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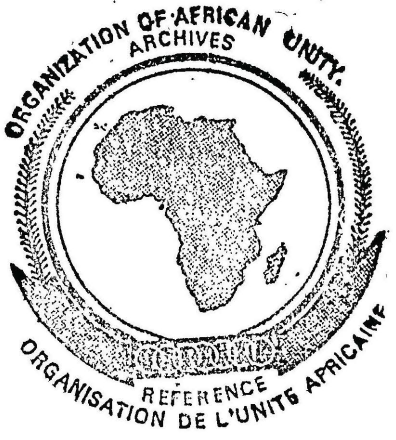
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
Thirty-First Ordinary Session
Khartoum, Sudan
7 - 15 July 1978

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ETHIOPIA-SUDAN
OAU AD HOC COMMITTEE



The Ethiopia-Sudan OAU Mediation Commission met in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania on 20 June, 1978 under the Chairmanship of H.E. Abdulai Conteh, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone.

2. With the exception of Togo all the members of the Committee, namely, Algeria, Cameroon, Gabon, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leonne, Zaire and Zambia participated at the Dar-es-Salaam meeting of the Committee. The following member States attended as Observers: Kenya, Mozambique, Tanzania and Uganda.

3. The Committee agreed to centre its deliberations on a two point agenda:-

(a) Review of and follow-up of the Freetown Recommendations.

(b) Consideration of Ways and Means for the Promotion of Bilateral Relations between Sudan and Ethiopia.

4. In his opening statement the Committee Chairman recalled the earlier efforts made to convene the meeting of the Committee and expressed satisfaction that the objective had at last been realized and particularly so with the presence of Ethiopia and Sudan. He referred to the Freetown Recommendations some of whose provisions had already been realised: for instance the return of Ethiopian soldiers from the Sudan and the resumption of air-links between Addis Ababa and Khartoum. The Chairman also informed the Committee of the mission he undertook to Khartoum and Addis Ababa in February - March 1978 during which he delivered a special message to the Heads of States of Sudan and Ethiopia from the President of Sierra Leone Dr. Siaka Stevens and during which he held consultations with the two Governments on the reactivation of the Ethio-Sudan Consultative Ministerial Committee. The two Governments expressed their readiness to hold these meetings.

5. The Chairman in his statement also touched upon the OAU principles in respect of the territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of member states. In this connection he appealed for a spirit of tolerance among OAU member states with different socio-economic systems. In calling for a rapprochment between Ethiopia and Sudan the Chairman reminded the Committee that in 1972 Ethiopia and Sudan had amicably settled a boundary dispute between them. With the same spirit of mutual cooperation and understanding he was sure that the present differences between the two sister States could be resolved within the framework of the Ethio-Sudan Joint Ministerial Consultative Committee.

6. The Chairman paid tribute to the Tanzania Government for accepting, within the spirit of African solidarity, to host the meeting at such short notice.

7. In his address to the Committee the Head of the Ethiopian delegation Major Dawit Wolde Georgis noted that some progress had been made towards the improvement of relations between Ethiopia and Sudan since the Committee meeting in Freetown in December 1977. He informed the Committee that when President Siaka Stevens' special envoy Ambassador Mbayo visited Addis Ababa on 5 January 1978, the Ethiopian Government gave him assurances of their readiness to implement the Freetown recommendations, including, among other things, the secession of hostile activities between the two states and preparations for the resumption of air-links between Addis Ababa and Khartoum then scheduled for 15 January 1978. He noted that Sudan had to some extent taken similar measures in improving bilateral relations with Ethiopia, e.g. there had been a selective reduction of anti-Ethiopian propaganda from Radio Omdurman and the repatriation of Ethiopian soldiers from Sudan. During Dr. Conteh's visit to Addis Ababa in March 1978 the Ethiopian Government once more re-iterated its willingness to see the reactivation of the Ethio-Sudan Joint Ministerial Consultative Committee.

