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ADDRESS BY THE OAU SECRETARY-GENERAL, H.E. MR SALIM AHMED SALIM

TO THE U.N. WORKSHOP ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION,

CRISIS PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT AND CONFIDENCE BUILDING

AMONG AFRICAN STATES.

Arusha, 5 March, 1990.

MR CHAIRMAN,

ALLOW ME TO THANK THE ORGANIZERS OF THIS WORKSHOP FOR THE HONOUR THEY HAVE GIVEN ME TO DELIVER THE KEYNOTE ADDRESS. AT A TIME WHEN THE REST OF THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY EUROPE IS TAKING MEASURES TO ENSURE A FUTURE FULL OF PROMISE, A FUTURE NOT DEPENDENT ON ARMAMENTS BUT COOPERATION. WE IN AFRICA ALSO OUGHT TO BE ASKING OURSELVES SERIOUS QUESTIONS. WILL AFRICA CONTINUE ON ITS FRACTITIOUS PATH OR SHALL WE PUT A HALT TO IT AND BEGIN ON THE LONG ROAD TO PEACE AND STABILITY AND COOPERATION ON THE CONTINENT ?

THE THEME OF THIS WORKSHOP UNDERSOCRES THE AGENDA FOR AFRICA. IN THE EXCHANGE OF YOUR VIEWS ON CONFLICT RESOLUTIONS, YOU MAY WISH TO BRAINSTORM ON THE AFRICA OF THE FUTURE - A FUTURE, I HOPE, IN WHICH WE SHALL NOT BE TALKING ABOUT CONFLICT RESOLUTION BUT ABOUT THE CONSOLIDATION OF COOPERATION AND ENSURING THE ENDURANCE OF PEACE.

BOTH THE OAU AND THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE A HIGH STAKE IN THE STABILITY OF AFRICA - AFTER ALL, AFRICA CONSTITUTES ONE THIRD OF THE UN MEMBERSHIP. IT IS THIS SHARED MISSION WHICH HAS MADE BOTH ORGANIZATIONS PARTNERS IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE. TOGETHER, THEY HAVE PROMOTED AFRICAN UNITY, TACKLED THE CONTINENT'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND IN AN EFFECTIVE WAY, THROUGH QUIET DIPLOMACY CONTRIBUTED POSITIVELY IN RESOLVING CONFLICTS. I HOPE THIS PARTNERSHIP WILL BE STRENGTHENED EVEN MORE IN THE YEARS AHEAD AS WE APPROACH THE 21ST CENTURY.

MR CHAIRMAN,

CONFLICT RESOLUTION IS, INDEED, A COMPLEX SUBJECT. BOTH THE OAU AND THE UN HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN ISSUES OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION FOR YEARS. BUT THE OAU AND THE UN HAVE TENDED TO WORK MORE CLOSELY ON THE PRINCIPLES OF PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY RATHER THAN CONFLICT RESOLUTION. INDEED, THE NOTION OF CRISIS PREVENTION IS A LOGICAL DERIVATIVE OF THE CONCEPT OF PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT HAS BEEN LINKED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BROADER CONCEPT OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY. THIS WAS ENVISAGED TO BE A SYSTEM FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE SYSTEM OF BALANCE OF POWER IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

THE NEW SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY WAS ENVISAGED TO INVOLVE THE ESTABLISHMENT AND OPERATION OF A COMPLEX SCHEME OF NATIONAL COMMITMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL MECHANISMS DESIGNED TO PREVENT THE USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. THE SYSTEM WAS EQUALLY ENVISAGED TO HAVE THE POTENTIAL FOR CREDIBLE THREAT AND RELIABLE PROMISE OF EFFECTIVE COLLECTIVE MEASURES AGAINST AGGRESSORS RANGING FROM DIPLOMATIC BOYCOTT THROUGH ECONOMIC PRESSURE TO MILITARY SANCTIONS, TO ENFORCE THE PEACE. THIS TASK OF PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY WAS ASSIGNED TO BOTH THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY.

THE CONDUCT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS HAS BEEN THE PRIMARY INSTRUMENT BY WHICH THE UN SYSTEM HAS UNDERTAKEN TO EXERCISE THE FUNCTION OF PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY. CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION HAS TAKEN PLACE ON WHETHER PEACE-KEEPING OR PEACE OBSERVATION OPERATIONS ARE AUTHORIZED BY THE UN CHARTER. IN THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, HOWEVER, PEACEKEEPING AND PEACE OBSERVATIONS SEEM TO HAVE BEEN LEGITIMIZED BY GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF MORAL OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE CONCEPT OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY.

WHILE THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY IS INHERENT IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, THE CHARTER OF THE OAU MAKES NO SPECIFIC REFERENCE OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS OR SPECIFIC SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. THE OAU CHARTER MENTIONS COOPERATION FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY AS ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF THE ORGANIZATION. IT ALSO TALKS OF THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, HAVING DUE REGARD TO THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE OAU CHARTER IS, HOWEVER, EMPHATIC ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF CONFLICTS.

THE OAU ACCEPTS THE UNITED NATIONS AS A VALUABLE INSTRUMENT FOR PEACE AND AS A MACHINERY WHERE THE WORLD CAN ESTABLISH SOME COMMON NORMS AND RULES PERTAINING TO THE CONDUCT OF RELATIONS AMONG STATES. EQUALLY, THE UNITED NATIONS RECOGNIZES THE OAU AS A REGIONAL ARRANGEMENT WITHIN THE MEANING OF THE UN CHARTER IN DEALING WITH MATTERS RELATED TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CRISIS PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT AND CERTAINLY, CONFIDENCE BUILDING AMONG AFRICAN STATES.

THE MAJOR ROLE OF THE OAU AND THE UNITED NATIONS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION HAVE BEEN, BY AND LARGE, COMPLEMENTARY. OVER THE PAST YEARS, THE OAU HAS TENDED TO ASSUME THE PRIMARY RESPONSABILITY FOR POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC ASPECTS OF CONFLICTS IN AFRICA WHILE THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN INCLINED TO LIMIT ITSELF TO HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS. THIS PARTNERSHIP ILLUSTRATES A CLASSIC EXAMPLE OF A PROTOCOL FOR PERMANENT COOPERATION IN THE FULFILLMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF A POLICY OF CONTINENTAL PEACE FEDERATION IN THE FABRIC OF PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY.

OUTSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS FRAMEWORK, THE OAU HAS ITS OWN METHODOLOGY AND MECHANISMS FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTIONS, PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT AS WELL AS CONFIDENCE BUILDING AMONG AFRICAN STATES.

BUT IT IS NOT IN THESE CONSTITUTIONAL OR LEGALISTIC TERMS WHICH I INTEND TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT. ON THE CONTRARY, I WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE ORDINARY ISSUES WHICH OFTEN GET GLOSSED OVER OR ARE TAKEN FOR GRANTED WHEN OUR EXPERTS PROPOUND AND ANALYSE STRATEGIC MILITARY DOCTRINES AND TRY, OFTEN WITHOUT SUCCESS, TO JUXTAPOSE THE AFRICAN CONTEXT IN THIS STRAIGHT-JACKET OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS. I PROCEED, OF COURSE, FROM THE PREMISE THAT AFRICA HAS PROBLEMS UNIQUE TO ITSELF - AT LEAST IN MAGNITUDE. IT SHOULD, THEREFORE, HAVE DIFFERENT CONCERNS AND PRIORITIES AND HENCE APPROACH ITS PROBLEMS DIFFERENTLY.

MR CHAIRMAN,

I DO NOT VIEW AFRICAN COUNTRIES WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE GLOBAL EQUATION OF MILITARY COMPETITION. WE DO NOT HAVE THE CAPABILITY OR THE REASONS TO PITCH OURSELVES AGAINST THE OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD IN A FUED OF MILITARY SUPREMACY. NO AMOUNT OF MILITARY PROCUREMENT OR DEPLOYMENT WITHIN AN INDIVIDUAL AFRICAN COUNTRY OR IN ALL OF THEM COLLECTIVELY IS POSSIBLE TO COUNTERVAIL THE AMERICAN OR SOVIET MILITARY POWER OR FRANCE FOR THAT MATTER. IF WE CANNOT ARM OURSELVES ENOUGH TO BE A CREDIBLE DETERRENCE AGAINST THE OUTSIDE POWERS, WHY THEN DO WE STOCKPILE ARMS ? THE TRAGIC CHARACTER OF THE ARMS RACE IN AFRICA IS ITS INHERENT MOTIVATION TO ARM AGAINST NEIGHBOURS, AGAINST SISTER COUNTRIES !

THIS HAS BEEN POSSIBLE FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS, BUT NO LEAST DUE TO OUR LACK OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS OVER THE INDIVISIBILITY OF THE SECURITY OF AFRICA. THE SECURITY AND STABILITY OF EACH AFRICAN COUNTRY IS LINKED TO THAT OF ITS NEIGHBOURS. INSECURITY AND INSTABILITY ARE CONTAGIOUS. PEACE CAN NOT EXIST IN ONE COUNTRY LIKE AND ISLAND IN A SEA OF INSECURITY AND CONFLICT. INSTABILITY ALONG THE BORDERS PRECIPITATE TENSIONS, MILITARY DEPLOYMENTS RISKING ARMED CONFRONTATION AND CREATES REFUGEES.

WHY THEN DO AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARM THEMSELVES DESPITE A REALIZATION OF THE FUTILITY OF PURSUING INDIVIDUAL SECURITY?

MR CHAIRMAN,

SINCE INDEPENDENCE, THERE HAS BEEN A STEADY INCREASE IN THE LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS AND ARMS EXPENDITURES. ADMITTEDLY, THERE WERE INITIAL JUSTIFICATION FOR SUCH INCREASES BUT THEIR RATE OF INCREASE AND THEIR POLITICAL CONTEXTS HAVE GRADUALLY DEGENERATED INTO FACTORS OF INSTABILITY AND INSECURITY. IT WAS ARGUED IN MOST COUNTRIES AND, PERHAPS LOGICALLY SO, THAT THE SECURITY VOID LEFT BY THE DEPARTING COLONIALISTS HAD TO BE FILLED. IT WAS ALSO ARGUED THAT THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT MADE MILITARY BUILD-UP NECESSARY TO ASSUME THE ROLE OF DEFENDER AND PROTECTOR OF THE SOVERIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES. WARS OF LIBERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ALSO JUSTIFIED INCREASE, DESPITE THE HEAVY BURDEN IT CONSITUTED TO THE WEAK ECONOMIES OF THE NASCENT FRONT-LINE STATES. BUT, BY FAR, THE MOST REGRETTABLE INCREASE AND WHICH CONSTITUTES THE LARGEST PART , IS THE ONE ARISING OUT OF INTER-STATE CONFLICTS, ESPECIALLY OVER BORDERS. WHETHER IN ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA,SUDAN, UGANDA, TANZANIA, KENYA, LIBYA, CHAD OR IN OTHER COUNTRIES, INCREASES IN MILITARY EXPENDITURES ARE OR WERE DIRECTLY LINKED TO CONFLICTUAL SITUATIONS IN PREVALENCE. THE COST OF THESE INCREASES HAVE HAD SERIOUS NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES TO THE ABILITIES OF THOSE COUNTRIES TO PURSUE DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES. AND DESPITE MINOR DECREASES, TODAY, AFRICA STILL SPENDS MORE ON ARMS THAN ON EDUCATION, HEALTH OR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, AT A TIME WHEN THERE IS GENERAL DECLINE IN MILITARY ACQUISITION WORLD-WIDE.

