED MANNER WITHIN THE LARGER CONTEXT OF THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. AFRICA NEEDS TO TAKE URGENT MEASURES TO CHECK THE SLIDE OF THE CONTINENT INTO EVEN GREATER POVERTY. CONTINENTAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION HOLDS THE KEY TO RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTINENT. THIS IS WHY I URGE YOUR EXCELLENCIES TO GIVE THIS ISSUE THE PRIORITY IT RIGHTLY DESERVES.

MR CHAIRMAN.

THE HEALTH SITUATION OF THE PEOPLE REMAINS PRECARIOUS. MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE, YOUNG AND OLD, CONTINUE TO DIE OR DEBILITATED BY PREVENTABLE DISEASES. UNHEALTHY SANITARY CONDITIONS AND LACK OF ESSENTIAL DRUGS HAVE EXACERBATED THE SITUATION. DISEASE IS RAPIDLY CRIPPLING OUR PRODUCTIVE POPULATION AND IN A VERY REAL SENSE, UNDERMINING THE PROSPECTS OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY OF THE CONTINENT. IT IS NOW ESSENTIAL THAT AFRICA TAKE URGENT MEASURES TO PLACE HEALTH MATTERS ON THE PRIORITY OF ITS AGENDA. FOR ULTIMATELY, THE SUCCESS OF ANY OF OUR UNDERTAKINGS,

INCLUDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, WILL DEPEND ON THE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH OF OUR PEOPLE. IT IS WITH THIS IMPERATIVE IN MIND THAT, TOGETHER WITH THE WHO REGIONAL OFFICE FOR AFRICA, WE LAUNCHED THE HEALTH FUND FOR AFRICA LAST YEAR. THE IDEA IS TO CREATE A FINANCIAL BASE FOR A PEOPLE CENTRED HEALTH POLICY FOR THE CONTINENT PLACING EMPHASIS ON PRIMARY HEALTH SECTOR. THIS MICRO-APPROACH WILL EMPOWER PEOPLE AT THE LOWEST VILLAGE LEVEL TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR AND PARTICIPATE IN THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THEIR NATIONAL HEALTH POLICIES. WE HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE POPULAR RESPONSE TO THIS FUND AND HAVE, IN FACT, STARTED RECEIVING FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO IT.

HONOURABLE MINISTERS,
DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES,

IN RECENT YEARS, THE ISSUE OF ENVIRONMENT HAS BECOME AN ISSUE OF GREAT CONCERN TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND TO AFRICA AS WELL. IN THIS CONNECTION, AND CONSISTENT WITH THE DECISION OF THE COUNCIL ON THE ISSUE OF HAZARDOUS WASTES SINCE MAY 1988 AND ENDORSED BY THE TWENTY-FIFTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT HAS CONTINUED TO BE PREOCCUPIED WITH THE ISSUE OF THE DEGRADATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT. ACCORDINGLY AND IN COLLABORATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF MALI, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT WAS ABLE TO ORGANIZE IN BAMAKO, LAST MONTH, A PAN-AFRICAN COORDINATION CONFERENCE ON THE ENVIRONMENT AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT. THE CONFERENCE REVIEWED THE STRATEGY

FOR THE CONTROL AND REVERSAL OF THE CONTINUED DEGRADATION OF THE CONTINENT'S ENVIRONMENT WHICH SERIOUSLY IMPAIR THE EFFORTS BEING MADE TOWARDS A MORE BALANCED AND MORE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT.

AT THE CONCLUSION OF ITS DELIBERATIONS, THE CONFERENCE ADOPTED THE BAMAKO COMMITMENT ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT ELABORATING THE MAIN GUIDELINES FOR A LONG TERM AFRICAN STRATEGY ON ENVIRONMENT WHICH WOULD ENSURE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, INVOLVING THE CONSIDERATION OF THE BASIC NEEDS IN THE PRIORITY AREAS OF FOOD, ENERGY, ECONOMY AND HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT. IT DREW UP AN AFRICAN COMMON POSITION IN PREPARATION FOR THE 1992 BRAZIL CONFERENCE. THE CONFERENCE ALSO ADOPTED THE BAMAKO CONVENTION ON THE BANNING OF THE IMPORT OF HAZARDOUS WASTES INTO AFRICA AND THE CONTROL OF THEIR TRANSBOUNDARY MOVEMENT. THIS LEGAL DOCUMENT, COMMISSIONED IN JULY 1989, WAS SUBMITTED FOR CONSIDERATION BY BOTH INTERGOVERNMENTAL EXPERTS AND THE MINISTERS WHO ADOPTED IT.

I AM PLEASED TO INFORM YOU THAT 12 MEMBER STATES SIGNED THAT CONVENTION UPON ADOPTION IN BAMAKO. THE CONFERENCE ALSO DECIDED THAT NO MEMBER STATE SHOULD SIGN AND/OR RATIFY ANY OTHER LEGAL INSTRUMENT OF THE TYPE BEFORE THE BAMAKO CONVENTION. THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT WILL, THEREFORE, OPEN THE CONVENTION FOR SIGNATURE BY MEMBER STATES DURING THIS SESSION OF THE COUNCIL. ALL THOSE WHO HAVE ALREADY SIGNED THE CONVENTION ARE KINDLY REQUESTED TO SEND, AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE, THEIR INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION. A FULL REPORT ON THE BAMAKO CONFERENCE WILL BE

SUBMITTED TO THE FIFTY-FOURTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE COUNCIL IN ABUJA. IN THE MEAN TIME, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT HAS ALREADY TAKEN STEPS FOR THE CONVENTION AND OTHER DOCUMENTS TO BE TRANSMITTED TO MEMBER STATES AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE.

