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COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
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KHARTOUM SUDAN
7-15 JULY, 1978

CM/888 (XXXI) B

REPORT OF THE MEETING OF THE OAU ETHIOPIA/SUDAN MEDIATION COMMISSION HELD IN FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, 12 TO 15 DECEMBER 1977

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REPORT OF THE MEETING OF ETHIOPIA/SUDAN AD HOC MEDIATION COMMITTEE

1. The Ethiopia/Sudan Ad Hoc Mediation Committee, in conformity with resolution AHG/Dec.107 (XIV) passed in Libreville, in July 1977, met in its second session in Freetown, Sierra Leone, from 12 to 15 December 1977 at ministerial level under the Chairmanship of Mr Martin Rekangalt, Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Gabon, who in a brief statement, proposed that H.E. Dr Abdulai Conteh, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Sierra Leone take up the Chairmanship.

2. The Committee, first of all, heard a short welcoming speech made by H.E. Dr Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone. In his opening speech, the President of the Republic of Sierra Leone emphasized that the Committee has been given an important task of searching for peace between the two countries in conflict. He then urged the two delegations, namely from Ethiopia and Sudan to act maturely and in a compromising way so that the meeting results in success.

3. The Committee, then listened to a short statement made by Mr Martin Rekangalt, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representative of the Current Chairman of the OAU Council of Ministers. In his statement, the Secretary of State explained that the meeting was due to be held in August 1977 in Libreville but the absence of the Sudanese delegation hindered the convening of the meeting. In the absence of the Sudan the Mediation Committee decided to postpone its meeting to another date and to listen to statements by the two parties in the conflict.

4. It is heartening, therefore, to see that Freetown is hosting this meeting aimed at the search for the solution to this painful problem between Ethiopia and Sudan, said the Secretary of State.

5. He ended by conveying the Committee and to the two parties, a message wishing total success for the work of the Committee from the Current Chairman of the OAU H.E. Omar Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon.

6. The Committee also listened to a short speech by H.E. Mr William Eteki-Mboumoua, Secretary-General of the OAU who after thanking the President of the Republic of Sierra Leone for his personal presence at the opening ceremony, stated that the OAU should sincerely and ceaselessly fight against dissensions and divisions which could be exploited by its enemies thus endangering our continental unity which constitutes the only guarantee of Africa's survival and revival. In the same frame of thinking, he recalled that the Organization of African Unity was born out of a burning desire of all Africans to realise their unity, conscious that their strength resides in their unity, which is the only way of speeding up, promoting and safeguarding their independence. The Secretary-General moreover, recalled the objectives of the Charter and its Articles 2 and 3 in stating that these operative paragraphs should act as a corde of conduct governing the relations between Member States. He ended his statement with the wish that dynamic understanding, if not reconciliation, should emerge from the Freetown meeting as a mark of maturity for this continental organization and the ardent belief of each of its members to promote peace, harmony and cooperation.

7. After the speech by H.E. Mr William Eteki-Mboumoua, the Committee listened to a statement by Dr A O Conteh, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone, on the occasion of his election as Chairman of the OAU Ad Hoc Mediation Committee on the Ethiopia/Sudan dispute.

8. Addressing the Committee he thanked them for the confidence shown in the Government of Sierra Leone by electing Sierra Leone to the Chairmanship of this session of the Ad Hoc Committee. He stated that the object of the meeting is to search for ways and means of how best to resolve the dispute between the two brotherly states of Ethiopia and Sudan. What is at stake, he added, is peace. What we are after is peace. This peace is incorporated within the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, in the respect of principles expressed in this Charter. He ended his speech by urging his brothers from Ethiopia and Sudan to be honest, frank and conscientious when presenting their respective complaints, so as to facilitate the task before the Committee and the important mission which it has been charged with of settling the dispute between the two countries.

9. The Committee also received a message of encouragement from President William Tolbert Jr. of Liberia. After the reading of the message the Committee decided to work according to the following hours:

Morning: From 10 to 13 hours
Afternoon: From 16 to 19 hours

10. The Committee then decided to adjourn the session until the following morning, when representatives from Ethiopia and Sudan would make their statements.

11. On 13 December, 1977 the Committee resumed its deliberations at 10.15 hours. The Chairman of the Committee called upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Socialist Ethiopia to make his statement.

12. In his short address the Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Affairs first of all, thanked the President of the Republic of Sierra Leone for the hospitality, and words of wisdom which he addressed to them in his opening speech and his call for conciliation which he made to the two conflicting parties. He also thanked the Head of Gabon's delegation as well as H.E. Mr William Eteki-Mboumoua, OAU Secretary-General for their respective statements.

13. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia then emphasized that his delegation came to Freetown with the determination to seek conciliation rather than confrontation, imbued with the same spirit of good will which existed in Libreville last August, of facilitating the task of the Committee in promoting understanding between his country and Sudan.

14. He then recalled the close relations which have always existed between Ethiopia and Sudan geographically, culturally and historically made concrete by joint agreements signed between the two countries in various fields.

15. The unexpected problems between Ethiopia and Sudan should be solved, through dialogue and bilateral consultations, mutual respect and cooperation. The Minister stated that the core of the Ethiopia/Sudan crisis lies in activities of secessionist movements which have been operating for a number of years in the

Northern region of Ethiopia and which enjoy political and moral support from countries hostile to Ethiopia. He stressed that had the Sudanese Government respected the terms of various agreements signed between Ethiopia and Sudan in March 1971, relations between the two countries would not have deteriorated.

16. The Minister of Foreign Affairs concluded by saying that relations between the two countries would be normalised if the Sudanese Government:

- a) Accepts to strictly respect OAU and United Nations principles governing the territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of states.
- b) refrains from supporting secessionists.
- c) stops all hostile propaganda against Ethiopia.
- d) refrains from undertaking military exercises along the common border.
- e) lifts the ban on Ethiopian planes from landing in Sudan's airports.
- f) cooperates with the Ethiopian Government in reactivating bilateral consultative bodies, treaties and agreements already signed.

17. The Ethiopian delegate recalled the events leading to the deterioration of relations between his country and Sudan with the hope of starting a constructive dialogue which will lead to the elimination of the conflict between Ethiopia and Sudan and the start of a peaceful co-existence for the coming years.

18. After the statement of the Ethiopian delegation, it was the turn of the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Sudan to take the floor. He started by thanking the Government and the people of Sierra Leone for their hospitality and their commitment to the search for peace in Africa, as was made clear by H.E. Dr Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone

in his opening speech. He also thanked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Gabon and the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU for the preparation of this meeting.

19. In his statement, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan first of all, stressed that his delegation had come to Freetown without any preconceived ideas with goodwill and prepared to work together.

20. He then recalled briefly the events which took place in Sudan during the past eight years leading to the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972.

21. As regards to problems between Ethiopia and Sudan, he continued, they could be explained by looking at a number of interdependent factors. These factors could be seen more and more on the bilateral level, but their roots are found in the Eritrean conflict which has economic and social repercussions for his country, Sudan. He then made a short historical account of the origins of the Eritrean legal problem while emphasizing Sudan's initiative for a peaceful solution to this problem, an initiative which unfortunately was frustrated, due to the determination of the Ethiopian regime to resolve this problem by force.

22. The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Sudan on his part stated that on several occasions Ethiopia has violated Sudan's territorial integrity through air raids and shelling under the pretext of pursuing separatists. He added that Ethiopia conspired against Sudan by setting up military training camps for Sudanese dissidents, which were subsequently used for ravaging invasions. She went as far as fostering hostile propaganda against Sudan. The Ethiopian Government harassed and arrested innocent Sudanese nationals in Ethiopia.

23. In concluding, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Sudan stated that the Eritrean problem could not be excluded if the Committee recognises that this problem is the main cause of the deterioration of relations between Ethiopia and Sudan.

24. After listening to statements made by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Sudan and Ethiopia, the Ad Hoc Committee then discussed this problem in camera,

after asking the parties in the conflict to go out for a while. The session was followed by another one in which the two parties to the conflict were invited to clarify some points on their previous statements.

25. Following statements by the two parties to the conflict the Committee acknowledged political repercussions of the conflict in the region which affect the traditional friendly relations between Ethiopia and Sudan. It noted that the two parties have shown goodwill which is necessary for the restoration of mutual confidence between the two states. Besides, the Committee agreed that more emphasis should be given to matters where there was total agreement rather than in matters where they differed.

26. After discussing this problem the Committee decided to set up a drafting sub-committee composed of Algeria, Cameroon, Nigeria, Senegal and Zambia as well as the Chairman of the Committee and the Secretariat, to draft a recommendation relating to the solution of the problem.

27. At the end of the discussion, the Committee presented to the two parties a recommendation for solving the problem.

28. Following Sudan's proposal, the two parties concerned agreed to study the Committee's recommendations behind closed doors. This session was attended only by the OAU General Secretariat.

29. At the end of the session, the two parties accepted the Committee's recommendations with some amendments. Thus the Committee finished its work on 15 December 1977 at 2000 hours after adopting the recommendations appearing in Annex .....

Speeches and statements made at the meeting are also attached as annexes.

ETHIOPIA/SUDAN,
GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE,
FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE,
12 - 15 DECEMBER, 1977.

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/REC.1(2)

RECOMMENDATION

RECOMMENDATION

The Ad Hoc Committee of Mediation between Ethiopia and the Sudan established by Resolution AHG/DEC.107(XIV) and composed of the following: Algeria, Cameroon, Gabon, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Zaire and Zambia, meeting at Freetown, Sierra Leone, from 12 to 15 December, 1977,

Having heard the statements made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan,

Recalling OAU Resolution AHG/Res.27(II) which, among other things, solemnly calls upon OAU Member States not to encourage, pursuant to Article 3, paragraph 5 of the Charter, any subversive activities carried out from their countries against any other OAU Member States,

Recalling Resolution AHG/Res.85(XIV) on interference in the internal affairs of African States,

Recalling the OAU Convention of 10 September 1969 governing the specific aspects of the problem of African refugees,

Considering the statements made by the two Heads of delegations from Ethiopia and the Sudan recognizing the serious implications of the p litical conflicts in the area affecting friendly traditional relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan,

1. REAFFIRMS the provisions of Resolution AHG/Res.27(II) calling upon Member States to respect and apply the fundamental principles of the Charter and especially, non-violation of the sovereignty

and territorial integrity of Member States.