MR CHAIRMAN,

BORDER AND BOUNDARY PROBLEMS ARE NOT NEW PHENOMENA TO AFRICA. THEY ARE INHERENT IN THE ARBITRARY DEMARCATION OF BOUNDARIES BY THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATIONS. BUT FOR THE EXCEPTION OF RELATIVELY FEW OPEN HOSTILITIES, MOST BORDER AREAS HAVE REMAINED CALM OR AT WORST, THE HOSTILITIES ONLY LATENT. AT THE PERIOD FOLLOWING INDEPENDENCE, HOSTILITIES WERE ECLIPSED BY THE EUPHORIA OF NEWLY WON NATIONAL FREEDOM AND THE FERVENT HOPE FOR CONTINENTAL UNITY. THIS WAS CERTAINLY NOT THE ONLY REASON. THE MORE SELF-SERVING REASON WAS THE RELUCTANCE TO OPEN UP AN ENDLESS CHAIN REACTION OF BOUNDARY CLAIMS ACROSS THE CONTINENT. REALISM PERSUADED THE COUNTRIES TO ADOPT THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INVIOLABILITY OF THE BOUNDARIES INHERITED FROM THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION.

IN MORE RECENT YEARS, HOWEVER, WITH THE EUPHORIA LONG GONE AND THE TASKS OF GOVERNMENT MORE EXACTING, STATES HAVE TENDED TO BE LESS MINDFUL OF AFRICAN SOLIDARITY AND OAU CHARTER PROVISIONS. POPULATION PRESSURES, DESERTIFICATION COUPLED BY DISCOVERY, IN SOME CASES, OF RESOURCES IN BORDER AREAS, HAVE BECOME CATALYSTS TO CONFLICTS. THE ACUTE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING MOST AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAVE SUBORDINATED THE IDEALS OF THE AFRICAN CONSENSUS OVER BOUNDARIES AND ALMOST CREATED JUSTIFICATION FOR SUSTAINING SOME OF THESE BORDER CONFLICTS. AT TIMES NATIONALISM HAS BEEN INVOKED.

RELIGION HAS HAD ALSO ITS OWN CONTRIBUTION TO CONFLICTS THOUGH TO A MUCH LESS EXTENT. BUT THE RESURGENCE OF FUNDAMENTALISM, CHRISTIAN AND ISLAMIC THREATEN TO THROW THE CONTINENT INTO NEW FORMS OF CONFLICTS. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF LIBYA, MAURITANIA, COMOROS AND SUDAN, ALL THE OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAVE SECULAR GOVERNMENTS. ADMITTEDLY, THERE HAS BEEN A CONTINENT-WIDE EFFORT ON THE PART OF ALL GOVERNMENTS NOT TO PRECIPITATE OR TO WHIP-UP THE LATENT RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES. BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT AFRICA HAS, THEREFORE, IMMUNIZED ITSELF FROM RELIGIOUS STRIFE. QUITE TO THE CONTRARY, THERE HAVE BEEN RIOTS AND SOMETIMES WARS FOUGHT ON ACCOUNT OF RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES. THE WAR IN SUDAN HAS RELIGIOUS OVERTONES AND WE REMEMBER THE NOT SO INFREQUENT CONFRONTATIONS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA.

RELIGION-BASED DIFFERENCES DO IN A VERY REAL WAY THREATEN THE SECURITY AND STABILITY OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES. IT IS , THEREFORE, NECESSARY THAT AS AN INSURANCE AGAINST VIOLENCE MOTIVATED BY RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS AND COMPETITIONS, AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD ELABORATE MECHANISMS OF GOVERNANCE WHICH DO NOT ACCENTUATE THESE DIFFERENCES BUT SEEK NATIONAL HARMONY BASED, IN PART, ON UNFETTERED FREEDOM OF WORKSHIP AND SECURE FOUNDATIONS OF SECULAR GOVERNMENT STATES.

PROBLEMS OF TRIBALISM AND REGIONALISM LED TO THE BITTER CIVIL WAR IN NIGERIA AND THEY CONTINUE TO BE SOURCES OF TENSION IN MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES. NOW, INTER-CLAN WARS ARE THREATENING TO TEAR SOMALIA APART AND ADD TO THE ALREADY COMPLICATED AND

DELICATE SITUATION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA. IN THE SUDAN, A WAR IS RAGING ON. A COMBINATION OF FACTORS, NOT LEAST THOSE OF COLOUR AND ETHNICITY, HAVE THROWN THE COUNTRY INTO A DESTRUCTIVE WAR WITH REAL POSSIBILITIES OF ITS PARTITION.

MR CHAIRMAN,

QUITE APART FROM THESE MILITARY RELATED FACTORS WHICH PLACE AFRICA'S SECURITY INTO JEOPARDY, THERE ARE VARIOUS NON-MILITARY THREATS TO IT AS WELL. THESE ARE THREATS WHICH CANNOT COMPREHENSIVELY BE CONTAINED THROUGH THE TRADITIONAL MECHANISMS OF PEACE MAINTENANCE. NO THIRD PARTY OR ANY OTHER INNOVATIVE MECHANISM CAN REPLACE THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL CONSENSUS WITHIN COUNTRIES. IT IS ONLY THROUGH A CONTINUOUS DEBATE AND CONSULTATION THAT AGREEMENT ON THE MODALITIES OF REMOVING THESE THREATS CAN BE FOUND.

THERE ARE IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AS ELSEWHERE, CONSIDERABLE ECONOMIC DISPARITIES BETWEEN PEOPLE. THIS IS THE CASE DESPITE MANY GENUINE NATIONAL EXPERIMENTS TO REDUCE INCOME RATIOS AND PROVIDE ESSENTIAL SOCIAL SERVICES. THERE ARE MANY COUNTRIES WHICH ARE GRAPPLING WITH DEMANDS FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS DESPITE CONSTITUTIONS WHICH GUARANTEE SUCH FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS. IN ALL THESE, WE NEED NATIONAL MEANS OF CONCILIATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION.