8. Major Dawit noted that the OAU were rightly justified to expect an early improvement in relations between Ethiopia and Sudan. However, he underlined a number of obstacles in the way of improvement in relations between the two sister States for which the cooperation of the Sudan was vital. According to him the Sudan, through Radio Omdurman, was still engaged in hostile propaganda against Ethiopia and this could lead to the deterioration of the bilateral relations. The Sudan had allowed itself to be used as a base for elements opposed to the Ethiopian Government e.g. EDU, ELF, EPLF etc. for whom the Sudan provides camps and bases from which these elements launch attacks on the Ethiopia border towns. The Sudan's involvement in the Eritrean problem is interference in Ethiopia's internal affairs. In a recent major policy statement the Ethiopian Head of State Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam gave satistics of the cost of the Eritrean problem both in terms of loss of lives and damage to property. He spelt out the steps Ethiopia has taken and is prepared to take to resolve the problem peacefully through regional autonomy as detailed in the National Democratic Programme. He also offered, in the spirit of the reconciliation, a general amnesty. The present nation wide seminar on Eritrea is a further indication of Ethiopia's readiness to resolve the problem in a peaceful manner.

8. Major Dawit refuted the contention that the determination of relations between Ethiopia and Sudan resulted from the Eritrean question because up to 1974 the relations between the two countries were excellent. In his view the deterioration in relations stem from Khartoum's hostility to the Ethiopia revolution. Whereas Ethiopia has taken steps to improve bilateral relations the Sudan has chosen to support and train elements hostile to Ethiopia including Eritrean elements in order to destroy the Ethiopian revolution whose central objective is to bring about fundamental socio-economic changes in favour of the Ethiopian masses. Thus the Ethiopian delegation viewed the Eritrean

question within the contest of the Ethiopia revolution and did not believe that the secessionist movement could be the root cause in the strains in Ethio-Sudan relations. The major cause is undoubtedly the anti-Ethiopia elements.

10. The Ethiopian view-point is that for the relations between the two countries to improve the Sudan should adhere to the OAU principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states and should take measures to stop the activities of the Ethiopian secessionist elements operating from Sudanese bases.

11. The Head of the Ethiopian delegations also gave an account of the origins and objectives of the Ethio-Sudan Joint Ministerial Consultative Committee. He welcomed the initiatives taken by President Siaka Stevens and the Committee in reviving the work and activities of this Committee for the benefit of people of Ethiopia and Sudan. In this vein he assured the Committee of Ethiopia's full cooperation to bring the two peoples together.

12. In his concluding remarks Major Dawit paid tribute to Tanzania President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and the people of Tanzania for their dedication to the cause of Africa and stressed that the successful conclusions of the present deliberations would be a fitting tribute to the host Government, Tanzania.

13. In his statement the Head of Sudanese delegation Dr. Francis Deng underscored the context within which Sudan's Foreign Policy is formulated and emphasised the awareness and sensitivity of the Sudan vis-à-vis dialogue and reconciliation both emphasised particularly since the May Revolution. It is the Sudan's desire to maintain good neighbourly relations as examplified in the Ethiopia-Sudan border demarcation agreement of 1972. It has been the Sudan's preoccupation since the Freetown Meeting to improve relations with Ethiopia.

14. Dr. Deng grouped the Freetown recommendations under three catagories:-

(a) bilateral relations

(b) the search for peace in the region and

(c) the reaffirmation of OAU resolutions especially those of Libreville warning against the involvement extra-African powers in the internal affairs of OAU Member States.

15. The deterioration of relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan, in the view of Sudanese delegation, resulted from the intensification and aggravation of the Eritrean conflict which Sudan regards as the genesis of its problems with Ethiopia in the sense that Ethiopia's domestic problems have had adverse repercussions which endanger Sudan's own security.

16. As an illustration of Sudan's goodwill towards Ethiopia Dr. Deng pointed to the measures taken by the Sudan to allow the return of Ethiopian soldiers to Ethiopia, the resumption of Ethiopian Airlines flights to Khartoum, the resumption of Sudan Airlines flights to Addis Ababa despite the fact that these are uneconomical, the scaling down of propaganda against Ethiopia on Radio Omdurman notwithstanding the fact that there has been no similar response from Ethiopia.