2. FURTHER REAFFIRMS OAUresolution of the 14th Ordinary Summit which calls:on:

(a) All African States to refrain from resorting to foreign intervention in the settlement of conflicts between African States without however prejudice to their freedom to conclude defence agreements aimed at forestalling outside aggression;

(b) All extra-African powers, especially the big powers from interfering in the internal affairs of African States.

3. EXPRESSES SATISFACTION at the determination of the two parties to respect the principles and objectives of the OAU and their manifestation of goodwill and the spirit of compromise to resolve their dispute;

4. RECOMMENDS the early convocation of the Joint Ethio-Sudan Ministerial Consultative Committee under the auspices of the Ad Hoc Mediation Committee to solve all standing problems between the two countries including the problems of refugees in accordance with the O.A.U. Convention governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa;

5. EXHORTS the two Governments of Ethiopia and Sudan to refrain from any acts or omission that might worsen the situation and to take steps to restore an atmosphere of confidence and understanding necessary for the pursuit of cooperation between the two countries and, to this end, recommends to them in particular the immediate cessation of all hostile acts and propaganda and the reestablishment of air links between the two countries;

6. EXPRESSES ITS READINESS to assist Ethiopia and the Sudan in the implementation of these Recommendations and in the search for peaceful solutions to the problems that endanger peace and stability in the area;

7. CALLS on all States to refrain from taking any actions that may hinder efforts towards the restoration of mutual confidence and understanding required for the normalization of relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan;

8. CALLS upon the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, in collaboration with the OAU Administrative Secretary-General to request the Current Chairman of the OAU to bring these recommendations to the attention of the Heads of State of Ethiopia and the Sudan, and to exhort them to implement as early as possible, paragraphs 4 and 5 of this recommendation.

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/Res.1(2)

MOTION OF THANKS

The OAU Ad Hoc Committee mediating in the dispute between the sisterly countries of Ethiopia and Sudan meeting in Freetown, Sierra Leone, from 12 to 15 December, 1977,

Noting with profound appreciation the fraternal welcome accorded to the members of the Committee,

Noting further with satisfaction the material arrangements which the Government of the Republic put at the disposal of the Committee to ensure the success of the meeting, the magnanimous gesture made by the Government in the spirit of African unity and the love for peace by providing the Republic of Sierra Leone as a venue for the peace meeting,

1. THANKS the Government and people of Sierra Leone for their efforts in ensuring the success of the meeting of the Committee;

2. EXPRESSES the appreciation of the Committee for the able and patient manner in which the Committee's Chairman, the Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone, Hon. A.B. CONTEH, conducted the deliberations of the Committee;

3. APPEALS to the President of the Republic of Sierra Leone to continue his efforts in cooperation with the Current Chairman to ensure that peace is finally restored to the two ~~sisterly states~~.

MEETING OF THE OAU AD HOC MEDIATION COMMITTEE ON ETHIOPIA AND SUDAN DISPUTE

PROGRAMME OF THE OPENING SESSION:

1. 15 H : Consultation - Only for Heads of delegation at Spur View Lodge.

2. 1530 H : Official opening - Chairman

3. 1545 H : Arrival of H.E. the President of Sierra Leone.

4. Welcoming speech by the President of Sierra Leone.

5. Reply by the OAU Secretary-General.

6. Departure of H.E. the President of Sierra Leone.

7. Resumption of the Committee's discussion in closed session - Organisation of Work.

8. Adjournment of the session.

ETHIOPIA/SUDAN,
GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE,
FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE,
12 - 15 DECEMBER, 1977.

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/2/1

OPENING ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY DR. SIAKA STEVENS, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE

OPENING ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY DR. SIAKA STEVENS, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE, AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE OAU AD HOC COMMITTEE MEETING ON MEDIATION ON THE ETHIOPIA AND SUDAN DISPUTE

Your Excellencies,
Mr. Secretary-General,
Distinguished Delegates.

On behalf of the Government and people of Sierra Leone it gives me great pleasure and satisfaction to welcome you into Sierra Leone and to wish you a very happy stay. In accepting to host this Session of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Mediation between Ethiopia and Sudan, the Government of Sierra Leone was motivated by the spirit and grandeur of the task which the OAU 15 years ago set itself in bringing about, not only the total independence of our continent from all forms of colonialism and foreign domination, but the consolidation of the very independence which at that time many African countries yet had to gain.

We were motivated in this respect by the need to ensure that the peace and stability of our continent would not be achieved unless the various countries which are members of our Organization lived in harmony, a harmony within which, development, progress, and human emancipation will be catered for.

It is therefore a matter of gratification to us that this Ad Hoc Committee, set up to mediate in the dispute between our two sister countries of Sudan and Ethiopia should be meeting in Freetown, a City which from its very foundation has remained a symbol of freedom, a City which now opens its

doors of hospitality to this Committee, in the name of freedom and peace.

It is my sincere hope and indeed that of the Government and People of Sierra Leone that the deliberations which you now embark upon will be successful and thus give testimony to the whole world of the potential of this continent to settle its problems without recourse to the distracting influences of external forces, by heading the judicious decision of its leadership and evoking the wealth of goodwill which we know exists between us all.

For many reasons the taks before you is a complex one and indeed, cannot be underestimated. It is our hope that by your very presence in our capital, your deliberations will be tempered with integrity and maturity and so fulfil the aspirations of the Organisation as a whole when it entrusted this important task to your able care and devotional attention.

A selfless commitment to peace is a noble and sacred ideal, which has been espoused by the very charter of our Organisation. For your part, you should be able to derive inspiration from the wisdom of the ancient prophet who said "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God". The search for a durable and just peace can be hazardous, hard and elusive exercise. Relentless perseverance and dedication therefore must be your watch-words and guiding principles as you delve into the ramifications of the problems that seem to keep our two sister countries of Sudan and Ethiopia in the throes of restlessness, suspicion and recrimination.

To the delegates of the two countries I have just mentioned, our message is simple and straigntforward. We appeal to them to show that degree of flexibility, maturity

and attitude of mutual accommodation which, in our view, are essential prerequisites for the success of a meeting of this importance.

Our Organisation since its very inception has been criticised and not without reason, for its inability and/or unwillingness to dispense even handed justice and to mediate in the many disputes which now and then have threatened the fabric of our continental peace, with any measure of praiseworthy success. These criticisms are again going to be tested, confirmed or otherwise by the outcome of your deliberations here. It is therefore imperative that if we must bequeath the generations yet to come with a stable and unified continent, the efforts you now deploy must reflect the concern of all the leaders and people of this continent for a peaceful solution to this problem.

We must extend our hands together in faith and sincerity towards our peaceful objectives, for only by so doing, can we shatter the barriers of suspicion and mistrust that have underlined problems of this nature.

I exhort you as you embark upon your sacred mission to keep constantly in view the continental interest of Africa in the necessity to ensure that peace exists and is sustained between all the States that constitute our one continent.

Yours indeed is a sacred mission and a noble endeavour to prove to ourselves as Africans and indeed to the rest of the world that we have the resourcefulness, the magnanimity of mind and the breath of vision to be able to sit down together to find ways and means of accommodating the differences that tend to divide us.

In this connection I recall the words J.E. Casely-Hayford uttered nearly half a century ago, words which are pertinent not only to the two sister states of Ethiopia and Sudan, but indeed to each and every independent African State. And I quote:

> "The African God is weary of your wranglings, weary of your vain disputations, weary of your everlasting quarrels which are a drag upon progress and which keep from you, as a people, the good that is intended for you".

These wise words I hope will keep ringing in your ears as you address yourselves to the problems before you.

To the two sister States of Ethiopia and Sudan I say the pursuit of peace is a courageous and noble enterprise sometimes demanding the most daring and seemingly costly sacrifices. But please remember, no price is too high and no sacrifice is too great to lay on the altar of peace, for without peace nothing is. One stark and self-mocking lesson of history is the futility of wars: the bitterest of enemies yesterday are today the warmest of friends.

I realise of course, Your Excellencies, Mr. Secretary-General and Distinguished Delegates, that there is no simple prescription or answer to problems which involve human emotion; but we must be inspired by our Charter itself and the certain knowledge that the destiny of our continent, progress towards its development and its ultimate salvation from foreign exploitation and domination of any form cannot be achieved in the face of rancour and bitterness between us and dissension in our ranks.

To the sister States of Ethiopia and Sudan I implore you together to make that one effort, that one concession, that one accommodation, that one sacrifice, that could make

all the difference between success and failure, a difference on which hnags not only the balance of peace and stability and chaos for you two, but also for the rest of us.

Your Excellencies, Mr. Secretary-General, Distinguished Delegates, the eyes and ears of the entire world will be focussed on you and your deliberations for the next few days.

I have no doubt that you will rise up to the hopes of our continent now reposed in you and that you have the imagination and genius as Statesmen of distinction to discharge the imperatives of your noble obligation. You have all our prayers and hopes.

Finally, may I take this opportunity here to invite my two brothers, Chairman Mengistu and President Nimeiry of Ethiopia and Sudan to join me in the hope that wisdom and goodwill will characterise your thoughts and deliberations here and that success will crown your endeavours. And let us remember, for us there is no way to peace - peace is the only way.

Once more I extend the warm welcome of my Government and People to you and wish you successful deliberations.

Thank you.

ETHIOPIA/SUDAN,
GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE,
FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE,
12 - 15 DECEMBER, 1977.

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/2/2

ADDRESS BY

HIS EXCELLENCY, MR. MARTIN REKANGALT, GABONESE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AT THE OPENING OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE ETHIOPIA/SUDAN MEDIATION COMMISSION

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY, MR. MARTIN REKANGALT, GABONESE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT THE OPENING OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE ETHIOPIA/SUDAN MEDIATION COMMISSION.

His Excellency, The President of the Republic of Sierra Leone,
His Excellency, The Secretary-General,
Honourable Ministers,
Distinguished Heads of Delegation,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

In my position as the representative of the country which has the onerous responsibility to assume, at this hot moment of tensions and divisions within our continent, the current Chairmanship of both the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government and the Council of Ministers - here I refer to the Republic of Gabon - I have the honour to take the floor before this august Assembly, to thank, on your behalf, His Excellency, President Siaka Stevens and, through him, the Government and the entire people of Sierra Leone for the authentic African hospitality blended with warmth and fraternity accorded us since we arrived in Freetown.