MR CHAIRMAN,

POVERTY HAS HAD DEBILITATING EFFECT ON OUR CONTINENT AND OUR ABILITY TO RECOVER IS SERIOUSLY CONSTRAINED BY THE WEAK BASE OF OUR ECONOMIES. AFRICA'S INCOME HAS PLUMMETED WITH THE COLLAPSE OF COMMODITY PRICES AND CORRESPONDING INCREASE IN THE COST OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS. DESPITE MANY STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE WORLD MONETARY AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, MOST COUNTRIES ARE FAR FROM RECOVERY. INSTEAD OUR COUNTRIES ARE SINKING DEEPER AND DEEPER INTO THE CYCLE OF BORROWING TO PAY AND PAYING FOR CERTIFICATION TO BORROW MORE AND ALWAYS AT STIFFER TERMS AND HIGHER INTEREST RATES. AS A RESULT, AFRICA HAS BECOME A NET EXPORTER OF CAPITAL TO THE DEVELOPED WORLD AT A TIME WHEN WE HAVE ACCUMULATED AN EXTERNAL DEBT OF OVER 250 BILLION AMERICAN DOLLARS. WE SPEND ABOUT 50 % OF OUR TOTAL EXTERNAL EARNINGS ON SERVICING THE DEBT. OUR PER CAPITA INCOMES CONTINUE TO FALL AND ABOUT HALF OF THE ENTIRE POPULATION OF OUR CONTINENT NOW LIVE BELOW THE POVERTY LINE; DESPITE THEIR WORKING HARDER THAN BEFORE. AFRICA NOW WORKS MORE AND MORE FOR LESS AND LESS.

FOOD PRODUCTION HAS FALLEN AND DESERTIFICATION IS THREATENING THE GREEN FOOD PRODUCING AREAS AT THE RATE OF SIX MILLION HECTARES PER YEAR. A COMBINATION OF DROUGHT AND, IN SOME CASES, UNSUITABLE AGRICULTURAL POLICIES HAS WROUGHT HAVOC TO AGRICULTURE. CHILD MORTALITY RATE IS OVER 100 % ABOVE THE AVERAGE OF THE WHOLE DEVELOPING WORLD AND A STAGGERING 165 MILLION OF AFRICANS STILL LANGUISH IN THE DARKENESS OF ILLITERACY.

ALL THESE ARE FACTORS INIMICAL TO THE STABILITY AND SECURITY OF AFRICA. THEY NEED TO BE TACKLED BY AFRICANS THEMSELVES FIRST. AFRICA HAS TO LOOK TO ITSELF FOR ANSWERS TO HER ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. WE NEED TO COORDINATE OUR EFFORTS ON THE BASIS OF THE LAGOS PLAN OF ACTION, ON THE BASIS OF COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE TO WORK TOWARDS A SELF-SUSTANING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. WE MUST MAKE A RADICAL DEPARTURE FROM EXPERIMENTAL MODELS OF DEVELOPMENT WORKED OUT OUTSIDE OUR CONTINENT AND WHICH HAVE SO FAR PROVED USEFUL ONLY IN ENTRENCHING OUR DEPENDENCE. COLLECTIVE ACTION WITHIN AFRICA TO DELIVER THE CONTINENT FROM THE CURRENT ECONOMIC DOLDRUMS HOLDS GREATER PROMISE FOR SECURITY. INDEED, A STARVING CHILD IN TANZANIA OR ETHIOPIA IS NOT ANYMORE THREATENED BY NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR MACHINE GUNS THAT IT IS BY THE LACK OF FOOD AND PROBABLE DEATH FROM STARVATION.

MR CHAIRMAN,

IN MY VIEW, PERHAPS THE MOST THREAT TO AFRICA COMES FROM THE SOMETIMES SOUR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENTS. BY AND LARGE MOST COUNTRIES HAVE AND ARE STILL GRAPPLING WITH THE PROBLEM OF WORKING OUT AN IDEAL MODEL OF SUCH RELATIONSHIP - A MODUS OPERANDI IN POLITICS. BUT THE TENSIONS WHICH HAVE INVARIABLY EXISTED RESULT FROM THE INABILITY OF GOVERNMENTS TO RESPOND IN A SATISFACTORY WAY TO THE NEED OF PEOPLE TO PARTICIPATE DEMOCRATICALLY IN THE POLITICAL AND GOVERNANCE PROCESS. THIS DEMAND HAS BEEN AT TIMES INTERPRETED

AS DISSENT OR CHALLENGE TO THE AUTHORITIES AND LEGITIMACY OF THE GOVERNMENT IN POWER. ADMITTEDLY, SUCH REACTION IS NOT ALWAYS MOTIVATED BY THE OPPRESSIVE INSTINCTS OF GOVERNMENTS. IT IS AT TIMES OUT OF GENUINE LACK OF EXPERIENCE ESPECIALLY IN THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE MILITARY COUPS HAVE TENDED TO BE FREQUENT. SUCH FREQUENCY OF COUPS AND INEXPERIENCE OF SUCCESSIVE LEADERS HAVE MEANT A DE FACTO FREEZE TO POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS AS WELL AS A RESULTANT AGITATION OF PEOPLE FOR SUCH PARTICIPATION. IN EFFECT, IT HAS ENSURED A CONSTANT STATE OF LATENT FRICTION WHICH HAS REMAINED DORMANT EITHER OUT OF FEAR OF RETRIBUTION OR PREOCCUPATION WITH OTHER MORE ENGAGING ISSUES ON THE PART OF THE POPULATION OR AVAILABILITY TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF ADEQUATE RESOURCES TO DAMPEN THE ENTHUSIASM FOR POLITICAL AGITATION WITH LAVISH PROVISION OF SOCIAL WELFARE NEEDS.

MY ARGUMENTS IS THAT WHATEVER HAS BEEN THE FORM OF THIS RELATIONSHIP, BY AND LARGE, AFRICAN MASSES HAVE NOT BEEN GIVEN THE ADEQUATE OPPORTUNITIES TO RELEASE FULLY THEIR ENERGIES OF CREATIVITY AND APPLY THEM TO DEVELOPMENT. BECAUSE OF THEIR RESTRICTIVE POLICIES ON SUCH PARTICIPATION, GOVERNMENTS HAVE IN TURN SPENT A LOT OF RESOURCES, TIME AND MANPOWER EITHER TO PROTECT THEMSELVES OR TO LOOK FOR A WORKABLE BALANCE. IN THIS CONSTANT SEARCH FOR SUCH BALANCE ON THE ONE HAND AND TAKING MEASURES TO ENSURE THEIR SECURITY ON THE OTHER, GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOT HAD THE TIME OR DEVOTION TO LOOK SERIOUSLY AT ISSUES OF LONG TERM FOUNDATION OF PEACE SUCH AS DEVELOPMENT. EQUALLY,