MR CHAIRMAN,

LET ME NOW TURN TO THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, IN PARTICULAR THE PROBLEM OF APARTHEID OBTAINING IN SOUTH AFRICA THE RESOLUTION OF WHICH WILL FINALLY BRING TO AN END AFRICA'S STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION.

THE DEVELOPMENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN SOUTH AFRICA, SINCE THE LAST SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HAVE PRODUCED MIXED FEELINGS; FEELINGS OF HOPE AND FEELINGS OF GRAVE CONCERN.

FEELINGS OF HOPE BECAUSE THE LATEST ANNOUNCEMENT BY PRESIDENT DE KLERK TO REPEAL THE LAND ACTS, THE GROUP AREAS ACT AND THE POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT, HAS REKINDLED OUR OPTIMISM. UNTIL THE ANNOUNCEMENT, THE PERIOD BETWEEN JULY 1990 AND JANUARY 1991 HAS BEEN COMPLETELY DEVOID OF ANY MOVEMENT FORWARD, NOT EVEN ON OBLIGATIONS ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT ARISING OUT OF THE PRETORIA MINUTE. THE POLICY STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT ON FEBRUARY 1 HAS, THEREFORE, REVIVED THE FLAGGING HOPE AND SPIRIT OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE THAT, PERHAPS, THE PROCESS TOWARDS THE ERADICATION OF APARTHEID MAY AT LAST BE BEGINNING IN EARNEST.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE WE, IN THE OAU, HAVE ALWAYS REFERRED TO THESE LEGISLATIONS AS CONSTITUTING THE

PILLARS OF APARTHEID. THEIR REMOVAL FROM THE STATUTE BOOK, THEREFORE, IS THE FIRST ATTEMPT BY THE REGIME TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE REAL PROBLEM OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION. IT WAS IN THAT CONNECTION THAT THE AD-HOC COMMITTEE OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA MEETING, IN HARARE, ON THE 7TH OF THIS MONTH, WELCOMED THAT POLICY STATEMENT.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT HAS, HOWEVER, FUELLED AN ONGOING CAMPAIGN FOR THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS AND OTHER PRESSURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. THE EEC HAS ALREADY SERVED NOTICE THAT IT WOULD LIFT SANCTIONS AS SOON AS THE MEASURES ARE TABLED FOR LEGISLATION. ALMOST EVERY COUNTRY IS NOW ACTIVELY CONSIDERING WHETHER THE TIME HAS COME FOR SANCTIONS TO BE LIFTED. IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL, ONCE AGAIN, TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE COLLECTIVE POSITION OF THE OAU, WHICH AFTER ALL HAS BEEN THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE CAMPAIGN FOR SANCTIONS AND THROUGH WHOSE FORUM THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE ARTICULATED.

THE AD-HOC COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS SET THE PACE FOR AFRICA AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AT ITS LAST SESSION, IN HARARE, BY REPEATING ITS CALL FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL MEASURES INCLUDING SANCTIONS. IT DID SO IN FULL AWARENESS OF ALL THE FACTS. WHILE IT WELCOMED THE DECISION TO REPEAL THE PILLARS OF APARTHEID, IT POINTED OUT THAT THE REPEAL OF THE PILLARS OF APARTHEID DOES NOT AND CANNOT, IN ANYWAY, BE INTERPRETED TO MEAN THAT APARTHEID HAS BEEN ELIMINATED. IT OBSERVED THAT THE PILLARS OF APARTHEID THEMSELVES DERIVE THEIR

AUTHORITY AND INSPIRATION FROM A MORE FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF THE LAND, THE CONSTITUTION. THE CONSTITUTION IS, THEREFORE, THE FOUNDATION OF APARTHEID AND UNTIL THAT CONSTITUTION HAS BEEN CHANGED AND A NEW CONSTITUTION HAS BEEN ADOPTED, APARTHEID CANNOT BE SAID TO HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED.

INDEED, IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT THE SOLE REASON FOR THE IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WAS TO COMPEL THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME TO ELIMINATE THE INHUMAN SYSTEM OF APARTHEID. TO LIFT SANCTIONS WHEN THE PROCESS OF DISMANTLING APARTHEID HAS JUST BEGUN IS NOT ONLY PREMATURE BUT POINTEDLY DANGEROUS. THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT ABOUT WHEN SANCTIONS SHOULD BE LIFTED. THIS IS MADE QUITE EXPLICIT IN THE RECENT HARARE COMMUNIQUE OF THE AD-HOC COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, THAT IS UNTIL THE PROCESS TOWARDS THE ADOPTION OF A NEW CONSTITUTION IS DEEMED IN IRREVERSIBLE EVIDENCE. MEMBER STATES MAY WELL REFLECT ON THE FACT THAT SANCTIONS AND PRESSURES WERE NOT LIFTED DURING THE LANCASTER HOUSE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE SAME IS TRUE OF NAMIBIA. THE RATIONALE SHOULD HOLD GOOD FOR SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. THIS POSITION WAS REITERATED BY THE 53RD SESSION OF THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE AND IS ALSO SHARED BY THE COMMONWEALTH COMMITTEE ON SOUTH AFRICA WHICH MET IN LONDON RECENTLY.