Freetown, a picturesque City, another Libreville in English, with thousand and one contours bordering leisurely the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean which is a constant reminder of the history of our Continent.

It is not by chance that we should find ourselves today in your beautiful capital, Mr. President. It is indeed the vicissitudes of this history which has brought us here.

In fact, if one of the objectives that we have assigned ourselves within the content of our Organisation's Charter, objectives hitherto practically attained, is, and I quote, "to eliminate in all its forms, colonialism from Africa ...", The peaceful settlement of disputes between its Members through negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration one of the fundamental principles ?

Thus, fully conscious of its duty of assuming fully its responsibilities to history, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government meeting in its 14th Ordinary Session in Libreville from 3 to 6 July, 1977 decided to establish a Mediation Commission composed of Algeria, Cameroon, Gabon, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Zaire and Zambia to find ways and means of solving the issue between the two sister States of Ethiopia and Sudan.

It was on 12th August, 1977, exactly four months ago, that on the initiative of the Current Chairman, this Commission met in Libreville for the first time.

As suggested by Algeria, Gabon, my country was elected its Chairman. It is therefore in that capacity, Mr. President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, that I have the pleasant duty to report on its activities so as to facilitate the deliberations of the present Session.

It was then in Libreville, in the absence of the Sudanese delegation which was unavoidably absent, and after debating it, the Commission decided to postpone its meeting to a latter date and to listen to the statements of the two sides concerned at that occasion.

Furthermore, the Nigeria delegation's proposal on recommending to its Government that the said meeting be held in Lagos together with the World Conference on Action

Againt Apartheid scheduled to be held there from 22 to 26 October 1977 was also accepted. This was because all the Member States of the Commission and the parties to the conflict would in principle be attending that conference. The General Secretariat was therefore requested to enter into consultation with Sudan. For obvious technical reasons it was not possible to organise the said meeting.

However, preoccupied by the persistence of tension in this part of Africa, the Current Chairman requested the Secretary-General to continue his consultations so as to get a member country of the Commission to host the present meeting to be held, in any case, at a time acceptable to the two parties.

Mr. President, Libreville can only rejoice at the fact that it is its English counterpart which has kindly agreed to offer its traditional hospitality to our Commission, it also wish to express satisfaction at the fact that FREETOWN receive the blessing of all.

I do not think I would be betraying the feelings of all of us here by assuring you, Mr. President, that we come to Freetown fully determined to succeed.

The message which the Current Chairman has asked me to convey to the Commission and both parties is perfectly within this very context. It is a message of wishes for a resounding success of its deliberations.

By inviting Ethiopia and Sudan to wash their dirty linen in an African way, that is to say, at home, within the framework of the large African family, President El Hadj Omar Bongo is convinced the conditions are now ripe for finding ways and means of resolving once and for all, to this painful problem.

The common political will of the two parties does clearly exist, we should exploit it to attain our objective.

It could not be otherwise, concluded Presudent El Hadj Omar Bongo, for it would mean playing into the hands of the enemies of Africa.

Confident that this message of wisdom will be heeded and convinced of a happy conclusion of our meeting, I declare open the deliberations of this second session of the Ethiopia/Sudan Mediation Commission of Nine.

Long live the united and prosperous Africa.

Long live the Organisation of African Unity.

ETHIOPIA/SUDAN
GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE
FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE
12 - 15 DECEMBER, 1977.

Cttee 9/ETH/SUDAN/2/3

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE OAU, H.E. MR. WILLIAM ETEKI MBOUMOUA, AT THE INAUGURAL SESSION OF THE OAU MEDIATION COMMISSION, FREETOWN, ON 12 DECEMBER 1977.

Your Excellency, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone,
Honourable Ministers,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

Your personal presence, Mr. President, at the beginning of the deliberations of this Committee, Your Government's spontaneity to propose the ever-inspiring City of Freetown for our meeting, the warm and fraternal reception accorded us, indeed constitute for us all, strong impetus in our untiring quest to overcome the disunity engendered and nurtured by those who have their interests in the balkanization of Africa.

We see in this undertaking, the action of a man imbued by a quasi mystic faith in the destiny of Africa and in the role which his country can and should play in the realization of this destiny.

We wish to pay tribute to you, Mr. President, and to all those who, from far or near have contributed to the organisation of this brotherly meeting.

Surely, if there is any primary and permanent duty devolving upon us, it is that of constantly overcoming the obstacles in our path, and which can only come about through our great and noble endeavours.

It is incumbent upon us, more than ever before to fight with faith and perseverance against the dissensions and divisions which only our enemies would definitely like to see preoccupy us in order to prevent us from devoting our time to the exalting effort of ever consolidating our continental unity which constitutes the source and supreme guarantee for the survival and reconstruction of Africa.

Our Organisation, it must be recalled, was created as a result of the ardent desire of all Africans to achieve their unity, aware of the fact that their strength lies in unity; unity which is the only way for the necessary acceleration of their development and the preservation of their independence.

Thanks to our unshakable faith in our Organisation and thanks to the militant support of our people, we have succeeded in transcending several crisis which have shaken our continent; thus foiling the manouevres of all those who take advantage and exploit our shortcomings in order to sow the seeds of hatred and discord in our ranks.

These results, we have achieved, through respect for the principles and ideals of the OAU Charter which is the positive expression of a strong solidarity founded on the desire to collectively build a better future.

In the preamble of our Charter, African States resolved to preserve and consolidate their "independence, their sovereignty and their integrity".

Furthermore, in the objectives of the Charter, Article 2, Member States reaffirm that one the aims of the Organisation is, "to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence" of Arican States. Article 3 on principles, emphasizes, inter alia, "non-interference in the internal affairs of States", and "respect for the sovereignty and integrity of each State and its inalienable right to an independent existence", as well as the peaceful settlement of disputes through negotiation, mediation, reconciliation and arbitration".

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY
REFERENCE
ORGANISATION DE L'UNITE AFRICAINE

By formulating those principles, our Charter has thus endowed us with a code of conduct in inter-State relations.

This means, in other words that the accomplishment of the task of our Organisation which is neither a tribunal competent to impose penalties nor a police force empowered to impose sanctions, lies principally in its ability to recall to its members, the importance for them to respect the principles and objectives of our Charter as well as resolutions adopted by the policy-making bodies, its ability especially to assert itself as a moral force which should salvage us from disunity and misunderstanding which are manifestations of abject egoism.

This moral force to be vigilant, periscacious, lucid and just is not a small thing. This is why, the world at large is expecting us, i.e. our Organisation to settle the several differences between African countries which know, however that it is incumbent upon us more than ever before to close our ranks, strengthen our cohesion, because disunited, torn asunder, and manipulated, we shall for ever remain easy preys of the imperialists and neo-colonialists which will spare no effort to keep us forever in bondage.

Your Commission must assist our Organisation to accomplish its role as a moral force with objectivity and fraternity, but incomplacently.

Today, this seems easy to us especially, since between Ethiopia and Sudan, countries which have always lived in harmony and whose peoples share the same culture and identity, there is nothing which should really divide them basically.

It suffices to accept to be tolerant to overcome differences which lead to divergences and finally, to be

convinced that peace and stability in each of our States, and harmonious relations of neighbourliness are in fact, the surest guarantees for development which we ardently cherish. I dare hope that our brothers from Sudan and Ethiopia have come here fully determined to have their misunderstandings ironed out and friendship, confidence and understanding restored.

In so far as certain apsects of the dispute between Sudan and Ethiopia have their impact on the realization of Afro-Arab political cooperation, we can only hope that Sudan which is a perfect incarnation of Africanity and Arabism will play the role of a moderator to ensure respect for and the safeguarding of the principles which are dear to us and for the restoration of peace in the Horn of Africa now suffering from dangerous convulsions.

At a time when hydra-headed conflicts are being fomented and stirred, and bad omens are heralded in the disintegration of our Organization, the mediation by Sierra Leone characterizes by the seal of African frankness, should once again, show that our Organisation still remains "the crucible of a union which certainly has divergencies but which nontheless constitues a guarantee for permanent harmony for the triumph of the ideals of peace, unity, cooperation solidarity and fraternity".

We should like to consider the presence of the two countries as an expression of their mutual desire to accept brotherly mediation within the framework of our Organisation.

Let us hope that the dynamism of understanding if not reconciliation which must surely issue from this meeting, will reflect the maturity of our Continental Organisation and the ardent conviction of each of its members to contribute to peace, concord and cooperation.

I thank you for your attention.

ETHIOPIA/SUDAN
GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE
FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE
12 – 15 DECEMBER, 1977.

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/2/4

STATEMENT BY DR, A.O. CONTEH, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SIERRA LEONE ON BEING ELECTED AS CHAIRMAN AT THE OAU AD HOC MEDIATION COMMISSION ON SUDAN/ETHIOPIA DISPUTE

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/2/4

ADDRESS BY DR. A.O. CONTEH, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SIERRA LEONE, ON BEING ELECTED AS CHAIRMAN AT THE OAU AD HOC MEDIATION COMMISSION ON SUDAN/ETHIOPIA DISPUTE

Your Excellencies,
Mr. Secretary-General,
Distinguished delegates:

May I say that I am extremely honoured by the invitation extended to me to be the Chairman of this Session of the Ad Hoc Committee.

This is an invitation I have no doubt that is born of the confidence and high esteem with which the Government and country I represent is held. May I take this opportunity to proffer to you a warm welcome into my country. In due course, I have no doubt that H.E. the President will be extending a more formal welcome to you. I hope that your stay here with us though rather brief will be rewarding and pleasant.

I realise of course that we are not meeting here today in the most auspicious of circumstances. For we are meeting here pursuant to a resolution of our collective Heads of State at their last Summit meeting in Libreville, Gabon.

Indeed, the purport of our meeting in the words of the said resolution is to seek the best ways and means of settling the dispute between our sister states of Ethiopia and Sudan. This undoubtedly is an onerous task but I am confident that with collective genius I see gathered round this table and with the necessary goodwill from the two sister states themselves we will rise up to the occasion.

Distinguished delegates, we in Sierra Leone have been greatly concerned about the problems that have beset our dear Continent in the past. Problems that have proved distracting and enervating and successful in deflcting us from the sincere and energetic pursuit of our common interests - the progress and development of our Continent.