IN THIS PROCESS OF CONTAINING DISSENT AND ENSURING SELF-PRESERVATION, CERTAIN ELEMENTS WITHIN THE RULING ESTABLISHMENTS HAVE COMMITTED EXCESSES AND VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS VICIOUS CIRCLE OF AGITATION AND CONTAINMENT HAS LITERALLY APPLIED BRAKES TO DEVELOPMENT. IN MORE WAYS THAN ONE, PEOPLES' DESPAIR HAS SET IN AN ALMOST FATAL SENSE OF CYNICISM ON THE FUTURE OF THE CONTINENT AND PESSIMISM REGARDING THE POLICIES OF GOVERNMENTS. THIS APARTHY HAS KILLED THE INITIATIVE OF THE PEOPLE AND INSTILLED INTO THEM INSTEAD, THE DEEP SENSE OF SELF-DOUBT. THIS, TO ME, POSES GREATER AND LONG TERM THREAT TO AFRICA'S SECURITY.

THOSE LESS CHARITABLE ABOUT AFRICA HAVE SOUGHT TO APPLY DIFFERENT STANDARDS TO AFRICA AND JUSTIFY SUCH SITUATIONS BECAUSE IT SUITES THEIR INTERESTS. THEY ARGUE THAT AFRICAN SOCIETIES LEND THEMSELVES MORE AMENABLE TO MILITARY RULE AND THAT PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY ON THE WESTERN MODEL IS ALIEN TO AFRICA. THOSE EVEN LESS CHARITABLE HAVE ARGUED THAT PEOPLE IN AFRICA SHOULD BE MORE PREOCCUPIED BY HUNGER AND POVERTY AND LESS WITH ACADEMIC ISSUES LIKE DEMOCRACY. IN OTHER WORDS, DEMOCRACY IS THE PASSTIME ACTIVITY OF THE RICH AND THE AFFLUENT. I SUBMIT TO YOU ALL THESE ARE ARGUMENTS TO COUNTENANCE FORCES AGAINST DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA. HOW CAN THEY ARGUE ABOUT THE LIBERATING QUALITIES OF DEMOCRACY AND ITS POSITIVE IMPACT TO DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE AND SOVIET UNION AND IN IN THE SAME BREADTH DENY IT TO AFRICA ?

I AM GLAD TO NOTE THAT THERE IS, NOW, A STEADILY EMERGING REALIZATION IN AFRICA THAT ITS FUTURE LIES IN DEMOCRACY BASED ON POPULAR PARTICIPATION BOTH IN GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THIS REALIZATION IS BEST ILLUSTRATED BY THE GROWING TREND TOWARDS CIVILIAN RULE. MOST MILITARY GOVERNMENTS ARE REALIZING THAT CONSTITUTIONAL RULE CONSTITUTES A STABLER BASIS FOR POLITICAL LEGITIMACY AND LONG TERM PROSPECTS FOR NATIONAL SECURITY.

MR CHAIRMAN,

QUESTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION ARE INTERNAL ISSUES. AS SUCH, THEREFORE, THERE IS LITTLE ROOM FOR INNOVATION IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION NOR IS THERE AN EXPLICIT ROLE FOR THE OAU. IT IS UP TO THE SOCIETY IN QUESTION TO COME TO TERMS WITH ITS OWN NEEDS AND ABILITIES. IT INVOLVES A NATIONAL PROCESS WHICH, IF APPLIED SUCCESSFULLY, CAN HAVE INFLUENCE ON HOW THE COUNTRY OR SOCIETY VIEWS CONFLICTS WITH OTHERS. MORE PEACE INTERNALLY CONTRIBUTES TO PEACE BUILDING EXTERNALLY.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND MANAGEMENT PRESUPPOSE THE POLITICAL DETERMINATION ON THE PARTIES IN A CONFLICTUAL SITUATION TO ABANDON WAR AS A MEANS OF SETTLEMENT AND EMBARKING INSTEAD ON THE PEACEFUL COURSE. THE ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT OF THIS PEACEFUL PROCESS IS NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT IS WHY I WISH TO DWELL A LITTLE ON NEGOTIATION AS BOTH A PROCESS AND MEANS TO PACIFIC SETTLEMENT.

NEGOTIATIONS AS AN OBJECTIVE MUST ENTAIL SHARED PERCEPTIONS BY THE PARTIES ON THE GENERAL FORM OF THE SETTLEMENT TOWARDS WHICH THEY WORK. THEY MAY HAVE DIVERGENT VIEWS AS TO THE MECHANISM, PRIORITIES AND AREAS TO ACCENTUATE BUT THEY NEED TO HAVE A COMMON IMPRESSION OF THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THOSE NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS THE FACTOR OF THE COMMON DENOMINATORS WHICH IS INSTRUMENTAL IN SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS. NEGOTIATION AS A PROCESS INVOLVES A POLITICAL DETERMINATION BY THE PARTIES THAT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS A FAIR SETTLEMENT IS POSSIBLE THROUGH NEGOTIATION. IT IS A BELIEF OF THE PARTIES IN THE ABILITY OR POTENTIAL OF THAT PROCESS TO BRING ABOUT EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT. NEGOTIATION AS A POLITICAL PHENOMENON MUST INVOLVE A REALIZATION BY THOSE CONCERNED THAT ULTIMATELY AN EQUITABLE AND LASTING SOLUTION LIES NOT IN THE CONTINUATION OF CONFLICT BUT IN PACIFIC SETTLEMENT. IT IMPLIES A CERTAIN BALANCE OF FORCES.

BUT WHATEVER THE MILITARY STATISTICS OR EQUATIONS, NEGOTIATIONS IS ONLY POSSIBLE IF THE PARTIES HAVE THE REQUIRED CONFIDENCE IN BOTH THE PROCESS ITSELF AND IN THOSE WHO ACT AS MEDIATORS. CREDIBILITY IS THE ESSENCE OF ANY MEDIATION EFFORTS. THIS CREDIBILITY IS NOT ACQUIRED INSTANTLY. TO BE CREDIBLE, INDIVIDUALS OR COUNTRIES MUST HAVE, OVERTIME, DEMONSTRATED THE NECESSARY POLITICAL SKILLS IN THEIR INVOLVMENT IN OTHER CONFLICT SITUATIONS. THEY MUST ALSO HAVE THE STANDING ARISING FROM AN IMPECCABLE RECORD OF IMPARTIALITY AND BE ABLE TO INSPIRE THE CONFIDENCE OF PARTIES TO A CONFLICT.