MR CHAIRMAN,

THE PERIOD WAS ALSO A PERIOD OF GRAVE CONCERN BECAUSE OF THE SCALE AND INTENSITY OF THE TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE THAT HAS CLAIMED THE LIVES OF THOUSANDS OF OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS. WE WATCHED ALMOST HELPLESSLY AS THE CARNAGE CONTINUED TO THE

DETRIMENT OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS. WITHOUT DIMINISHING THE ROLE OF INTER-PARTY RIVALRY, IT BECAME INCREASINGLY EVIDENT THAT THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE WERE UNWITTING VICTIMS OF APARTHEID MANIPULATION. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, HOWEVER, THE PEOPLE REMAIN RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR OWN ACTIONS, EVEN IF SUCH ACTIONS WERE EXTERNALLY INDUCED.

IT IS, IN THIS CONNECTION, THAT WE HEARTILY WELCOME THE INITIATIVES TAKEN BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ANC, PAC AND INKATHA TO IRON OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES AND COLLECTIVELY MOUNT A CAMPAIGN TO STAMP OUT THE VIOLENCE. WE COMMEND THEIR EFFORTS AND URGE THEM TO REDOUBLE THEIR EFFORT BEFORE THE SITUATION GOES COMPLETELY OUT OF CONTROL. VIOLENCE SERVES NO ONE BUT THE INTERESTS OF APARTHEID. THE OAU GENERAL SECRETARIAT, ON ITS PART, REMAINS READY TO RENDER ANY ASSISTANCE POSSIBLE TO HELP THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THEIR STRUGGLE.

MR CHAIRMAN,

IT IS REGRETTABLE THAT, OVER THE LAST YEAR, WE HAVE WITNESSED FURTHER EROSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AGAINST APARTHEID. EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES - ERSTWHILE STRONG SUPPORTERS AND PARTNERS IN THE STRUGGLE - HAVE ALL BUT ABANDONED SANCTIONS. ^{SOME OF THEM} HAVE ENTERED INTO ALL-ROUND COOPERATION AGREEMENTS WITH THE APARTHEID REGIME. THIS UNFORTUNATE DEVELOPMENT HAS UNDERMINED THE INTERNATIONAL COALITION AGAINST APARTHEID EVEN IN WESTERN EUROPE WHEN SOME GOVERNMENTS, ESPECIALLY THE EEC, HAVE SEIZED UPON IT TO DISSUADE PUBLIC OPINION.

INCREASINGLY, THE ANTI-SANCTIONS FORCES ARE GAINING MOMENTUM EVERY TIME MR DE KLERK MAKES A POSITIVE DECLARATION OR MOVES A BIT AWAY FROM THE ESTABLISHED BEHAVIOURAL PATTERN OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM.

WE ARE ALL AGREED THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOME CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. IN RECOGNITION OF THESE CHANGES, WE HAVE SAID WE ARE PREPARED TO REVIEW THE SITUATION AND MAKE THE NECESSARY POLICY ADJUSTMENT. BUT WE HAVE ALSO CATEGORICALLY SAID THAT CONSIDERATION OF SUCH ADJUSTMENT CAN ONLY BE POSSIBLE IF COLLECTIVELY WE DETERMINE THAT THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA HAS SUFFICIENTLY CHANGED AS TO WARRANT SUCH COURSE OF ACTION. WHEN AFRICA ADOPTED HER POLICY ON SOUTH AFRICA, WE DID SO COLLECTIVELY AND TOGETHER WE GALVANIZED WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AROUND THAT POSITION. WE HAVE MAINTAINED THAT POSITION OVER THE YEARS ON THE BASIS OF SOLIDARITY, COHESION AND UNITY OF PURPOSE; AND EVEN WHEN ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO DIVIDE US, WE STOOD FIRMLY TOGETHER. TODAY, THAT SPIRIT OF UNITY AND SOLIDARITY IS MORE NEEDED THAN BEFORE, ESPECIALLY CONSIDERING THE TEMPTATION TO BE SWEEPED BY THE EUPHORIA OF THOSE CHANGES WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE AND THOSE NOW PROMISED. NEITHER SHOULD WE UNDERESTIMATE THE PRESSURE EVEN FROM SOME OF OUR FRIENDS OUTSIDE AFRICA WHO WOULD WANT TO SEE SANCTIONS LIFTED ON THE PRETEXT OF ENCOURAGING MR DE KLERK TO SUSTAIN HIS MOMENTUM FOR CHANGE.

SO FAR, IN HARARE AND ARUSHA THIS MONTH, AFRICA CAME OUT COLLECTIVELY AND CATEGORICALLY AGAINST ANY LIFTING OF SANCTIONS. THIS WAS BASED ON OUR COLLECTIVE DETERMINATION THAT