However, I make bold to say that these problems are in truth largely ephemeral and not insurmountable.

I am confident that by a collective application of the African genius we can all find common solutions to our common problems.

Distinguished delegates, it is within this frame-work that I perceive my duties as Chairman. That is to say, by collective endeavour in reasoning and accommodation to close our ranks.

We all know that in the past few months the Horn of Africa has been an area of worry and concern not only to Africa but to the international community as well.

In our search for continental peace progress and unity, we operate within the context of the Charter of our organisation - the OAU.

I wish to underline here the necessity for fidelity to the principles of that Charter and adherence to the resolutions of our Organisation, for it is only by so doing will we achieve that peace, progress and stability we all so dearly wish for our Continent.

In this connection, I wish to thank the Heads of State of both Ethiopia and Sudan for the confidence they have reposed in this Committee by accepting it to mediate.

And I am confident that this show of mutual trust on all sides will help this Committee in its deliberations.

May I say that because some of the problems appear seemingly intractable, we do not expect miracles. But what we do expect and I believe we have a right to expect is that our brothers from Ethiopia and Sudan will come to us in the Committee in a positive frame of mind inspired by a sincere determination to help us in the words of our mandate "seek the best ways and means of settling this dispute in the interest of the sister states concerned in particular and Africa in general".

I can only therefore, appeal to our brothers from Ethiopia and Sudan to be fair, frank and conscientious in outlining their respective cases to enable members of the Committee to formulate proposals for the solution of their disputes. And I can assure our brothers that this Committee under my Chairmanship has one and only one interest in this whole enterprise, viz. the restoration of peace and fraternal relations that had hitherto characterized the relationship between the sister states of Ethiopia and Sudan.

Peace is the name of the game;

Peace is the object of the exercise;

Peace is the objective to be pursued;

Peace is all we all desire;

For in Peace lies our salvation.

Distinguished delegates, as I now find myself wearing the twin hats of host and Chairman, May I proffer my apologies for any inconveniences you may encounter during your rather brief stay with us. I assure you however, that we shall do all we can to make your stay pleasant.

Finally, may I once more thank you all for the confidence reposed in me, and I reciprocate your confidence by stating that with your co-operation we shall achieve our mission.

I thank you.

ETHIOPIA/SUDAN,
GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE,
FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE.
12 - 15 DECEMBER, 1977.

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/2/5

STATEMENT MADE BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA, H.E. COL/DR. FELEKE GEDLE GIORGIS, AT THE MEETING OF THE OAU AD HOC MEDIATION COMMISSION, FREETOWN, 13 DECEMBER 1977

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/2/5

STATEMENT MADE BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA, H.E. COL/DR. FELEKE GEDLE GIORGIS AT THE MEETING OF THE OAU AD HOC MEDIATION COMMISSION FREETOWN, 13 DECEMBER, 1977

Mr. Chairman,

When members of the OAU Ethio-Mediation Commission met in Libreville in August, 1977, to carry out the very important task assigned to them by the 14th Assembly of Heads of State and Government to assist in finding solution to the problem that exist between the Sudan and Ethiopia, I had expressed our desire and readiness to co-operate fully with the Commission. As the Sudanese delegation was unable to be present at Libreville the Commission was obliged to postpone that meeting. We have now come to Freetown with that same spirit of goodwill to facilitate the task of the Commission in its endeavour to help create the necessary atmosphere of understanding between the sister states of Ethiopia and the Sudan.

My delegation's resolve to seek conciliation rather than confrontation, harmony and understanding rather than recrimination and discord has been infinitely strengthened after having listened yesterday afternoon to the great words of wisdom and appeal addressed to us by H.E. Dr. Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone. His deep and fraternal concern over the unhappy state of relations between the brotherly peoples of the Sudan and Ethiopia is consistent with his emminent statesmanship for which we are not only grateful but are also fortunate. I should also like to express our appreciation to the leader of the Gabonese delegation, to the Secretary-General of our Organisation, H.E. Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua and to your goodself, Mr. Chairman, for the brotherly concern expressed

on behalf of peace and co-operation in our region in particular and in Africa as a whole.

Ethiopia and the Sudan have, for centuries, been closely linked by geographical, cultural and historical ties. The two neighbouring countries share a common border of more than two thousand kilometres and a number of international rivers including the "life giving" Nile.

Until the advent of the Popular Revolution in 1974, relations between the two neighbouring states were characterized by mutual respect and co-operation.

Problems that arose from time to time were solved by means of dialogue and bilateral consultations. In order to minimize the possibilities of misunderstanding, to deal with problems arising along our common border and to intensify co-operation between the two countries for the benefit of the peoples of the Sudan and Ethiopia, we had established a Joint Consultative Committee. A number of bilateral agreements relating to trade, transport communication, culture and extradition were signed.

As members of the UN and as founding members of the OAU Ethiopia and the Sudan had repeatedly demonstrated their adherence to the principles enshrined in the Charters of the two august organisations. That the two neighbouring states respect the unity and territorial integrity of nations and uphold the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of others were repeatedly enunciated in the joint communiques signed by representatives of the Sudan and Ethiopia. Furthermore because of the similarity of their problems the peoples of Ethiopia and the Sudan were able to co-operate in different fields of international endeavour.

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Mr. Chairman,

Not unlike several African countries, the Sudan and Ethiopia are multi-national societies manifesting ethnic, religious and cultural pluralism. Consequently, the peoples of the two states are sparing no effort to carry out the difficult task of nation building and national integration. We in Ethiopia have always appreciated and sympathised with this noble task which confronted the Sudanese people and Government. It would be pertinent to point out here that the agreement which brought to an end the civil war which had plagued the people and exhausted the resources of the Sudan for seventeen years was signed in Addis Ababa in March, 1972. Prior to the signing of this historic document between the Sudanese Government and respresentatives of Southern Sudan, Ethiopia had contributed to the attempt to end that fratricidal conflict through negotiations. Ethiopia's positive role in the reinstatement of peace in this part of Africa is a concrete testimony to her dedication to the pacific settlement of problems arising within and among member states of the OAU through negotiations.

With the onset of the Ethiopian Revolution in February 1974, one of the first official acts of the Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia was to send a high level delegation to the Sudan, not only to explain the aims and objectives of the Revolution but also to convey the ardent desire of the Ethiopian people and Government to improve and build upon existing good neighbourly relations between the two countries.

This was followed by several similar missions led by high Government officials to Khartoum, for the purpose of broadening the channels of bilateral consultations and co-operation thereby diminishing any possible misunderstandings that could arise between neighbouring states. Suggestions were

made by the Ethiopian side for the reactivation of the Joint Ministerial Consultative Committee and for a closer economic and social co-operation, in line with Ethiopia's declared policy for the eventual formation of a confederation of states in the Horn of Africa. In spite of these demonstrations of goodwill on the part of Ethiopia, Sudanese-Ethiopian relations began to deteriorate after the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974.

The sequence of events leading to the deterioration of relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan was presented by Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia, to the 14th Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU. Therefore in the interest of brevity and also conscious of the necessity fo conducting our meeting in an atmosphere of understanding and serenity, I shall confine myself to highlighting these major factors which, in the view of my government have contributed to the deterioration of relations between the two neighbouring states.

The crisis in Ethio-Sudanese relations has its genesis in issues associated with activities of secessionist moveoents that have been going on for several years in the Northern Region of Ethiopia. As you may be aware, these movements are the legacy of the colonial history of that part of Ethiopia, The unfavourable legacy of colonialism was in turn exacerbated by the mal-administration of the now defunct feudal order.

It is common knowledge, however, that had it not been for the political support and the moral and material assistance given to the secessionists by countries which are unfriendly to Ethiopia, and had the Government of the Sudan observed the terms of the various agreements which were signed between Ethiopia and the Sudan, the relationships between the two countries would not have reached the present

level of deterioration. In this connection I believe it would be useful to indicate to the honourable members of the commission that, for example, the agreement signed between the two countries in March 1971 provided for, inter alia:

- "taking all necessary measures in order to put an end to all forms of subversive activities directed against the other including such activities as may take place accross their common border.

- "prohibiting the activities of all subversive organizations.

- "disarming all rebel elements and dismantling their camps.

- "expelling all rebel and dissindent leaders as there may be by the Governments concerned and taking the necessary measures to prevent the return of such leaders.

- "taking all necessary measures to encourage the voluntary repatriation of refugees and providing all facilities to official representatives to visit refugee camps.

- "removing refugee camps to a distance of at least fifty miles from the common border.

- "organising and supervising the peaceful settlement and subsistence of refugees in their camps ....."

For her part, Ethiopia has taken positive measures to implement the provisions of that agreement before and after signing of the Addis Ababa Peace Accord on Southern Sudan. On the other hand, the Government of the Sudan did not reciprocate by implementing the provisions of that

agreement, instead the Government of the Sudan gave full backing to the secessionists.

In spite of the fact that there were strong indications showing the unhealthy trend, the Government of Socialist Ethiopia made several attempts not only to arrest in time the deteriorating state of relations between the two countries but also to improve and expand Ethio-Sudanese relations.

Such fraternal sentiments and trust which were clearly expressed on the part of Ethiopia were unfortunately ignored by the Sudanese Government. Instead, Sudanese ports, towns and frontiers were opened to facilitate the activities of secessionists and other subversive elements.

- Several training and operation bases were set up along the Sudanese side of the common border.

- The Sudanese press and radio were put at the disposal of secessionists and counter-revolutionaries for their anti-Ethiopian propaganda.

In disregard of the terms of the Ethio-Sudanese Extradition Treaty of 1964 and the Ethio-Sudan bilateral agreement of 1971, the Sudan did not only play host to the EDU but also continues to serve as the main conduit for outside assistance for these groups. Assistance in the form of military equipment and supplies, military training and operation bases, as well as the facilities of radio Omdurman were extended to the so-called Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) - anti-Ethiopian and counter revolutionary groups composed of runaway monarchists and fuedal lords.

The crisis in the relation between the two countries was further accentuated as the Sudanese Government continued

to render open support to these saboteurs and subversive elements who have been making incursions into Ethiopian territory to sabotage economic projects and public installations and destroy the life and property of peaceful citizens.