17. Dr. Deng drew the Committee's attention to Ethiopia's lack of reciprocity to Sudan's gestures. For instance, Ethiopia rebuffed the Sudanese Vice-President's proposed visit to Addis Ababa; in his statement of 8 June 1978 Col.Mengistu made slanderous accusations against the Sudan; Ethiopia has intensified its operations against Eritrea Ethiopia has sought to solve the Eritrean problem through the use of force and the involvemant of an extra-African power.

18. The Sudanese delegation charged that Ethiopia had failed to adhere to the Freetown recommendations, for instance, by refusing Sudanese refugees repatriation facilities to the Sudan and using the refugees for anti-Sudanese propaganda; lack of interest in regional cooperation as shown by Ethiopia's unilateral decision to embark on a development project on Lake Tana with a non-African power without prior consultations with Egypt and Sudan in conformity with treaties governing rivers.

19. If the obstacles to Ethio-Sudanese good neighbourly relations are to be overcome Ethiopia must reciprocate in full measure to the Sudan's gestures. The Sudanese Vice President's proposed visit to Addis Ababa, the question of refugees and that of slanderous propaganda for instance must be resolved. Ethiopia has to accept the principle of a peaceful negotiated settlement of the Eritrean problem for which the Sudan is ready to assit; she must accept cooperation in regional development for example, that of the Nile waters; and must put an end to the violations of Sudanese airspace resulting from intensifications of operations in Eritrea; and put an end to foreign interference in Africa affairs especially the intervention of the Big powers.

20. The Head of Sudanese delegation reiterate his country's commitment to peace and national prosperity and called upon Ethiopia to implement the Freetown accord fully and stop resorting to evasive tactics.

21. In his concluding remarks Dr. Deng paid tribute to the Sierra Leone Head of State President Siaka Stevens for his personal interest in finding a solution to improving relations between Ethiopia and Sudan. He also commended Dr. Conteh for his devotion and dedication in this regard and likewise complimented the OAU Secretary General for his efforts. Similarly he paid tribute to the President and people of Tanzania for the interest and commitment to the African cause and hoped that the Committee's work would be crowned with success.

22. After their statements the Chairman requested the Ethiopian and Sudanese delegations to leave the room to allow the Committee time for consultations. The Committee subsequently held consultations on the basis of the Freetown recommend tions and the extent to which they have been implemented, the bottlenecks encountered and what further measures should be taken towards the amelioration of relations between the two sister States of Ethiopia and Sudan. Following a constructive and fruitful exchange of views the members of the Committee agreed on a recommendation which it represented to the two parties who accepted it.

23. In the operative paragraphs of the recommendation the Committee:

1. REAFFIRMS the principles and provisions of the Freetown Recommendations which in the opinion of the Committee form the basis for the normalisation of relations between the two parties;
2. URGES the parties to adhere strictly to the principles and provisions of these recommendations;
3. EMPHASISES the importance of the creation of the necessary atmosphere which will ensure the implementation of the agreed principles of the Freetown Recommendations;
4. FURTHER EMPHASISES the strict implementation of that accord and in particular the early convocation of the Ethio/Sudan Joint Ministerial Consultative Committee;
5. BELIEVES that the early and speedy implementation of the Freetown Recommendations would be considerably enhanced by an early Summit Meeting between the Heads of State of the two countries;

6. NOTES with satisfaction and appreciation the proposed invitation to the two Heads of State b the Head of State of Sierra Leone (Chairman of the Ad Hoc Mediation Committee) in the endeavour to normalise relations between the two countries;

7. RECORDS its deep and sincere appreciation to the Government and people of Tanzania for providing the venue and facilities for the meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee.

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Annex I

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N

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Annex I

RECOMMENDATION

The Ad Hoc Mediation Committee on the Ethiopia/Sudan dispute comprising Algeria, Cameroon, Gabon, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Zaire and Zambia meeting in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania on 20 June 1978.