NOTWITHSTANDING WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA, APARTHEID REMAINS IN PLACE. WE SHOULD ENSURE THAT THIS REMAINS OUR COLLECTIVE POSITION AND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS AGAINST APARTHEID HOLDS. THE MOST CREDIBLE WAY OF ENSURING SUCH POSITION IS AFRICA TO DEMONSTRATE IN WORD AND DEED THAT WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO IT. WE SHOULD GUARD AGAINST ANY ACTION WHICH WOULD BE INTERPRETED, RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY TO UNDERMINE THAT CONSENSUS. IN PARTICULAR, WE SHOULD NOT BE SEEN TO LEAD OR TAKE PART IN THE ATTEMPTS TO REHABILITATE THE APARTHEID REGIME. OUR MORAL STANDING ON THE ISSUE AND OUR ABILITY TO CENSURE OTHERS HINGES ON OUR CORRECTNESS OF POSITION. THIS, IN NO WAY, PRECLUDES REVIEW OF POSITION SHOULD THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS PROVE SUBSTANTIAL. AS WE HAVE AGREED, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO APPLY THE NECESSARY FLEXIBILITY AS AND WHEN THE CIRCUMSTANCES SO WARRANT. AT ANY RATE, WHATEVER WILL BE THE CASE, IT WILL HAVE TO BE A COLLECTIVE POSITION, REACHED AT COLLECTIVELY BY AFRICA. WE SHOULD NOT BE STAMPEDED INTO EMBRACING AN AGENDA ON SOUTH AFRICA WHICH IS NOT OURS.

MR CHAIRMAN,

OUR SUCCESS STORY ON THE LIBERATION OF THE CONTINENT WILL, TO A GREATER EXTENT, DEPEND ON HOW WE CLOSE THE CHAPTER ON SOUTH AFRICA. THE REPORT OF THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE ON OUR FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE IS REPETITIVE OF EARLIER ONES. THERE ARE STILL MANY OF OUR STATES IN ARREARS OF CONTRIBUTION TO THE SPECIAL FUND. BESIDES, THE RESPONSE TO THE APPEAL TO MEMBER STATES TO ASSIST THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO RE-ESTABLISH

THEMSELVES AND ALSO RESETTLE THOUSANDS OF THEIR CADRES, HAS NOT BEEN ENCOURAGING TO SAY THE LEAST. AND YET, SOONER OR LATER, WE SHALL BE FACED WITH THE NORMAL PRACTICE OF SUPPORTING THE ELECTIONEERING CAMPAIGNS OF THE MOVEMENTS, JUST AS WE DID FOR SWAPO. WE CANNOT, AND MUST NOT, END OUR SUPPORT OR RELAX OUR VIGILANCE UNTIL VICTORY IS ACHIEVED IN SOUTH AFRICA.

MR CHAIRMAN,

ANOTHER PROBLEM, WHICH HAS REMAINED ALIVE DURING THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW AND WHICH CONTINUES TO WEIGH HEAVILY ON OUR CONSCIENCE, IS THAT OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS. IT IS, OF COURSE, TRUE THAT UPROOTEDNESS IN AFRICA IS CAUSED BY A VARIETY OF FACTORS, WHICH FACTORS WERE CAREFULLY EXAMINED AT THE 52ND SESSION OF OUR COUNCIL, LAST YEAR, IN JULY. BUT BY FAR, THE BIGGEST CONTRIBUTORY FACTOR TO THE GENERATION OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN AFRICA, AT LEAST, SINCE JULY LAST YEAR, HAS BEEN THE ENDLESS CONFLICTS WHICH OUR CONTINENT HAS CONTINUED TO WITNESS.

OUR CONTINENT HAS REMAINED A TRAGIC SYMBOL OF HUMAN SUFFERING AND THE NUMBER OF THESE UNFORTUNATE BROTHERS AND SISTERS CONTINUES TO BE REVISED UPWARDS. WITH AN ESTIMATED 1.28 MILLION PEOPLE OUT OF LIBERIA'S POPULATION OF 2.5 MILLION BECOMING REFUGEES OR DISPLACED PERSONS WITH THE CIVIL WAR THAT HAS AFFLICTED THAT COUNTRY SINCE DECEMBER 1989 AND THOUSANDS OF NEW SOMALI REFUGEES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA, THE FIGURE OF REFUGEES ON OUR CONTINENT IS, AT PRESENT, ALMOST HITTING THE SIX MILLION MARK, WHILE THAT OF DISPLACED PERSONS HAS NOW GONE MUCH BEYOND THE 12 MILLION MARK.

BUT IT IS ONE THING TO TALK OF COLD STATISTICS RELATING TO AFRICA'S REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN A CONFERENCE HALL LIKE THIS ONE AND IT IS ANOTHER TO SEE, FIRST HAND, THE AGONY AND SUFFERING OF A CROSS-SECTION OF THESE PEOPLE : MEN, WOMEN, CHILDREN, THE AGED AND THE DISABLED IN CAMPS OR IN RECEPTION CENTRES AND TO REMAIN SILENT ABOUT THOSE WHO PERISH IN THE CROSSFIRE IN ZONES OF CONFLICTS OR ON THEIR ROAD TO EXILE.

AS IF THIS IS NOT BAD ENOUGH, HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS HAS WITNESSED AN UNPRECEDENTED REDUCTION DURING THE LAST TWO YEARS. IN SPITE OF THE LAUDABLE SENSITIZATION EFFORTS DEPLOYED BY THE OAU AND THE UNHCR, FUNDS HAVE CONTINUED TO DWINDLE. THE BUDGETARY ALLOCATIONS OF UNHCR FOR 1990 FELL BY ONE THIRD COMPARED TO THOSE OF 1989. THE IMPROVEMENT IN 1991 ESTIMATES WAS RATHER NEGLIGIBLE. INDEED, THE DONORS HAVE NOT BEEN PARTICULARLY FORTHCOMING IN SO FAR AS PROVIDING INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN AFRICA IS CONCERNED. THE RATHER MARGINAL APPROACH ADOPTED BY THE DONOR COMMUNITY IN RESPECT OF THE LIBERIA'S URGENT HUMANITARIAN NEEDS DESPITE ECOWAS, OAU AND UN APPEALS, IS A POIGNANT REMINDER OF THE PLIGHT FACING AFRICAN REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS.