Despite Ethiopia's patience and goodwill even under these difficult conditions in the relation between the two countries, the Sudanese Government, in violation of international obligations and bilateral agreements, decided unilaterally, on June 17, 1977, to impose a ban on all aircraft registered in Ethiopia from flying over Sudanese air-space and from landing at Sudanese airports. Consequently, the Ethiopian Airlines was forced to suspend its regular flights to the Sudan.

Mr. Chairman,

We have indicated some of the events that led to the deterioration of relations between the Sudan and Ethiopia in the hope of initiating a constructive dialogue which will lead to the elimination of differences between the two neghbouring countries. We have been constrained to mention our grievances because we never at any time suspected that they would be committed against us by a country so close a friend of long standing particularly at a time when we are subjected to aggression by another neighbour.

I hasten to add that the need to discuss the background of the problems which contribute to the deterioration of relations between the Sudan and Ethiopia was only motivated by the desire, on our part, to indicate to the honourable members of the Commission, elements to be considered in the discharge of their duties of creating harmony and understanding between the two neighbours. As has been amply demonstrated, the problem I have touched upon and which may have domestic dimensions have been exacerbated becuase of the infringement

of the principles of territorial integrity and of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. One of the tasks of this Commission is to find how best the sanctity of these and other cardinal principles of our organisation can be restored. We never the less strongly believe that the effort that the Commission may exert in this regard will not necessitate the discussion, in this forum, of issues which appropriately fall within the domestic jurisdiction of Ethiopia.

To deal with any dispute of whatever nature in fairness and in a spirit of brotherhood is part of our African tradition. African Unity and respect for the cherished principles of our Organisation should, however, reign supreme.

Mr. Chairman,

Economic necessities, geogrphical relations and historical and cultural affinities bind the peoples of Ethiopia and the Sudan providing the basis for closer cooperation and co-existence.

On our part, we seek the best of relations with our brothers and neighbours and we strongly believe that Ethio-Sudanese relations could be raised to a level commensurate with good neighbourliness if the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan:

- Agrees to scrupulously respect and abide by OAU and UN principles of territorial integrity and non-interference in Ethiopia's internal affairs.

- Refrain from giving any support directly or indirectly to secessionist and counter-revolutionaries working against the unity and territorial integrity of Ethiopia.

~~Stops all hostile propaganda directed against~~ the Government and people of Ethiopia from the ~~Sudan.~~

- ~~Refrains from unwaranted war-preparations along~~ our common border.

- Lifts the ban imposed unilaterally on all aircraft registered in Ethiopia from flying over Sudanese ~~airspace and from landing at Sudanese~~ airports and ~~airstrips.~~

- Cooperates with the Ethiopian Government to reactivate institutions of bilateral consultations and existing treaties and agreements.

~~In conclusion, I wish to underline that~~ the Ethiopian people attach great importance to their relations with the Sudanese people for reasons mentioned earlier. We are hopeful that, as a family within the OAU and bound by its vital principles, we would be able to settle in Freetown our differences and lay the basis not only for peaceful coexistence but also for a constructive collaboration in the years to come. That, Mr. Chairman, is why Ethiopia did not respond to the unfriendly declaration made in Khartoum on the eve of our meeting for we did not want to contribute in any way to the possibility of jeopardizing the success of our meeting.

Mr. Chairman,

I cannot and my statement without expressing the profound appreciation of my delegation to the Government of Sierra Leone for the fraternal welcome extended to all of us ever since we set foot in this beautiful city of Freetown. We are indeed grateful for the warmth with which the hospitality is extended. We are no less indebted to the Government of Sierra Leone for its deep concern for peace and cooperation in Africa so eloquently demonstrated by its willingness to host such a peace-making gathering of the OAU.

My delegation has every confidence that, imbued as we are with a spirit of understanding and cooperation, we shall succeed in strengthening the edifice of African Unity through a successful resolution of the problems that have confronted Ethio-Sudan relations.

I would also like to seize this second opportunity to express my gratitude to the distinguished members of the Committee of Nine for their effort to reconvene in Freetown, as they have in Libreville last August, to carry out the important responsibility assigned to them by the 14th Assembly of Heads of State and Government to assist in the normalization of Ethio-Sudanese relations. I wish to assure you once again that we place our cooperation at your disposal.

ETHIOPIA/SUDAN
GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE
FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE
12 – 15 DECEMBER, 1977.

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/2/6

STATEMENT OF H.E. DR. FRANCIS DENG, MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, BEFORE THE OAU AD HOC MEDIATION COMMITTEE BETWEEN THE SUDAN AND ETHIOPIA, FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, 12 - 15 DECEMBER, 1977.

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/2/6

STATEMENT OF H.E. DR. FRANCIS DENG, MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN BEFORE THE OAU AD HOC MEDIATION COMMITTEE BETWEEN THE SUDAN AND ETHIOPIA - FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, 12 - 15 DECEMBER 1977.

Mr. Chairman,

Allow me to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to the Government and People of Sierra Leone for their very warm reception and generous hospitality. This attitude clearly indicates the importance they attach to this meeting and the subject matter of its agenda. It also reflects the firm desire of Sierra Leone to consolidate unity among all member states of the OAU without which the liquidation of imperialism and racial discrimination on the Southern parts of our continent and the prosperity and progress of our peoples will undoubtedly be impaired.

The devoiton of Sierra Leone to the search for peace in Africa and the promotion of progress and prosperity for our peoples has been most movingly demonstrated by His Excellency, Dr. Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, whose wise and inspiring words have set a constructive tone to the deliberations of this committee. In expressing my delegation's deepest appreciation for his intellectual, moral, and spiritual guidance, we would like to assure His Excellency that our delegation will endeavour to honour his appeal for both sides, "to show that degree of felxibility, maturity and an attitude of mutual accommodation which in our view, are essential prerequisites for the success of a meeting of this importance."

Our gratitude also goes to the outgoing Chairman, the distinguished Minister of Gabon, and to our very able

Administrative Secretary-General for the determined and constructive way they have worked for the realization of this meeting and for their profound statements which will undoubtedly provide useful guidance to the work of the committee.

Your Excellency, we deeply appreciate the noble and statesman move of the distinguished Minister of Gabon to nominate you as the Chairman of this Committee. We are confident that your intellectual, moral and diplomatic skills with your dynamic, youthful personality will prove a vital force for the success of our deliberations.

Lastly but not least we are deeply grateful to the members of the Committee who have taken all the trouble of hardship travelling in our continent to come and assist us resolve our differences. We reciprocate this fraternal sentiment by our resolve to co-operate with them fully in the search for positive solutions.

Mr. Chairman,

My country's delegation has come to Freetown with an open mind, and a willing heart. We are ready to co-operate because we the People and the leadership of the Sudan are committed to peace, unity and stability without boundaries. The desire is enshrined in our Permanent Constitution and reaffirmed in the resolutions of the various conferences of the Sudanese Socialist Union and in the Charter for National Action.

As we profoundly believe that foreign policy is, or ought to be domestically based, allow me to say a few words about our deomestic developments over the last eight years which I hope will substantiate not only our policy but also our disposition in our relations with our neighbours and indeed with all countries committed to the achievement of peace, unity and stability, the Sudan of May Revolution, under the leadership of President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri,

acted swiftly to employ peaceful means for ending the civil war that had efflicted our country for seventeen years and restoring domestic peace and national unity. These efforts culminated in the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972 which was universally acclaimed as a victory not only for the Sudan but also for the cause of African Unity and human dignity. This was followed by an appeal to all the citizens who were abroad to return to their peaceful country and participate in its reconstruction and development. The appeal was remarkably heeded and Sudan recorded an unprecedented page in the history of repatriation from refuge. With peace and national unity attained, and with the refugees relieved, repatriated and rehabilitated, the Sudan began to exert all efforts towards the acceleration of economic and social development, dedicated to a development philosophy that is broad-based and oriented to social justice. Despite the problems that have confronted and still confront us in the increasingly debilitating world economic order, our ambitious plans for a socially just development proceed relentlessly and undeterred. We can now say that we view development and development cooperation as strategies for uniting and integrating nation building as well as for fostering solidarity within the broader community of mankind.

It is apparent from this contemporary history that our commitment to peace and stability is not merely a slogan but a reality we had achieved home. We are, however, aware that the world has become far too inter-dependent for domestic situations to be viewed in isolation. Any positive or negative achievements in a country are bound to have repercussions beyond its borders. A country that has done much at home for the cause of peace, stability and progress cannot but wish the same for its neighbours, the continent and indeed the world. It is in this broadened conception that the security of what we have achieved and hope to enhance can best be guaranteed. This was precisely our reason when we moved so intensively to ensure that the

Red Sea area would be a peace zone free from any destructive big power rivalry. The fact that we are a country surrounded by eight neighbours adds to the regional and international dimensions we give to peace and national Unity. That is why the Sudan has moved fast to work for the attainment of regional unity through the establishment of Joint Ministerial Committees with all neighbouring sister countries. With them and others we have concluded a series of agreements aimed at the consolidation of cooperation and close bilateral relations. Included among these countries is Ethiopia with whom we promptly acted to solve such inherited problems as the border issue.

We ask the distinguished members of the Committee to bear these facts in mind as they search for the reasons that have led to the deterioration of our relations with Ethiopia. We ask them to bear in mind that this has happened despite the extensive and intensive efforts the Sudan has exerted towards the consolidation of peace and stability in the area.

Mr. Chairman,

Our problem with Ethiopia fall into a complex of interactive strands. These strands are increasingly becoming bilateral in their manifestations, but their roots lie in the Eritrean conflict. Of course, we are not here to speak on behalf of the Eritrean people. They are their own spokesmen. The conflict has, however, been thrust upon us both by geographical proximity and by the tactical designs of the Government of Ethiopia. We cannot, therefore, avoid addressing orselves to the Eritrean problem and how it is affecting our relations with Ethiopia.

If we are to appreciate the depth of the animosities involved in the conflict, the regional and international dimensions of the problem, and the degree to which it has

engulfed our country, some historical preview is essential.

Mr. Chairman,

The factionalizing policy that the Government of Ethiopia has been pursuing has led to an alarming mass exodus into the Sudan. Conservative estimates place the number of refugees to about a quarter of a million. But the chain continues unabated.

The economic, social and security implications that this mass exodus has imposed on the Sudan are there for all to see. We could not, and cannot, but feel deeply concerned with the threat to our national security and stability, and especially when the problem has become of such magnitude that it approximates an unarmed invasion and an economic aggression.