Having heard the statements of the Heads of delegation of the Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia and the Democratic Republic of the Sudan,
Recalling the Freetown Recommendations of December 1977,
Noting with satisfaction the positive steps that have been taken by the two parties in implementing the Freetown Recommendations and in this connection the resumption of air links between the two capitals, the return of Ethiopian soldiers from the Sudan and the scaling down of hostile propaganda,

1. REAFFIRMS the principles and provisions of the Freetown Recommendations which in the opinion of the Committee form the basis for the normalisation of relations between the two parties,
2. URCES the parties to adhere strictly to the principles and provisions of these recommendations,
3. EMPHASISES the importance of the creation of the necessary atmosphere which will ensure the implementation of the agreed principles of the Freetown Recommendations,
4. FURTHER EMPHASISES the strict implementation of that accord and in particular the early convocation of the Ethiopia/Sudan Joint Ministerial Consultative Committee,
5. BELIEVES that the early and speedy implementation of the Freetown Recommendations would be considerably enhanced by an early Summit Meeting between the Heads of State of the two countries,

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6. NOTES with satisfaction and appreciation the proposed invitation to the two Heads of State by the Head of State of Sierra Leone (Chairman of the Ad Hoc Mediation Committee) in the endeavour to normalize relations between the two countries.

7. RECORDS its deep and sincere appreciation to the Government and people of Tanzania for providing the venue and facilities for the meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee.

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Annex II

STATEMENT DELIVERED BY THE HONOURABLE DR. ABDULAI CONTEH, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SIERRA LEONE AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE OAU ETHIOPIA/SUDAN MEDIATION COMMITTEE, DAR-ES-SALAAM, TANZANIA, 29TH JUNE, 1978

STATEMENT DELIVERED BY THE HONOURABLE DR. ABDULAI CONTEH, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SIERRA LEONE AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE OAU ETHIOPIA/SUDAN MEDIATION COMMITTEE, DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA, 20TH JUNE 1978

Your Excellencies my dear colleagues,
Distinguished Delegates,

I must say that coming to Dar es Salaam to address this meeting of the OAU Mediation Committee I am particularly pleased to note that the delegations of Ethiopia and Sudan are represented in full force which is an indication that our task as a Mediation Committee is coming to a successful conclusion. When we last met in Freetown the work of the Committee was beset with some insecurity and plagued by fears and suspicions. The hesitations which we encountered in Libreville had made us all so terribly unsure of our ability to reconcile our differences and to accept peaceful coexistence as we had done hitherto.

At our meeting in Freetown we recalled the fundamental principles which pay uncompromising respect to the inviolability of sovereignty, and the territorial integrity of States Members of our Organisation. In our view, it is those principles which led us to the detente the relaxation of tension which contributed in no small measure to the agreement which facilitated the departure of those Ethiopian Soldiers who had been held back for one reason or the other in Sudan and which also led to the resumption of air traffic between the capitals of the sister States. We reaffirmed at that meeting our belief in the capacity of African States to solve their problems.

I would like to report to the Committee here assembled that at the end of February I visited Khartoum and immediately after, at the beginning of March, I also visited Addis Ababa. I was able to have free and frank discussions with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and officials of both Governments and in both instances, I had the honour of being received by the two Heads of the sister

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States and I was able to put across to them the views of the Mediation Committee, armed as I was with a personal letter which had been addressed by my President, Ir. Siaka Stevens, to his brothers and colleagues the Heads of States of Ethiopia and Sudan. The most important thing I would like to report to you is that I was deeply impressed by the sincerity and the generosity of the soul portrayed by the two Heads of State and I have no doubt that we see that generosity manifested here today by the presence of both sister States. I do believe, Distinguished Delegates, that we have come a long way from the hesitations of Libreville to the positive affirmations of Freetown and if a happy harmony is achieved here at the conclusion of this session of the Mediation Committee we shall herald a new era. If the Joint Ethiopia/Sudan Ministerial Consultative Committee can begin its affirmative work, out of this we shall have a dynamic synthesis which will reject all fractiousness, announce the fruition and cohesiveness which all of us would like to see in North East Africa.

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, the spirit of our age demands that we accept entente and that cooperation which we have been striving to achieve over the last year. We for our part, can look back only with gratification and political satisfaction to the fact that several years ago when the relations between these two sister States were threatened by a dispute over some boundary demarcation they were able to resolve their conflicts sitting down together and working over the issues.