MR CHAIRMAN,

I HAVE MADE THESE OBSERVATIONS TO PUT THE PAST EFFORTS OF THE OAU AND INDIVIDUAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES AT MEDIATION INTO CONTEXT. BY NO MEANS DO I, BY THESE OBSERVATIONS, IMPLY THAT OUR LACK OF SUCCESS IN THE PAST HAS BEEN EXCLUSIVELY DUE TO THESE FACTORS. SOMETIMES AND WITH SOME CONFLICTS, IT IS NOT THE FAULT OR LACK OF CREDENTIALS OR EFFORT BY THE MEDIATORS. SOME CONFLICTS ARE SO COMPLICATED SOMETIMES BY EXTRA-REGIONAL POWER INVOLVEMENT THAT THEY DO NOT LEND THEMSELVES TO EASY SOLUTION NO MATTER WHAT EFFORT. SOMETIMES, THEY INVOLVE PERSONALITIES WHO SEE RESOLUTION OF A GIVEN CONFLICT LINKED TO THEIR POLITICAL FUTURE. SOMETIMES, THEY ARE CONFLICTS INVOKING SUCH DEEP EMOTIONAL AND NATIONALISTIC FEELINGS THAT IT IS AN EXERCISE IN FUTILITY TO TRY TO ADVANCE LOGICALLY REASONED ARGUMENTS, ESPECIALLY AT THE PEAK OF THE CONFLICT. EXPERIENCE HAS DEMONSTRATED THAT SUCH CONFLICTS ARE RESOLVED BY TIME WITH CHANGING POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND PERSONALITIES. IN OTHER WORDS, BY THE WILL OF NONE. IT IS WITH THESE CONSIDERATIONS AND ON THESE PREMISES THAT THE OAU HAS APPROACHED ITS ROLE IN THE FIELD OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION.

MR CHAIRMAN,

AMONG THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER IS THE SOLEMN AFFIRMATION BY THE AFRICAN STATES TO THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BY NEGOTIATION, MEDIATION, CONCILIATION OR ARBITRATION. CONSISTENT WITH THIS AFFIRMATION, THE FOUNDER MEMBERS CREATED A COMMISSION OF MEDIATION, CONCILIATION AND

ARBITRATION. A PROTOCOL OF THIS COMMISSION SETS OUT THE GUIDELINES ON ITS COMPOSITION, ACTIVITIES, OPERATION AND AREAS COMPETENCE.

OVER THE YEARS, LITTLE RECOURSE HAS BEEN HAD TO THE COMMISSION. DIFFERENCES LARGELY OVER ITS MANDATE AS WELL AS RELUCTANCE OF MEMBER STATES TO SUBMIT THEMSELVES TO MEDIATION HAVE NOT ENABLED THE COMMISSION TO FUNCTION AS ENVISAGED. THE ABSENCE OF MEDIATION BY THE COMMISSION DOES NOT HOWEVER, IMPLY THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO MEDIATION EFFORTS AT THE LEVEL OF THE OAU. OVERTIME, AND DEPENDING ON THE NATURE OF THE CONFLICTS THE MEMBER STATES HAVE DARED TO BE INNOVATIVE AND IN THE PROCESS CONTRIBUTED POSITIVELY TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND MANAGEMENT.

ADMITTEDLY, DUE TO THE SENSITIVITY OF THE ISSUE, IN PARTICULAR AS IT TOUCHES MATTERS OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, THE OAU BODIES HAVE BEEN RATHER APPREHENSIVE WHEN DEALING WITH MEDIATION. THE LIMITATIONS PLACED ON THE EXTENT OF INVOLVEMENT IN MEDIATION BY THE CHARTER MAKE ANY WOULD-BE MEDIATORS SCEPTICAL ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF SECURING THE CONSENT OF PARTIES TO MEDIATION. THIS CHARTER-PROVISIONS-INDUCED-SCEPTICISM, HAS BEEN THE MOST HINDRANCE IN MY VIEW, THAN THE ACTUAL REFUSAL OF MEMBER STATES INVOLVED IN A CONFLICT.

ALL THIS NOTWITHSTANDING THERE HAS BEEN SOME COMMENDABLE EFFORTS AND EVEN IF SUCCESS IN SOLVING TOTALLY THE CONFLICTS WAS NOT ALWAYS FORTHCOMING, THE MEASURES TAKEN HAD CLEAR ADVANTAGES. FIRST, IT UNDERLINED CONCERN OF THE MEDIATORS AND DEMONSTRATED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO PUT THEMSELVES AT THE SERVICES OF PEACE.

THIS HAS BEEN DONE THROUGH A VARIETY OF TECHNIQUES QUITE OUTSIDE THE PERVIEW OF THE CHARTER, THERE HAS BEEN THIRD PARTY EFFORTS AT MEDIATION, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PREVENTION. INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES OR A GROUP OF THEM HAVE UNDERTAKEN SUCH MISSIONS. WHILE THESE WERE NOT UNDER THE AUSPIECES OF THE OAU AS SUCH, IT IS THE IDEALS OF BROTHERHOOD AND UNITY AS EMBODIED IN THE OAU WHICH HAVE INVARIABLY BEEN THE GUIDING SPIRIT. FOR EXAMPLE, THE CURRENT EFFORTS BY KENYA AND ZIMBABWE TO MEDIATE THE INTERNAL CONFLICT IN MOZAMBIQUE OR THE GBADOLITE SUMMIT IN ZAIRE ON THE ANGOLAN WAR ARE CASES IN POINT.