Mr. Chairman,

We review the basic facts of history only as a reminder for we are confident that the members of this esteemed Committee are aware of the history and the legal roots of the Eritrean problem. As you all know, it is a problem with unique international background and differs significantly from the problems that most of the African countries have faced. Eritrea became a British protectorate immediately after the defeat of Italy by the Allied Forces on the 8th of May, 1945. On the 2nd of December, 1950, the U.N. General Assembly adopted its resolution No. 390(Fifth Session) providing that Eritrea should have a separate identity and in a federal union with Ethiopia, with separate legislative, executive and judicial powers, and on condition that the resolution would become operative after its endorsement by the U.N. General Assembly, the then Emperor of Ethiopia, and an elected Assembly of the Eritrean people. How this was brought about and the circumstances under which the

United Nations Commission for Eritrea conducted its work has been explained and placed on record by various representatives of Eritrea and member states of the United Nations.

To give a few examples, the Representative of Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Mr. SKOROBOGATY suggested that:

"Unless Eritrea is officially granted independence and unless the Eritrean people are allowed to express their will by free and democratic process, a federation between Eritrea and Ethiopia cannot be regarded as a voluntary association. In proposing that Eritrea should enter into federation with Ethiopia, the draft resolution disregards the principle of self determination."

(316 Plenary Meeting of 5th session of the General Assembly, 2.12.1950).

Mr. ARURIUNIAN, representative of U.S.S.R. also stated that:

"It is clear from the foregoing that the USSR delegation objects to the proposal for the federation of Eritrea with another state, as such a federation would disregard the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination by preventing the Eritreans from exercising that right. The delegation of the Soviet Union bases its opposition on the fact that such a decision is being imposed on the Eritrean people without its consent and, hence, in violation of the fundamental principles of the right of self determination of the peoples."

(315th Plenary Meeting of the 5th Session of the General Assembly, 2.12.1950).

A considerable opinion within the United Nations regarded even the federal status as an insufficient guarantee to the interest of the Eritrean people.

Yet even this small international guarantee appeared to be too much for Ethiopia to respect, for contrary to expectations, the Ethiopia Parliament, on 14th November, 1961, unilaterally decided to abrogate the federal status for Eritrea and forced it to be one of the provinces of the Ethiopian Empire. By that resolution, Ethiopia clearly violated the first operative paragraph of the resolution of the UN General Assembly which provided that Eritrea should have a separate identity of its own in a federal union with Ethiopia.

Simultaneously, Ethiopia embarked on a policy of pressure and repression of the Eritrean people and their representatives through the killing and imprisonment of political leaders. Consequently, fake elections were held for a legislative assembly in Eritrea that was forced to support the dissolution of the federal status.

As a result of these unconstitutional measures by the Ethiopian authorities, the federal and the international legal status for Eritrea, which recognised the peculiarities of the Eritrean people and their right to a special independent identity, was brought to an end. As a direct consequence of this, the Eritrean movement exploded and quickly became aggravated into a real war in 1961. Since then, the Sudan has continued to bear the tragic repecussions and consequences of this bitter conflict. Because of this and because of our desire to see a sister country and neighbour live in peace, we would not remain indifferent. As the war intensified between the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean Movements, President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri proposed towards the end of 1974 to mediate for a peaceful solution of the Eritrean problem. The then Chairman of the Ethiopian Military Government, General Aman Andom, positively responded to this Sudanese initiative. On their part, the Eritreans accepted the principle of the dialogue.

The Sudanese initiative was however aborted by the apparent determination of the Ethiopian regime to solve the Eritrean problem by the use of force. There was no room for peace makers, and especially those from the neighbouring Sudan which was extending a humanitarian hand to the Ethiopians, who were fleeing from abomination. But the Sudan did not despair. Only recently on the 12th of October 1977, and on several other occasions, President Gafaar Mohamed Nimeiri renewed his initiative for solving the Eritrean problem and expressed his readiness to extend all assistance in organizing a dialogue between the Eritrean people and the Ethiopian Government with the aim of finding a political solution to the conflict. On these bases, the Sudan exerted efforts for the unification of the Eritrean forces into a unified front in order to enable them to talk and negotiate with one voice, if the Ethiopian side agreed to a dialogue. This unification mission was undertaken with the consent and indeed on the request of the Ethiopian Government in order to simplify the equations of negotiations.

Mr. Chairman,

Despite our manifest desire and efforts to assist Ethiopia solve the Eritrean problem peacefully, Ethiopia has continued to doubt our good intentions and has gone even further to actively involve us in the conflict in the miscalculated assumption that we might then be forced to close our doors to the refugees.

On a number of occasions, Ethiopia even violated our territorial integrity, launched air raids, bombed our roads and villages, and killed innocent citizens on the pretext that its armed forces were in hot pursuit of Eritrean separatists. These aggressive

acts and violations occured successively on 5.3.1975 to 30.3.1975, 7.4. 1975, 28.5.1975, 25.8.1975, 26.2.1976 and 3.4.1976. When it became evident that such acts were a pattern that would continue they were brought by the Sudan to the attention of the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity on 8th of April, 1976.

Nor did Ethiopia stop at that. At the time President Nimeiri put forward his initiative and was endeavouring hard to solve the conflict between Eritrea and the Ethiopian Government, the latter began to conspire against the Sudan and its unity by establishing military training camps for some Sudanese dissidents who were later used in the devastating but unsuccessful invasion to which the Sudan was exposed in July 1976. These military training camps still remain in Gambeila area, Itang, Bilual, Bulding, Billbam, Machakwach, and Akade. Other camps are Govenchi in Gondawa near Wagna and Shehidi near Koket. These camps are completely supervised and run by the Ethiopian Government in respect to military training, maintenance, and supply of arms and equipment. This is being done in collaboration with foreign elements in violation of the OAU Charter and resolution of the last Summit in Gabon which clearly reaffirmed the stand of Africa with regards to foreign intervention on the continent. These camps, which have been established and are supervised by Ethiopia, evidently expose her intentions against the unity, security and stablity of the Sudan, a country which has extended a friendly hand to assist in resolving Ethiopia's conflict with Eritrea. Instead of making use of the good offices of President Nimeiri and his initiative, the Government of Ethiopia has thus continued to conspire and shelter Sudanese opposition elements to whom they supply arms and money.

Mr. Chairman,

The Ethiopian aggression and conspiracies did not stop at the

establishment of training camps, nor at the violations of Sudanese air space, they have gone further to include hostile publicity against the Sudan, its people and leadership. They even utilised the offices of the Ethiopian Airlines in Khartoum as a stepping ground for espionage and destructive activities in violations of the provisions of the International Civil Aviation Agreement (1944). This was why we were forced to terminate its flights into Khartoum.

And more, Mr, Chairman, the Ethiopian Government did not stop at that....her authorities unlawfully harrassed and arrested innocent Sudanese nationals in Ethiopia, dislodged them from their premises and confiscated their belongings and possessions. And yet more, Mr. Chairman, despite our demonstrated good will towards Ethiopia, our Ministers and Senior officials on international missions have been subjected to such disrespectful treatment as cannot be tolerated between sister African countries and neighbours.

Mr. Chairman,

As I said at the outset, our difficulties with Ethiopia have been aggravated and continue to be aggravated by the presence of foreign powers and especially the major powers, in the region. As is well known these powers are often motivated by interests alien to our own and often indeed conflict with our interests. The presence of one major power usually attracts the ambitions and eventual involvement of another major power in the area. The result is often the aggravation of tensions and may be conflicts to the detriment of the host countries. When a major power has demonstrated hostile intentions towards a relatively powerless developing country, there is all the more reason for that country to be deeply concerned. That is our case with the Soviet Union which has now consolidated its presence in our region. The hostile intentions of the Soviet Union towards the Sudan were clearly stated by Tass on the 5th June, 1977 and on a number of subsequent occasions in which they accused the Sudan of

intervening in the internal affairs of Ethiopia. Further, they threatened that the Sudan would have to face the consequences of the alleged interventions. As President Nimeiri said in response, Tass statement reflected a moral irresponsibility on the part of the Soviet Union who is a permanent member of the security Counoil and who is therefore supposed to be responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

We have said time and again that if these ill-motivated powers would leave us alone, we might quarrel as brothers and reconcile as brothers using our own African ways of resolving our differences.

Mr. Chairman,

The Sudanese delegation has tried in the foregoing statement to lay down before this August Committee, the problems and difficulties that the Sudan has faced with Ethiopia. Nevertheless, we have a clear desire to resolve our immediate problems and lay a foundation for a mutually agreed resolution of the broader issues in which our immediate problems remain intricately embedded.

We tell our Ethiopian brothers that their domestic problems have gone out of hand and have invaded our country, confronting us with a situation that threatens our own security and the social and economic well-being of our people. Though we desire the solution of our direct bilateral problems towards the normalisation of our relations, we cannot confine our vision to exclude the broader Eritrean issue or else the roots of our problems will continue their cancerous spread and undo whatever we might do today. Ethiopia must search jointly with the Erittreans for a peaceful solution to this chronic seventeen year old conflict. It must be a solution that is satisfactory and acceptable to both sides; a solution whose main insurance for success is consensus.

We know from experience that violence only breeds violence and that genuine unity can never be achieved through violence or through one-sided gratification. Unity must be mutual and therefore must be mutually agreed upon. We do not offer a solution. That is for the conflicting parties to negotiate. But we offer our good offices and our experience. The President's initiative was and remains genuine for the genuine utilization of genuine parties. It is by no means prudent to push the Sudan into a partiality that might debilitate its mediating capacity. The Sudan can never be coerced into taking any position that deviates from its principles to suit the designs of any party. But we remain foremost committed to our ideals of peace and conciliation when circumstances permit. Let us therefore summarize and say in conclusion, Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the Committee; If we can return to the bases of mutual trust, work towards normalization of our relations and cooperate in the constructive search for a peaceful solution that is satisfactory and acceptable to both sides of the Eritrean conflict, then we are willing and ready. The challenges which face us in the Southern part of our continent and in the occupied territories of Palestine and the Middle East dictate our broadest possible cooperation to achieve freedom, justice and peace for our continent and for the world at large.

Thank you.

ETHIOPIA/SUDAN
GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE
FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE
12 - 15 DECEMBER, 1977.