MR CHAIRMAN,

KNOWING FULLY WELL THAT THIS SITUATION, WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES PREVAILING OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS COULD HAVE BEEN INFINITELY WORSE, I SHOULD LIKE, NEVERTHELESS, TO PAY DESERVING TRIBUTE TO THE OAU COMMISSION OF

FIFTEEN IN CHARGE OF REFUGEE MATTERS AND THE UNHCR FOR THEIR EFFORTS IN SENSITIZING PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT THE PLIGHT OF AFRICAN REFUGEES.

AT THE SAME TIME, MR CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO PLEAD HERE FOR A NEW REFLECTION ON THE SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS TO THIS DISTRESSING REFUGEE AND DISPLACED PERSONS PROBLEM. WHILE I BELIEVE THAT THE OAU AND ITS OPERATIONAL PARTNERS, SUCH AS THE UNHCR, SHOULD SIT TOGETHER TO DEVISE NEW AND SOUND STRATEGIES AIMED AT ENSURING ADEQUATE ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA'S MILLIONS OF UPROOTED COMMUNITIES, THIS CANNOT REPLACE THE IMPERATIVE FOR MEMBER STATES TO TACKLE THE ROOT-CAUSES OF REFUGEES IN AFRICA, ESPECIALLY AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL. SUCH COURSE OF ACTION WOULD BE IN CONSONANCE WITH THE DECISION OF THE LAST COUNCIL SESSION AT WHICH THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM WERE DISCUSSED.

MR CHAIRMAN,
EXCELLENCIES,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

IN THE COURSE OF THE LAST YEAR, AFRICA HAS CONTINUED TO BE MIRED IN CONFLICTS. THE OLD CONFLICTS CONTINUE TO PERSIST WITH LITTLE HOPE THAT A PERMANENT SOLUTION IS IN SIGHT. NEW ONES HAVE EMERGED THREATENING TO THROW PARTS OF THE CONTINENT INTO CHAOS. I HAVE, CONSEQUENTLY, CONTINUED TO BE GRAVELY PREOCCUPIED BY THESE CONFLICTS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE CONTINENT.

THE SENEGAL/MAURITANIA CONFLICT REMAINS LATENT. I AM, HOWEVER, ENCOURAGED THAT BOTH PARTIES HAVE EXERCISED RESTRAINT, REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF PACIFIC SETTLEMENT AND CONTINUE TO HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE MEDIATION EFFORTS OF THE OAU. THE OAU INTER-AFRICAN COMMISSION ON THE CONFLICT REMAINS SEIZED OF THE MATTER. IT UNDERTOOK A MISSION TO DAKAR AND NOUAKCHOTT IN OCTOBER, LAST YEAR, WHERE IT CONSULTED BROADLY WITH THE LEADERS OF BOTH COUNTRIES. A MINISTERIAL MEETING ON THE COMMISSION, HELD IN NEW YORK IN OCTOBER LAST YEAR, RESOLVED TO PERSIST IN ITS EFFORTS TO ASSIST THE PARTIES NARROW THEIR DIFFERENCES FURTHER AND ULTIMATELY FIND A VIABLE AND LASTING SOLUTION. IN THIS CONNECTION, I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE MEETING WHICH TOOK PLACE IN BAMAKO IN DECEMBER, LAST YEAR, BETWEEN THE MINISTERS OF MAURITANIA AND SENEGAL UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MALI. I WISH TO PAY TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT MOUSSA TRAORE FOR HIS UNTIRING EFFORTS WHICH HAVE THE FULL SUPPORT OF OUR ORGANIZATION.

A DEFINITIVE SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT IN LIBERIA HAS YET TO BE FOUND THOUGH I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE RECENT LOME AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN THE PARTIES INVOLVED ON THE MODALITIES OF BRINGING THE CRISIS TO AN END. THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF ECOWAS AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL TO ASSIST THE BELLIGERENT PARTIES AS WELL AS THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT EVOLVE A NATIONAL CONSENSUS ON A FRAMEWORK THAT WOULD END HOSTILITIES AND RESTORE PEACE TO LIBERIA. I WISH TO PAY TRIBUTE TO THE ECOWAS STANDING COMMITTEE ON MEDIATION AND TO ECOWAS AS A WHOLE FOR THEIR EFFORTS. BUT WHILE ^{SIGNIFICANT} DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS ^{completely} ARE UNDERWAY TO END FIGHTING AND RESTORE NORMALCY, I REMAIN

SADDENED BY THE ACUTE SUFFERING OF THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSAND OF INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHO CONTINUE TO LANGUISH AS REFUGEES OR DISPLACED PERSONS. AFRICA AND THE WORLD, GENERALLY, MUST RESPOND TO THIS HUMAN TRAGEDY WITH URGENT HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE ESPECIALLY OF FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES. I WISH, IN THIS CONNECTION, TO REITERATE MY APPEAL FOR URGENT HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE VICTIMS OF THE LIBERIAN CONFLICT.