AT TIMES, INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES OR HEADS OF STATE HAVE TAKEN INITIATIVES TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS. PRESIDENT EYADEMA OF TOGO IS CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN AN EFFORT TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CÔTE D'IVOIRE AND LIBERIA. PRESIDENT MOUSSA TRAORE OF MALI AS A PARTNER IN THE ORGANIZATION FOR THE UTILIZATION OF THE RIVER SENEGAL IS ALSO INVOLVED IN THE MEDIATION EFFORTS OF THE SENEGAL/MAURITANIA CONFLICT. THERE ARE MANY SUCH EXAMPLES. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE ALSO BEEN INVOLVED. FOR EXAMPLE, THE CHURCH IN MOZAMBIQUE IS INVOLVED IN THE MEDIATION EXERCISE.

APART FROM THESE THIRD PARTY APPROACH, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OR CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU HAVE USED THEIR GOOD OFFICES TO INTERVENE POSITIVELY IN CONFLICTS. IT HAS ESSENTIALLY BEEN AN INTERVENTION TO URGE RESTRAINT AND CONTAINMENT OF A POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE SITUATION AND AVOID ITS DEGENERATION. THE

USUAL TEMPORARY ABATEMENT IN THE INTENSITY OF CONFLICTS RESULTING FROM SUCH APPEALS HAS PROVIDED TIME FOR REFLECTION AND SOBER JUDGEMENT. AGAIN EVEN WHEN NO SOLUTION IS REACHED IMMEDIATELY, THIS LULL HAS PROVIDED INVALUABLE BREATHING SPACE BOTH TO THE MEDIATORS AND THOSE IN CONFLICT. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAS AT TIMES MADE CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON HOW TO ARRIVE AT PACIFIC SETTLEMENT AND SO HAS THE OAU CHAIRMAN. THIS HAS, HOWEVER, BEEN DONE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THESE GOOD OFFICES CAN BE PUT AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE PARTIES WHEN THEY THEMSELVES ARE PREPARED TO USE THEM POSITIVELY. THE ROLE OF THE OAU IS TO HELP PROVIDE THE NECESSARY ATMOSPHERE FOR NEGOTIATION. IN THIS SPIRIT, I AM ACTIVELY FOLLOWING THE SITUATION BETWEEN SENEGAL AND MAURITANIA AS WELL AS BETWEEN CHAD AND LIBYA.

MOST IMPORTANTLY, HOWEVER, IT IS NOT THAT THE OAU OR ITS OFFICIALS CAN OFFER THEIR SERVICES BUT THAT THE PARTIES DO DEMONSTRATE CONFIDENCE IN ITS ABILITY TO CONTRIBUTE POSITIVELY TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICTS. IT IS THIS DEEP-SEATED CONFIDENCE IN THE OAU, EVEN THOUGH FEW WILL READILY ACKNOWLEDGE IT, WHICH IN MY VIEW NEEDS TO BE NURTURED AND DEVELOPED IN THE MINDS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE. WE NEED TO BUILD A GRASS ROOT CONSTITUENCY FOR THE OAU IN ALL THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES SO THAT RECOURSE TO THE OAU MEDIATION MECHANISM BECOMES A REFLEX ACTION, INBUILT IN THE NATIONAL POLITICAL CONSCIENCE. WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO BUILD A NEW PEACE CULTURE AMONG THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRIES - A CULTURE WHICH IS NOT PACIFIST BUT WHICH RECOGNIZES THE VIRTUES OF THE PEACEFUL PROCESS. IN THE LONG-RUN, THIS WILL PROVE A MORE CREDIBLE ASSURANCE FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION THAN CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS IN THE OAU OR ANY OTHER CHARTER.

MR CHAIRMAN,

AMONG ALL THE METHODS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION, MANAGEMENT OR PREVENTION, IT IS THE CONFIDENCE BUILDING APPROACH WHICH HOLDS THE MOST PROMISE. THROUGH THE ELABORATION OF A SYSTEM OF PROMOTING POLITICAL ACCOMODATION THROUGH GREATER TRANSPARENCY IN MILITARY PROCUREMENT AND DEPLOYMENT, COUNTRIES NEIGHBOURING EACH OTHER CAN PROGRESSIVELY RETREAT FROM CONFRONTATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS INITIATING JOINT-TRAINING PROGRAMS, JOINT MANOEUVRES, ESTABLISHING JOINT RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS WILL PROMOTE PEACE AT A MUCH LOWER MONETARY COST AND YIELD MORE POLITICAL DIVIDENTS.

WEAVING THESE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES INTO THE FABRIC OF THE DEFENCE DOCTRINES OR PERCEPTIONS OF OUR DEFENCE ESTABLISHMENTS WILL CREATE A STABLER ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH ACTIVITIES OPENING WAY FOR GREATER PEACE CAN BE INITIATED. I HAVE IN MIND A SITUATION OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE LEADING TO ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION. THE EAST AFRICAN SITUATION BEFORE THE BREAK-UP OF THE COMMUNITY AND NOW IS A CASE IN POINT. THROUGH A PROCESS OF SHARED SECURITY CONCERNS, THE THREE COUNTRIES HAVE MANAGED TO MAINTAIN BORDER SECURITY WITH THE MOST MINIMAL RELIANCE ON ARMAMENTS. COMMON HISTORY AND DELIBERATE POLITICAL DECISIONS ON THE PART OF THE THREE COUNTRIES HAS MADE PEACE POSSIBLE AND COOPERATION HAS REPLACED CONFRONTATION.

REGIONAL COOPERATION AS A CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE CAN SUSTAIN COOPERATION, FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND PEACE. SADCC AND PTA ARE CASES IN POINT. ON THE ONE HAND, THE OPPORTUNITIES OF COOPERATION AND CONTACT WHICH THEY OFFER PROMOTE HUMAN UNDERSTANDING AND CREATE AN ECONOMIC BASED MOTIVATION TO PROMOTE SECURITY AND PREVENT CONFLICT. THE MORE THE COUNTRIES HAVE JOINTLY AT STAKE, THE MORE THE MOTIVATION FOR PEACEFUL RELATIONS. QUITE APART FROM THIS ECONOMIC INCENTIVE OF AVOIDING CONFLICT, THE SUMMITS OF THESE ORGANS CAN ASSUME A POLITICAL ROLE OF MEDIATION.