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/2/7

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN CONCERNING FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN CONCERNING FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES

The Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and the Imperial Ethiopian Government, determined to reaffirm the principle of friendly relations proclaimed in the charters of the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

Resolved to reinforce the good neighbourly links and promote Culture, Economic, Trade and communications between the two countries,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

Each of the two Governments shall:

1. Take all necessary measures to put an end to all forms of subversive activities directed against the other, including such activities as may take place across their common borders,

2. Prohibit the activities of all subversive organisations.

3. Close all offices and meeting centres used by rebels as may be identified from time to time by the two Governments.

4. Disarm all rebel elements and dismantle their camps.

5. Expel all rebel and dissident leaders as may be identified by the Government concerned and take such measures as

may be necessary to prevent the return of such leaders.

6. Adhere to all international regional and bilateral conventions, and the OAU decisions, resolutions and declarations governing the status of refugees.

7. Take all necessary measures to encourage the voluntary repatriation of refugees and accord all facilities to official representatives to visit refugee camps.

8. Remove refugee camps to distance of at least fifty miles from the common borders.

9. Restrict the activities of missionary organisations to humanitarian work and take such measures as be necessary to remove them in the event they are found indulging in activities harmful to the national interest of either state.

10. Organise and supervise the peaceful settlement and subsistence of refugees in their camps.

ARTICLE II

1. The two Governments shall establish:

Two Ad Hoc Commissions empowered to inspect suspected rebel camps and sites on both sides of the common border, suspected of harbouring rebel elements and make recommendations to both Governments as to the dismantling of those camps and sites and disarming their occupants.

2. The two Commissions shall operate immediately and simultaneously.

ARTICLE III

The two Governments agreed to re ctivate the standing Ministerial Committee which shall hold three meetings annually to review the progress in the maintenance and promotion of good relations and to devise means for closer co-operation.

ARTICLE IV

The two Governments shall reactive the two Provincial Commissions, and in order to promote closer co-operation direct both the Northern and Southern Commissions to meet four times a year or at any such time as either side may deem necessary. Those Commissions shall report to the Ministerial Committee.

ARTICLE V

The two Governments shall establish a Committee for the promotion of land, air and river transport and the improvement of communications and telecommunications. The composition, venue and date of the meeting of the said Committee shall be subsequently decided upon by the competent authorities in both countries.

ARTICLE VI

The Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan shall prepare the draft agreement on Cultural relations for subsequent discussion and ratification by the representative of their two respective countries.

ARTICLE VII

This present agreement shall come into force on the date of its signature.

Done in duplicate in the English Language.

This day of March 1971 at Khartoum.

Ketema Yifru
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Imperial Ethiopian
Government.

Farouk Abu Eisa
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Democratic Republic
of the Sudan.

ETHIOPIA/SUDAN
GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE
FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE
12 - 15 DECEMBER, 1977.

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/2/8

LIST OF DELEGATES

A L G E R I E

1. Mr. Abdelhamid ADJALI
   Ambassador

2. Mr. Mohamed KHOURI
   Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

C A M E R O U N

H.E. El Hadj Mahmoud Haman DICKO
Ambassador of Cameroon in Ethiopia

G A B O N

1. H.E. Mr. Martin REKANGALT
   Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

2. Mr. Jean Arsene BOUGUENDZA
   Special Adviser at the Office of the President

3. MR. Jean Felix ADANDE
   Ambassador, Adviser in Diplomatic Matters

4. Mr. Daniel SIAWAYA
   Chief of Protocol

N I G E R I A

1. H.E. Mr. U.A. SHINKAFI
   Federal Commissioner for Internal Affairs

2. H.E. Mr. J.G.O. OLAITAN
   Nigeria Commission - Sierra Leone

3. Mr. Mike T. GBASHAH
   Counsellor, Ministry of External Affairs

4. Mr. C.O. MAGROLA
   State Counsel, Federal Ministry of Justice

S E N E G A L

1. Mr. Ousmane GOUNDIAM
   Attorney General at the Supreme Court,
   Leader of Delegation.

2. Mr. Saliou CISSE
   First Counsellor, Embassy of Senegal in
   Ethiopia.

3. Mr. Henri Antoine TURPIN
Head of Africa Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

S I E R R A L E O N E

1. Dr. Abdulai CONTEH
Minister of Foreign Affairs
2. Ambassador Fama Joka Bangura
3. Ambassador Eya E. Mnayo
4. Mr. M.O. Cole
5. Mr. Sahr Maturi
6. Mr. T.E. Cole
7. Mr. V.E. Macauley
8. Mr. S.D. Taylor

T O G O

1. H.E. Mr. Amoubba SALAMI
Minister of Public Works, Housing, Posts and Telecommunications,
Leader of Delegation.
2. Mr. Yaovi RANDOLPH
Principal Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation.

Z A I R E

H.E. Mr. Kalonji TSHIKALA
Ambassador of Zaire in Senegal

Z A M B I A

1. Hon. C.B. Silwizya, MP,
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs
2. Mr. S.K. SIBAJENE
Acting High Commissioner to Sierra Leone
3. Mr. J.M. CHISHOLEKA
First Secretary, Zambia Embassy, Addis Ababa.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY ARCHIVES
REFERENCE

OBSERVER (KENYA)

H.E. Mr. F.K. NGANATHA
Kenya Ambassador to Ethiopia and Sudan

E T H I O P I A

1. H.E. Col/Dr. Feleke Gedle Giorgis
   Minister of Foreign Affairs

2. H.E. Mr. Yilma Tadesse
   Ambassador of Ethiopia to the Sudan

3. Mr. Hailu Wolde Amanuel
   Head of Research and Planning Department
   Ministry of Foreign Affairs

4. Lt. Tibebu Shifferaw
   Head of Press and Information Department
   Ministry of Foreign Affairs

5. Mr. Mendaye Deressa
   Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

S U D A N

1. H.E. Dr. Francis DENG
   Minister of State for Foreign Affairs

2. H.E. Mr. Omer Y. BIRIDO
   Director, Department of African Affairs
   Ministry of Foreign Affairs

3. Mr. Mirghani E. GAWISH
   Charge d'Affaires, Sudan Embassy,
   Addis Ababa.

4. Mr. Gaafar Hasan SALIH
   Consul-General
   Sudan Embassy, Addis Ababa

5. Mr. Ahmed El Safi HUSSEIN
   Adviser

6. Mr. Ahmed Abdalla HAMID
   Adviser

ETHIOPIA/SUDAN
GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE
FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE
12 - 15 DECEMBER, 1977.

Ctt~~ee~~.9/ETH/SUDAN/2/9

STATEMENT MADE BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SUDAN AT THE MEETING OF THE OAU AD HOC MEDIATION COMMISSION, FREETOWN, 13 DECEMBER, 1977

Mr. Chairman,
Distinguished Members of the Committee:

In our statement yesterday, we tried to give a comprehensive, though brief, picture of the situation in our relations with Ethiopia and present in conclusion a broad coneptual framework which would enable the Committee to be flexible and conciliatory while being also realitistic in formulating recommendations for the resolution of the conflict. We realize that such a conceptualization calls for a more detailed clarification of our thinking before the Committee can make specific recommendations that will provide a meeting ground and therefore a consensus.

Our detailed discussion of the Eritrean problem as the root cause of the tension and deterioration in our relations with Ethiopia as well as our position that such a root cause cannot be ignored in the formulation of solutions if we are to be realistic and effective might have given the impression that we present the solution of the Eritrean problem as a sine quo non of the normalization of relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan. If we gave that impression, we certainly did not intend to. Quite the contrary, the Committee will recall that I said in my statement, and I quote:

> "Of course, we are not here to speak on behalf of the Eritran people. They are their own spokesmen. The conflict has, however, been thrust upon us both by geographical proximity and by the tactical designs of the Government of Ethiopia. We cannot therefore, avoid addressing ourselves to the Eritrean problem and how it is affecting our relations with Ethiopia."

The thrust of my conclusion was that if we agree that the root cause of our problem was the Eritrean problem then, there is no way we can realistically address ourselves

to our problem without bearing that problem in mind and laying some foundation for addressing ourselves to the issues it raises. So the real questions are:

(a) Do we recognize that the Eritrean problem is the root cause of our problem ? Here, I quote the Ethiopians themselves. Chairman Mengistu stated in Libreville: and I quote:

> "The present crisis has its genisis in the secessionist movement in the Northern Administrative Region of Ethiopia, commonly known as Eritrea.

The same sentiment was repeated here by the Distinguished Minister of Foreign Affairs when he said:

> "The crisis in Ethio-Sudan relations has its genesis in issues associated with activities of secessionist movements that have been going on for several years in the Northern region of Ethiopia."

It has been said that the Eritrean problem has gone on for many years and our relations continued to be good until recently. That is true but as I said in my statement the situation has become aggravated and its repercussions have intensified themselves within our borders. Here I must recall my words:

> "We tell our Ethiopian brothers that their domestic problem have gone out of hand and have invaded our country, confronting us with a situation that threatens our own security and the social and economic wellbeing of our people. Though we desire the solution of our direct bilateral problems towards the normalization of our relations, we cannot confine our vision to exclude the broader Eritrean issue or else the root of our problems will continue their cancerous spread and undo whatever we might do today."

That the distinguished Minister recognises the intimate relationship between the understanding of the root cause of the problem as the Eritrean question and its consideration in formulating solutions is obvious in his statement when he said:

> "I hasten to add that the need to discuss the background of the problems which contribute to the deterioration of relations between the Sudan and Ethiopia was only motivated by the desire, on our part, to indicate to the honourable members of the Commission, elements to be considered in the discharge of their duties of creating harmony and understanding between the two neighbours".

If we agreed that the problem is intimately tied up with the Eritrean question the neat question is how do we address ourselves to it in a positive way without any actual or apparent interference in the domestic affairs of Ethiopia. That I believe is the challenge facing this Committee.

For us the challenge should be met by supporting the principle of dialogue or peaceful negotiation with the assisting mediation of sister African countries and men of goodwill. This is an African style and connotes a positive familial sentiment as opposed to the negative connotations of interference. We did it and we never felt the weaker for it. Indeed quite the reverse, we found strength in it. But lest I be suspected of ulterior motives, let me again quote from the supporting statement, of my distinguished brother, the Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Affairs when he said, referring to our own domestic conflict:

> "Prior to the signing of this historic document between the Sudanese Government and representatives of Southern Sudan, Ethiopia had contributed to the attempt to end that fratricidal conflict through negotiations."