We have no doubt that the problems of today have become enormous and sometimes even exaggerated because we do not listen to each other but listen to the wireless systems of third parties. Notwithstanding these stirrings, and external provocations we are confident that our steadfastness in sticking to the principles of territorial integrity and non-interference in each others' internal affairs will do us no end of good. We for our part in West Africa have had considerable experience of coexistence between States which

are avowedly Marxist and those which are manifestely capitalist. We do not understand how similar coexistence cannot be repeated in other parts of the continent where the variations are even less emphatic.

The spirit of 1978, Your Excellencies, encourages us to adopt more realistic, or as some would say more indulgent postures in our political relationships with sister States, especially our immediate neighbours.

In attempting to some to terms with realities of political life we are sometimes struck by the moral and politica dilemmas which attend the pursuit of a harmonious cooperation between differing plural societies. In our view, the very existence of those dilemmas calls for some measure of restraint in our enthusiasm to influence activities in other countries in the direction we shall have chosen for them.

The need to demonstrate such enthusiasm may be desirable, we may be swept off our feet by a zealousness bolstered by self-righteous indignation; but we must be clear in our minds about the legitimacy of such enthusiasm and indignation. So much for the moral and legal position.

In political terms, it is also possible that attempts to induce changes by frontal demands may lead to undesirable results or at worst purely counterproductive.

Not so long ago in 1972 to be precise, as I am sure most of you will recall the two sister States who are now in the process of effecting a peaceful and I dare hope, a lasting rapprochement were able to settle their differences over a boundary dispute in the Umbrega and El Fashaqua triangles. I would ask this Committee here assembled and the two parties especially to invoke the spirit of 1972 which opted for a peaceful settlement of their dispute as required by our obligations under the Charter of United Nations and that of the OAU.

We know that the Joint Consultative Committee of Ethiopia and Sudanese Ministers played an unenviable and Highly successful role in guaranteeing the success of those

negotiations. We in Sierra Leone, I am sure, and the members of the Mediation Committee have no doubt that what our predecessors did six years ago cannot possibly be beyond us.

We departed from Freetown last December with high hopes and inspiration anchored in the fact that the joint communique both sides issued at the conclusion of the Ad-Hoc Mediation Committee's deliberations marked a significant step in the normalisation of relations between the two sister States of Ethiopia and Sudan.

Let us therefore not allow those hopes and inspiration to be extinguished by mutual recrimination born of fear and suspicion.

Let us resolve that we want lasting peace and harmony, for by a combination of circumstances we are today meeting in DAR ES SALAAM the abode of Peace. Let peace therefore be our sole objective.

Against this background I would like to leave with you two themes; first is our unrepentant belief in the ability of the Joint Consultative Committee of Ethiopian and Sudanese Ministers to settle their differences peacefully, and the second is our belief in peaceful coexistence in a continent whose socio-political ethos is by definition pluralistic.

In conclusion, I would wish to thank sincerely the Government and People of Tanzania not only for accommodating the Ad Hoc Committee here in Dar es Salaam, this citadel of Liberation, but for the spontaneity of the response to our request to meet here. This indeed is an eloquent testimony of the dedication of the Government and people of Tanzania not only to the Liberation of our continent but also to the resolution of our differences by peaceful means.

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Annex III

STATEMENT BY THE HEAD OF THE ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION MAJOR DAWIT WOLDE GIORGIS TO THE MEETING OF THE ETHIOPIA-SUDAN AD HOC MEDIATION COMMITTEE IN DAR-ES-SALAAM, TANZANIA ON 20 JUNE, 1978

STATEMENT MADE BY THE HEAD OF THE ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION MAJOR DAWIT WOLDE GIORGIS TO THE MEETING OF THE ETHIOPIA-SUDAN AD HOC MEDIATION COMMITTEE MEETING IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA ON 20 JUNE 1978

Mr. Chairman,

Excellencies,

Since the OAU Ethio-Sudan Ad Hoc Mediation Committee last met in Freetown from 12 to 15 December 1977, some progress has been made in the implementation of the recommendations adopted by the Committee. The determination of the two parties to respect the principles and objectives of the OAU and the good-will manifested by the representatives of the Sudan and Ethiopia at Freetown to resolve existing differences and to resume cooperation has been further strengthened by the adoption of the Freetown Accord and the subsequent improvement of relations between the two neighbouring States.