MR CHAIRMAN,

LAST WEEK, A REGIONAL SUMMIT BROUGHT TOGETHER THE LEADERS OF TANZANIA, UGANDA, BURUNDI, RWANDA AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF ZAIRE IN DAR-ES-SALAAM TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT CRISIS IN RWANDA AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS REGIONALLY, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. THIS SUMMIT WAS A SEQUEL TO THE PREVIOUS ONES WHICH WERE HELD EARLIER IN MWANZA AND GBADOLITE IN OCTOBER AS WELL AS IN GOMA IN NOVEMBER, 1990 - ALL WITH A VIEW TO BRINGING THE RWANDESE GOVERNMENT AND THE RWANDESE ARMED OPPOSITION TO END HOSTILITIES AND SUBMIT TO PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF THEIR DIFFERENCES AND ELABORATE A COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGY TO DEAL CONCLUSIVELY WITH THE QUESTION OF RWANDESE REFUGEES IN THE REGION. WHILE I REGRET THAT FIGHTING HAS NOT APPRECIABLY ABATED. I TAKE HEART AT THE COMMITMENT OF THE PARTIES TO THE PRINCIPLE OF A CEASEFIRE AND DIALOGUE. IN MY CONSULTATIONS, WHICH I HAVE HELD WITH THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, I CONTINUALLY UNDERLINED THE IMPERATIVE OF ENTERING INTO FIRM, UNEQUIVOCAL UNDERSTANDING ON THE CEASEFIRE AS A PRECONDITION FOR THE FACILITATION OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS. I AM GLAD TO REPORT THAT BOTH PARTIES HAVE

ALBEIT, WITH SOME VARIANCES, AGREED WITH ME ON THIS IMPERATIVE AND HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR READINESS TO MAKE SUCH UNDERTAKINGS. I AM ALSO GLAD TO NOTE THAT THE LEADERS OF THE REGION SHARE THIS VIEW FULLY. I WISH, AT THIS JUNCTURE, TO REITERATE MY APPRECIATION TO THE LEADERS OF THE REGION FOR THE TRUST AND CONFIDENCE PLACED IN THE OAU.

THE DAR-ES-SALAAM REGIONAL SUMMIT TOOK TWO IMPORTANT DECISIONS. FIRST, IT ADOPTED THE DAR-ES-SALAAM DECLARATION ON THE RWANDESE REFUGEE PROBLEM WHICH PROVIDES A FRAMEWORK AND GUIDELINES FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THIS ISSUE.

CLEARLY, HOWEVER, THE DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT OF THE RWANDESE REFUGEE PROBLEM IS ONLY POSSIBLE IN CONDITIONS WHERE NORMALCY, SECURITY AND STABILITY IS FULLY RESTORED IN RWANDA. THIS THEN BRINGS ME TO THE SECOND IMPORTANT DECISION BY THE DAR-ES-SALAAM SUMMIT. THE SUMMIT WAS FORMALLY INFORMED OF THE AGREEMENTS AND UNDERSTANDING REACHED BETWEEN PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA OF RWANDA AND PRESIDENT MUSEVENI OF UGANDA DURING THEIR MEETING IN ZANZIBAR ON 17 FEBRUARY, 1991, AS CONTAINED IN THE ZANZIBAR COMMUNIQUE. THE SUMMIT URGED THE TWO HEADS OF STATE TO INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE AT THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE SUMMIT MANDATED PRESIDENT MOBUTU TO TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A FORMAL AGREEMENT ON CEASEFIRE BETWEEN THE RWANDESE GOVERNMENT AND THE ARMED OPPOSITION. THE REGIONAL SUMMIT EXPRESSED ITS CONFIDENCE THAT THIS OBJECTIVE WILL BE REALIZED IN THE TWO WEEKS FOLLOWING THE SUMMIT. IT WILL BE

RECALLED THAT PRESIDENT MOBUTU HAD ALSO BEEN MANDATED BY HIS COLLEAGUES TO PROMOTE A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND THE ARMED OPPOSITION. THUS, PRESIDENT MOBUTU WILL NOW BE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN BOTH SUBJECTS NAMELY THE ATTAINMENT OF A FORMAL AGREEMENT OF CEASEFIRE AND THE PROMOTION OF DIALOGUE. AND IN THIS EXERCISE, THE REGIONAL SUMMIT ASKED THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT OF THE OAU TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY ASSISTANCE.

MY HOPE IS THAT THE MOMENTUM FOR PEACE GENERATED BY THE DAR-ES-SALAAM MEETING OF 19 FEBRUARY, 1991, WILL BE SUSTAINED SO THAT PEACE CAN BE RESTORED AND THE PRESSING REFUGEE PROBLEM CONCLUSIVELY TACKLED.

THE OUTBREAK OF GENERALIZED FIGHTING IN MOGADISHU, LAST MONTH, HAS THROWN SOMALIA INTO A DESTRUCTIVE WAR SHOWING NO SIGN OF EARLY ABATEMENT. I AM GRAVELY CONCERNED NOT ONLY AT THE POSSIBLE NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CONTINUING WAR TO THE PEACE AND STABILITY OF THE REGION BUT TO THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE OF SOMALIA. IN THIS CONNECTION, I ISSUED A STATEMENT EXPRESSING MY GRAVE CONCERN AT THE CONTINUATION OF THE FIGHTING AND APPEALED TO THE PARTIES INVOLVED TO AGREE ON AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THEIR DIFFERENCES. TO-DATE, I REGRET THAT, WHILE FIGHTING MAY SEEM TO HAVE SUBSIDED, THE MANY GROUPS REMAIN DANGEROUSLY AT LOGGERHEADS AND THE THREAT OF FRESH ERUPTION OF HOSTILITIES IS VERY REAL INDEED. I WISH, THEREFORE, TO RENEW MY APPEAL TO ALL THE GROUPS TO SUBORDINATE THEIR IMMEDIATE DIFFERENCES TO THE

GREATER LONG TERM GOOD OF THEIR COUNTRY AND SEEK A PEACEFUL END TO THE FIGHTING. THE OAU AND MYSELF REMAIN TOTALLY DISPOSED TO HELP IN ANY MANNER TO PROMOTE DIALOGUE AMONG THE PARTIES. I ALSO WISH TO SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO LAUNCH AN URGENT APPEAL FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF SOMALIA ESPECIALLY THE VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT.