AS A CONFIDENCE MEASURE, I SEE FOR EXAMPLE NO REASON WHY, IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISPUTED BORDER AREAS, THE BORDERING COUNTRIES CAN NOT COME TOGETHER AND EXPLOIT THE AREA JOINTLY AS A SHARED ENTERPRISE. THIS IMPLICIT RECOGNITION OF COMMON OWNERSHIP OF BOTH OR MORE PARTIES OF THE DISPUTED AREA WILL LIBERATE IT FROM BEING A CENTRE OF CONFLICT AND TRANSFORM IT INTO A THEATRE OF COOPERATIVE ENDEAVOUR. IF THE CONCEPT OF COMMON HERITAGE WERE TO BE APPLIED TO DISPUTED BORDER AREAS, IT WOULD HAVE GONE A LONG WAY TOWARDS STRENGTHENING THE BASIS FOR COOPERATION AND REDUCING THE INCIDENCE OF CONFLICT. WE COULD TAKE EXAMPLE OF THE KAGERA RIVER BASIN DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION, THE ORGANIZATION OF THE STATES OF THE GREAT LAKES AND, UNTIL VERY RECENTLY, THE OMVS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SENEGAL RIVER. ALL THESE ORGANIZATIONS HAVE TO A LARGE EXTENT OPENED AVENUES FOR COOPERATION INSTEAD OF CONFRONTATION.

THE OAU HAS HAD ONE REAL EXPERIMENT OF A PEACE-KEEPING OPERATION. THE CHAD INITIATIVE FAILED TO ENLIST THE FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL SUPPORT NECESSARY FOR SUCCESS. WHAT IS POLITICALLY IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, IS THAT IT WAS AN AFRICAN INITIATIVE UNDERTAKEN BY AFRICANS. IT SHOWED THAT SUCH AN OPERATION IS POSSIBLE AND THE LESSONS LEARNT ARE IMPORTANT FOR THE FUTURE. I AM SURE IN FUTURE WE SHALL HAVE A MORE ORGANIZED AND WELL-FUNDED OPERATION BUT I HOPE THAT NEED FOR SUCH AN OPERATION WILL NEVER ARISE AGAIN.

MR CHAIRMAN,

EUROPE IS GOING THROUGH A PHASE OF FUNDAMENTAL TRANSFORMATION. THE ERA OF MILITARY CONFRONTATION, THREATS OF NUCLEAR WAR AND OF IDEOLOGICAL INCOMPATIBILITY IS WITHERING AWAY AND GIVING ROOM TO POLITICAL ACCOMODATION AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITHIN UNITY. EUROPE IS NO LONGER TALKING OF WAR. THE TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS OF SECURITY AND DEFENCE DOCTRINES ARE BEING REPLACED BY NEW CONCEPTS OF COOPERATION. MILITARY ALLIANCES ARE RAPIDLY LOSING THEIR RELEVANCE IN THE CHANGING POLITICAL AND SECURITY ENVIRONMENT. ALL THIS IS NOT A RESULT OF A MIRACLE. IT IS A RESULT OF A REALIZATION IN BOTH EAST AND WESTERN EUROPE THAT ULTIMATELY GENUINE SECURITY LIES NOT IN WALLS SEPARATING FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES, NOT IN TANKS OR SOLDIERS BUT IN COOPERATION AND MUTUAL TRUST.

THIS MOVE TOWARDS EUROPEAN INTEGRATION WILL HAVE FAR REACHING ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS TO AFRICA. IF EUROPE WITH A RELATIVELY LESS URGENT NEED TO UNITE, WITH LESS ECONOMIC INCENTIVE TO INTEGRATE FINDS IT NECESSARY TO DO SO, WHY SHOULD AFRICA NOT BE THINKING ALONG THE SAME LINES ? WE NEED TO HARNESS ALL OUR RESOURCES AND TARGET THEM TO DEVELOPMENT.

MR CHAIRMAN,

EXCELLENCIES AND WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS,

IT IS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, AFRICA'S SECURITY DOES NOT LIE IN ARMS. IT DOES NOT LIE IN THE NUMBER OF ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILES, FIGHTER AEROPLANES, FREGATES AND SUBMARINES, TANKS AND ANTI-PERSONNEL VEHICLES, ROCKET LAUNCHERS AND MACHINE GUNS OR AMUNITION. IT DOES NOT LIE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. ON THE CONTRARY, OUR GENUINE SECURITY LIES IN OUR ABILITY TO HARNESS OUR RESOURCES AND MANPOWER AND DIRECT THEM POSITIVELY TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IT LIES IN OUR ABILITY TO FIGHT DESERTIFICATION, TO ERADICATE HUNGER, POVERTY AND DISEASE, TO END FEUDS AND CONFLICTS AND IN OUR PREPAREDNESS TO USHER IN, FRESH AIR OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS ARE SACROSANCT AND THE RULE OF THE LAW TAKEN FOR GRANTED AS AN AUTOMATIC RIGHT OF CITIZENS AND AN ESSENTIAL ATTRIBUTE OF CONSTITUTIONAL RULE. AFRICA IS TOO POOR, TOO BACKWARD AND TOO WANTING IN MANY TECHNOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC RESPECTS TO SCATTLE ITS ENERGIES OR TO DEVOTE ITS RESOURCES TO WARS AND CONFLICTS. ALL THIS CANNOT BE POSSIBLE UNLESS AFRICA

IS READY AND WILLING TO RISE ABOVE THE NARROW THINKING OF ISOLATIONISM AND MISPLACED NOTIONS OF INFLEXIBLE APPROACH TO SOVEREIGNTY AND COME TOGETHER IN COOPERATIVE UNITY.

NO COUNTRY CAN INDIVIDUALLY FIND SOLUTIONS TO ALL ITS SECURITY PROBLEMS. EUROPE HAS COME TO THAT CONCLUSION AND IS PULLING TOGETHER. I WISH TO SUGGEST TO YOU AFRICA'S ENDURING SECURITY FINALLY LIES IN HER UNITY OF PURPOSE AND OF ACTION.

I WISH YOU SUCCESSFUL DELIBERATIONS.

I THANK YOU.