President Siaka Stevens' special envoy Ambassador Eya M'Bayo visited Addis Ababa and Khartoum in the first half of January to deliver the President's special message and to bring the recommendations of the Mediation Committee to the attention of the two Heads of State - President Nimeri of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and of the Council of Ministers of Socialist Ethiopia. During the audience Ambassador M'Bayo had with the Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia, he was given assurances that Ethiopia will do her best to fulfill her commitments and to implement the provisions of the Freetown recommendations.

Even before Ambassador M'Bayo came to Addis Ababa on January, 5, Ethiopia had already taken certain positive steps in the implementation of the Freetown recommendations. Cessation of hostile propaganda had already been fully effected on the part of Ethiopia. Preparations were also underway to resume air links between the two countries following the announcement released simultaneously in Khartoum and Addis Ababa fixing January 15 as the date of

the resumption of regular services. When Ethiopia, Airlines inaugurated the resumption of its regular flights on January 15, members of the Mediation Committee who flew to Khartoum as its guests were very pleased to witness a concrete manifestation of their efforts hopefully heralding the beginning of the fulfilment of the Freetown agreement.

We are happy to note that the Government of the Republic of the Sudan has also taken some positive steps in that direction. Sudan Airways has resumed its regular flights to Addis Ababa and is now providing an additonal link between Addis Ababa and Khartoum. While the complete and immediate cessation of propaganda as called for by the Freetown accord has yet to be complied with by the Government of the Republic of the Sudan, steps have been taken towards a selective reduction of propaganda transmissions against Ethiopia emanating from Radio Omdurman - the official voice of the Sudanese nation.

The gesture made by the Government of the Republic of the Sudan in facilitating the repatriation of Ethiopian soldiers, who had crossed over the common boundary into the Sudan on account of circumstance which were beyond their control, we recognize as being a sign of good-will, useful in creating the paper atmosphere for the improvement of bilateral relations.

When Dr. Conteh, the current Chairman of the OAU Ad Hoc Ethio-Sudanese Committee delivered the special message of President Siaka Stevens to President Nimeri and Chairman Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam last March, he had the opportunity to discuss with them the possibility of reactivating the Ethio-Sudanese Joint Ministerial Consultative Committee. Although the first attempt to convene the Consultative Committee in Nairobi failed to materialize as a result of last minute request, it is nevertheless largely because of the initiative of the Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone and the good-will demonstrated by the two Heads of State that we are able to meet here and reactivate the progress of bilateral consultations.

Mr. Chairman:

Although some progress has been made since Freetown, we feel that we still need to exert further serious effort in order to maintain the level of understanding generated by the Freetown accord and improve relations between the two sister states. As a matter of priority, the Sudan and Ethiopia should endeavour in the short run to meet the justified expectations of the OAU by fully implementing the provisions of the Freetown recommendations, while renewing their faith and commitment to all other principles and decisions of the OAU thus contributing to the strengthening of our regional Organisation.

In this regard I wish to point out that the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan has yet to terminate the dissemination of hostile propaganda against Ethiopia. Anti-Ethiopian elements are still allowed to use the facilities of Radio Omdurman to transmit vicious propaganda against Ethiopia, and if such hostile acts are not ended forthwith by the Sudanese authorities, they may lead to consequences which could be detrimental to the improvement of relations between the two neighbouring states.

Furthermore, contrary to the provisions of the Freetown recommendations relating to the OAU resolution ARG/Res 27 (II) which, among other things, calls upon member states not to carry out any subversive activities against another member state the Sudan has continued to serve as a base for different subversive groups working against the interest of Ethiopia. A member of anti-Ethiopian groups which identify themselves as EDU, ELF, EPLF, etc., have been allowed to maintain offices in Khartoum and other towns to operate training camps and bases. It is from such centres that different subversive elements continue to launch attacks on Ethiopian border towns and villages to fulfill their missions of distruction, death and plunder. It is also through Sudanese territory that arms and supplies are being transited into Ethiopia by anti-Ethiopian elements.