THE PROBLEM OF SUDAN CONTINUES TO ELUDE SOLUTION NOTWITHSTANDING THE PUBLICLY EXPRESSED WISH OF THE GOVERNMENT AND SPLM TO NEGOTIATE A NATIONAL CONCORD TO END THE CONFLICT. IN SEPTEMBER, LAST YEAR, I PAID A WORKING VISIT TO SUDAN WHERE I WAS PRIVILEGED TO MEET MANY LEADERS AND TO BE RECEIVED IN AUDIENCE BY PRESIDENT EL-BASHIR. IN MY CONSULTATIONS WITH THEM, I WAS ABLE TO OBTAIN GREATER INSIGHT INTO THE SUDANESE PROBLEM, ITS GENESIS AND ISSUES INVOLVED. I LEFT KHARTOUM ENCOURAGED BY THE DISPOSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT, GENERALLY, TO ENTER INTO FRESH NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPLM WITH A VIEW TO FINDING A LASTING SOLUTION TO THEIR NATIONAL PROBLEMS. I MET AND HELD TALKS WITH THE LEADER OF SPLM, COLONEL JOHN GARANG, AND HIS OFFICIALS. IN OUR DISCUSSIONS, I WAS INFORMED ALSO OF THEIR READINESS TO RESUSCITATE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS WITH THE GOVERNMENT WITHOUT ANY PRECONDITIONS. ABOVE ALL, I WAS STRONGLY ENCOURAGED BY THE EXPRESSION OF CONFIDENCE BY BOTH THE SUDANESE GOVERNMENT AND THE SPLM IN THE OAU AND THEIR HOPE THAT THE OAU CAN ASSIST IN PROMOTING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THIS UNFORTUNATE CONFLICT. I INTEND, ACCORDINGLY, TO FOLLOW UP THIS AVENUE DRAWING FROM THE GOODWILL FOR THE ORGANIZATION WHICH NOW SO HAPPILY EXISTS ON THE PART OF BOTH PARTIES TOWARDS DOING WHAT EVER WE CAN IN PROMOTING A SETTLEMENT.

MR CHAIRMAN,

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA KEPT ME CONSTANTLY INFORMED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY AND THE DEVELOPMENTS IN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PREVAILING CONFLICT. WHILE GREATER EFFORTS STILL NEED TO BE EXPENDED TO FIND A STABLE AND LASTING SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT, I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE MEETING LAST WEEK, IN WASHINGTON, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT BETWEEN THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE EPLF. I HOPE BOTH PARTIES WILL DO THEIR UTMOST TO CONSOLIDATE THE PEACE PROCESS WHICH THEY HAVE INITIATED SO THAT THE UNFORTUNATE CONFLICT WHICH HAS CONSUMED THIS COUNTRY FOR SO LONG CAN FINALLY BE SETTLED.

I AM CONCERNED THAT DESPITE THE FLEXIBILITY AND GOODWILL DEMONSTRATED BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, AN EFFECTIVE CEASEFIRE AND PERMANENT SOLUTIONS TO CONFLICTS IN BOTH COUNTRIES REMAIN ELUSIVE. I WISH TO COMMEND BOTH PRESIDENTS CHISSANO OF MOZAMBIQUE AND EDUARDO DO SANTOS OF ANGOLA FOR THEIR STATESMANSHIP AND PERSEVERANCE. I URGE THEM NOTWITHSTANDING THE MANY OBSTACLES PLACED BEFORE THEM TO PERSIST IN THEIR EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS TO CONFLICTS IN THEIR COUNTRIES. I ALSO STRONGLY URGE THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE INFLUENCE AND LEVERAGE OVER RENAMO AND UNITA TO ENSURE THAT THE OBSTINACY AND RECALCITRANCY OF THESE REBEL MOVEMENTS IS NOT ALLOWED TO UNDERMINE ANY FURTHER, THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN BOTH COUNTRIES.

IN WESTERN SAHARA, THERE HAS BEEN NO APPRECIABLE PROGRESS. THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT AND THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU HAVE KEPT IN CONTACT WITH THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL REGARDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE OAU/UN PLAN. I HOPE THAT A WAY WILL BE FOUND SOON TO REMOVE ALL THE REMAINING OBSTACLES SO THAT WE CAN PROCEED TO THE ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN.

THESE ARE THE MAJOR EFFORTS MADE BY THE OAU GENERAL SECRETARIAT, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THE DECLARATION ADOPTED BY THE TWENTY-SIXTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE OAU ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT, TO ASSIST IN THE SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO CONFLICTS UNDERMINING PEACE AND STABILITY IN OUR CONTINENT.