That this is in accordance with our African approach to problems is acknowledged by the distinguished Minister of Ethiopia when he said:

> "To deal with any dispute of whatever nature in fairness and in a spirit of brotherhood is part of our African tradition."

Because of the foregiong, we suggest that the Committee makes recommendations in two main fields:

A. The bilateral field in which it recommends the normalization of relations in accordance with the principles of the OAU. And here we have no difficulty with the suggestions of the Ethiopian delegation provided they are phrased in a manner conforming to the U.N. instruments and to the dual character of our grievances rather than as one-sided incrimination of our party since our complaints on the issues raised by Ethiopia are mutual.

B. The second field should address itself to the Eritrean question on the principles of:

1. Peaceful solution of problems through dialogue or negotiations and with the mediation of OAU friendly countries.

2. Taking all necessary steps towards the restoration of mutual understanding and confidence.

3. Reiterating the OAU position in favour of Africans solving their own problems, and in opposition to the complicating and aggravating interference from extra-African powers in the domestic affairs within and between African countries.

We hope Mr. Chairman that our Ethiopian brothers will bear in mind the words of Dr. Stevens when he said:

"To the two sister States of Ethiopia and Sudan I say the pursuit of peace is a courageous and noble enterprise sometimes demanding the most daring and seemingly costly sacrifices. But please remember, no price is too high and no sacrifice is too great to lay on the altar of peace, for without peace nothing is."

The cable of President Tolbert has once again rekindled the warm fire kindled by Dr. Stevens.

ETHIOPIA/SUDAN
GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE
FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE
12 - 15, DECEMBER, 1977.

Cttee.9/ETH/SUDAN/2/10

STATEMENT MADE BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ETHIOPIA AT THE MEETING OF THE OAU AD HOC MEDIATION COMMISSION, FREETOWN, 13 DECEMBER, 1977

Mr. Chairman,

During the Commission's meeting this morning, the distinguished representative of the Sudan raised certain points to which I feel I have to give clarification in order to assist the task of the Commission.

The distinguished representative of the Sudan dwelt extensively on the question of whether or not the Eritrean problem per se is the root cause of the deterioration of Ethiopia-Sudan relations. In this regard, let me clarify to the Commission that in my statement yesterday I said and I quote "The crisis in Ethio-Sudan relations - and I stress the word "CRISIS" - has its genesis in issues associated with activities of Secessionist Movements ..." end of quotation. By this I mean that it is the open support that Sudan gave to the secessionists in their objective to dismember Ethiopia that contributed to the straining of relations between the two countries. It is the granting to the secessionists of camps inside Sudanese territory for training and for the launching of subversion that contributed to the deterioration of relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan. It is the placing of the official Sudanese Government's media - radio, television, newspapers - at the disposal of the secessionists and counter-revolutionaries that led to the regression of Ethio-Sudanese relations. It is the use of Sudanese territory by the secessionists and counter-revolutionaries to transit arms, medicine and other logistic support that cuased the bilateral relations to reach their lowest ebb.

As if these interferences by the Sudan were not serious enough, distinguished members of the Commission will recall that the Sudan's stand on the issue of Ethiopia's territorial integrity was made crystal clear when none other than the highest authority in the Sudan, President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, declared to the whole world that he supports the secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia. This position as you all know was reiterated on the eve of this Freetown meeting. Sudan's interference in the internal affairs of Ethiopia, as I have said yesterday, was conducted in violation of the 1971 Agreement signed between the two countries - an agreement some of whose provisions I quoted to you yesterday and whose full text is available for your examination. These are, some of the reasons that led to the deterioration of relations between the two countries and not the Eritrean problem per se. It is Sudan's active involvement in the problem rather than the existence of the problem in the Eritrean region of Ethiopia itself that contributed to the crisis in the relations between the two states. We have said that the Eritrean problem has existed for a number of years and when Sudan respected the principle of non-interference and adhered to bilateral agreements and did not support the secessionists, the bilateral relations of the two countries were very good. They recently started deteriorating not because the Eritrean problem existed but because Sudan became actively involved in it.

Yes, there are Eritrean refugees in the Sudan as there have been Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia and other neighbouring countries of the Sudan. And we recognize the existence of refugees places certain burden on the host country. It is in fact this recongition that propelled the UN and the OAU to set up international assistance mechanisms. But we do not believe, however, that the existence of refugees in itself accords the recepient state the right of manifest interference in the internal affairs

from which the refugees originate. It will be recalled that when Ethiopia was forced by circumstances to accommodate Southern Sudanese refugees, she not only did not say She could arm them and send them back to the Sudan - as was officially stated by the Sudan with respect to Ethiopian refugees residing in the Sudan - but is also never on record as having arrogated to herself the right to interfere in the Sudan's internal affairs by placing demands for one kind of solution or another to the Southern Sudanese problem.

The distinguished representative of the Sudan in his clarification statement this morning sought to create the impression that it is the Eritrean problem only that has soured the relations between Sudan and Ethiopia. In this regard, I should like to stress once more as I have during my earlier intervention, that the government of the Sudan is conducting its interference in Ethiopia's internal affairs through its support of the so-called "Ethiopian Democratic Union" - a reactionary runaway group dedicated to the restoration of the feudal order.

It will be recalled that the honourable representative of the Sudan had, in his intervention accused Ethiopia of cooperating with the Soviet Union. We would, however, like to make it clear to our brothers from the Sudan that Ethiopia as a sovereign state has every right to choose her friends and to establish relations with any country, it is pertinent to indicate here that when the Sudan signed pacts with extra-African countries directed against the interest and security of Ethiopia, despite her reservations Ethiopia did not deem it proper to use it as a tool to luanching anti-Sudanese campaign and to raise the matter before this Commission.

Mr. Chairman,

Questions were also raised in this morning's Session whether the Eritrean problem could be discussed by the Commission. I think I have indicated the response at my intervention this morning by quoting from my own statement delivered at the start of our work. And I hope also that the explanation I provided at the outset of this intervention has given further clarification as to the real reason for the deterioration of relations between Sudan and Ethiopia. We do not believe that the discussion on the Eritrean problem in this forum is necessary in order to help Ethiopia and the Sudan normalize their relations. As I indicated in my six points proposal we can normalize our relations if we agree to be governed by the vital principles of the Charter of the OAU in the conduct of our bilateral relations.

The internal problems that we Ethiopians face are for us to consider and find solutions for - and as such, I believe our unwillingness to open our internal matter for discussion conforms to the principles of our Organisation. However, I wish to state for the benefit of the distinguished members of the Commission that the Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia is committed to the peaceful settlement of the Eritrean problem. It has publicly committed itself to that course of action by its declaration of May 16, 1976, of the Nine-Point Peace Policy programme which offered a political solution as a means of settling the problem, and has subsequently set up a Special Commission to supervise the implementation of the amnesty granted to all disidents and to repatriate and rehabilitate refugees. As you all know the Nine-Point Peace Policy declaration was preceded by an initiative of the Ethiopian Government asking President Nimeiri to help us resolve the problem. That the Provisional Military Government also

LIST OF DELEGATIONS

	COUNTRY	NAMES	TITLE
1.	ALGERIA	Mr. Abelwaheb Ababa	Director for African Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
		Mr. Mohamed Khouri	Assistant Director, OAU Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
2.	CAMEROON	H.E.El Haj Haman Dicko	Ambassador to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia - Chief of Delegation
		Toko-Mangan E.C.	Member of delegation
3.	GABON	Mr. Bekale Michel	First Counsellor, Embassy of Gabon, Addis Ababa
4.	NIGERIA	H.E. S.Uthman Yolah	Nigerian High Commissioner, in Dar es Salaam
5.	SENEGAL	Saliou Cisse	First Counsellor, Embassy of Senegal in East Africa - Chief of Delegation
6.	SIERRA LEONE	H.E. Dr. Abdulai Conteh	Minister
		H.E. Mrs.F. Joka-Bangura	Ambassador in Addis Ababa
		Mr. S.D. Taylor	Director of Economic Cooperation, Freetown
7.	TOGO	A B S E N T	A B S E N T-
8.	ZAIRE	Citizen Nziza-Kiluangu	Ambassador, Addis Ababa
		Citizen Mwenda	First Secretary, Zaire Embassy, Dar es Salaam

9. ZAMBIA	H.E. Mr. Kalenga Langwa	Zambian Ambassador to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
A. ETHIOPIA	Dawit Wolde Giorgis	Deputy Foreign Minister
	Meresha Ketsela	Deputy Interior Minister
	Berhanu Dinka	Head of African and Middle East Division
	Yilma Tadesse	Ambassador in Khartoum
	Hailu W. Amanuel	Head of Research and Policy Division
	Ticahun Sahle	Head of Public Security
	Tewolde Berhan	Head of Department (Foreign Affairs)
	Ghion Hagos	Head of Department (Information and National Guidance)
B. SUDAN	H.E. Dr.Francis Deng	Minister of State for Foreign Affairs
	H.E. Hashim Osman	Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	H.E. Omer Yousof Barido	Head of African Department, Foreign Affairs
	Mr. Mirgham Elnur Gawish	Sudanese Chargé d'Affairs, Addis Ababa
	Mr. Gaafar Hassan Saleh	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	Mr. Ahmed Elsafi	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	Mr. Ahmed Abdall Hamid	Ministry of Foreign Affairs

.../3

C. OBSERVERS

1. KENYA	H.E. F. K. Nganatha	Kenya Ambassador in Addis Ababa
2. MOZAMBIQUE	Mr. Alberto Sithole	Director, Africa and Millel East Division Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	Mr. Murade Issaac Munargy	Legal Adviser, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
3. TANZANIA	A.C. Massinda	Africa and Middle East Division, Foreign Affairs.
4. UGANDA	Lt. Col. Bashir Juma	Govenor
	Muhammad Ally	Assistant Secretary - Africa and Middle East Department

D. OAU GENERAL SECRETARIAT

H.E. William Eteki Mboumoua	General Secretary
H.E. Dr. Peter Onu	Assistant Secretary General
Mr. A.N. Chimuka	Lirector, Political Department
Mr. Ngung Mpwotsh	Coordinator, Political Department

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