IN THE WAKE OF THE EFFORTS THUS DEPLOYED, THERE IS PERHAPS THE NEED TO TAKE STOCK OF THE PREVAILING SITUATION SO AS TO ENABLE US BETTER DIRECT OUR FUTURE ACTIVITIES. AT A TIME WHEN THE CONTINENT IS BEDEVILLED BY A SPATE OF CRISES, THE QUESTION THAT ARISES IS WHETHER THE OAU SHOULD NOT REVIEW ITS MECHANISMS FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION, MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL SO AS TO ENSURE GREATER SUCCESS IN SUCH ENDEAVOURS. I AM STILL OF THE OPINION THAT IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF SETTING UP, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, ADEQUATE MECHANISMS FOR ANTICIPATING, PRE-EMPTING, PREVENTING AND SETTLING CONFLICTS. THIS COULD BE TRANSLATED BY THE ESTABLISHMENT, WITHIN THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT, OF A MECHANISM FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT. OBVIOUSLY, THIS WILL ENTAIL ADDED FINANCIAL COST TO THE ORGANIZATION. OVER THE LAST

YEAR, FOR EXAMPLE, THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT WAS OBLIGED TO INCUR COST AS A RESULT OF ITS INVOLVEMENT IN EFFORTS TO SETTLE CONFLICTS IN THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE CONTINENT. IN THE CASE OF RWANDA, FOR EXAMPLE, WE EVEN ENVISAGE, AT SOME STAGE, THE DEPLOYMENT OF A MILITARY OBSERVER TEAM SHOULD A CEASEFIRE BE AGREED UPON AND PUT INTO EFFECT. ALL THIS WILL, OF COURSE, IMPLY FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS WHICH WERE NOT BUDGETTED FOR. YET WE CAN NOT ESCAPE FROM SPENDING ON PEACE EFFORTS. IT IS AN OBLIGATION PLACED UPON THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT BY MEMBER STATES AND FROM WHICH, AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, WE CANNOT EXTRICATE OURSELVES. THIS EFFECTIVELY MEANS THAT THERE IS STRONG NEED FOR CONTINGENCY FINANCIAL OUTLAY INCORPORATED IN THE BUDGET OF THE ORGANIZATION TO FUND EFFORTS AT CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND MANAGEMENT. THIS WOULD NOT ONLY PROVIDE READY RESOURCES BUT OBTAIN THE NEED FOR THE FREQUENT REQUESTS FOR VIREMENTS.

FURTHERMORE, IT SEEMS NECESSARY TO HAVE A THOROUGH REVIEW OF THE EXISTING INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION, A REVIEW NOW MADE URGENT BY THE DORMANCY OF THE COMMISSION ON MEDIATION, CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION. IN THAT RESPECT, WHAT NEEDS TO BE BORNE IN MIND IS THAT ALL THE CONFLICTS IN AFRICA ARE WHOLLY OR PARTIALLY POLITICAL IN NATURE OR, AT LEAST, HAVE STRONG POLITICAL OVERTONES. IT MAY NOT, THEREFORE, BE USEFUL FOR A PURELY QUASIJUDICIAL BODY TO HANDLE SENSITIVE POLITICAL ISSUES. PERHAPS, THE TIME IS RIPE TO CONSIDER WHETHER THE EXISTING AD-HOC SYSTEM OF COMMITTEES IS SUFFICIENTLY VIABLE OR ALTERNATIVELY WHETHER SOME OTHER MECHANISMS MAY BE DEvised. BUT WHAT EVER ARRANGEMENTS THAT CAN BE EVENTUALLY DECIDED UPON,

THERE IS NO ESCAPING A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY THAT DEVOLVES UPON THE OAU SECRETARY-GENERAL AND THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT AND THAT RESPONSIBILITY INCLUDES CONFLICT RESOLUTION OR ANYTHING THAT IS NOT SPECIFICALLY PROVIDED FOR BUT WHICH THREATENS THE EFFECTIVENESS AND UNDERMINES THE UNITY AND SOLIDARITY OF AFRICA.

MR CHAIRMAN,

HONOURABLE MINISTERS AND HEADS OF DELEGATIONS,

THIS IS ESSENTIALLY A BUDGET SESSION AND, THEREFORE, THE FOCUS OF ITS DELIBERATIONS MUST BE ON THE BUDGET. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, OTHER ISSUES AND EVENTS WHICH DUE TO THEIR DIRECT RELEVANCE TO AFRICA AND THE OAU ITSELF, DO ALSO DESERVE ATTENTION. IN MY REPORT, I HAVE TRIED TO HIGHLIGHT SOME OF THEM AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS TO AFRICA. THIS IS, IN NO WAY, EXHAUSTIVE. WHAT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE ABILITY OF AFRICA TO DEAL WITH THEM WILL, IN LARGE MEASURE, DEPEND ON OUR ABILITY TO PULL TOGETHER. WHETHER IT IS DEALING WITH ISSUES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE ENVIRONMENT, APARTHEID OR TACKLING THE CONTINENT'S SEEMINGLY ENDEMIC CONFLICTS, AFRICA'S ABILITY TO TRIUMPH WILL BE MEASURED AGAINST ITS CAPACITY FOR COHESION, SOLIDARITY AND UNITY OF PURPOSE AND ACTION. MY EARNEST HOPE IS THAT THE SPIRIT OF UNITY AND SOLIDARITY WILL PERMEATE THE WORK OF THIS SESSION OF THE COUNCIL.

I THANK YOU.