Mr. Chairman:

Distinguished members of the Mediation Committee will no doubt recall the recent address delivered by my Head of State, Comrade Lt.Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, on the situation prevailing in the Administrative Region of Eritrea in which, among other things, he revealed the grim details of the damage to life and property sustained by the Ethiopian people as a result of the deliberate and malicious acts of terror and sabotage perpetrated by those anti-unity elements trecherously working for the dismemberment of Ethiopia.

7 In order to illuminate the extent of damage perpetrated by the secessionists, I wish to beg the indulgence of the distinguished members to quote just a few lines from the said speech. In describing the loss of human life, Comrade Chairman Mengistu said:

> "More than 13,000 man-in-uniform and over 33,000 civilians, including children, elderly men and women, have died or have been wounded on account of the reactionary crime perpetrated by these anti-peoples messengers of destruction the separatist groups. The number of compatriots who have been forced to flee the country after being enraged by wanton killings and lootings by the bandits is estimated at more than 200,000. Since it is very difficult to give an estimate of the damage caused by the anti-people treacherous bandits for a long time on the Eritrean people through brigandage and looting which have no parallel in our history it has nonetheless been established that the damage so far caused to government property amounts to more than two and a half billion Birr. We leave it to history to record the exact amount of money expended to safeguard Ethiopia's territorial integrity and Revolution."

Further referring to the material damage willfully be caused by the secessionists, the Chairman said:

> "They destroyed over 17 major industrial establishments forcing 15,000 workers and their families to be idle

"immediately following the nationalisation of the means of production and distribution which were in the hands of a few exploiters".

It is because Ethiopia does not wish to see its neighbour, the Sudan, to continue to be associated with these acts that we insist that the Sudan take effective measures to avoid serving the interest of those who by pursuing secessionist objectives threaten to destroy the very foundation upon which African Unity is built.

Ethiopia believes that the consolidation of the internal unity of every African state is a vital prerequisite to the successful realization of the goal of African Unity. Our desire to solve the problem in Eritrea by peaceful means emanates therefore from this firm belief. I need hardly recall to the distinguished members that the Ethiopian Revolution has, from the outset, exerted continuous effort in this regard. Only two weeks ago, my Head of State, in his nation-wide address on the problem in Northern Ethiopia, has, in spite of the continued and arrogant rejection by the secessionists, reaffirmed the readiness of the Ethiopian Government to seek a peaceful solution through regional autonomy as enunciated in our N.R.D. program. Also, the Chairman of the PMAC has, in the same address, declared amnesty for those wishing to lay down their arms and join in the genuine search for peace. Subsequent to the Chairman's significant declaration, a nation-wide seminar with the broadest possible participation is currently in progress in Ethiopia, thus affording the Ethiopian people a forum for a democratic discussion of the problem in Eritrea in all its dimensions.

Mr. Chairman,

Had our efforts been supported by the Sudan, no doubt, the problem in Eritrea would have been more emenable to peaceful solution. That this has not been the case could be traced back to the attitude of the Sudan towards the Ethiopian Revolution.

Up to the advent of the Ethiopian Revolution in 1974, relations between the Sudan and Ethiopia could be characterized as excellent. With the establishment of the Revolutionary Government we in Ethiopia had hoped that the new opportunities presented by the Revolution would lead to an even broader and deeper cooperation between the two countries and, to this end, we took several positive steps. To our dismay, however, the happy state of relations began to deteriorate rapidly because of the hostile attitude taken by the Sudan towards the Revolution of the Ethiopian people. The Government of the Sudan embarked upon organizing, training and facilitating the infiltration into Ethiopia of anti-Ethiopian elements of all stripes, including the Eritrean secessionists.

I would like to reiterate here that the Ethiopian Revolution was not and is not directed against any government or peoples, near or far. It is a Revolution which is a product of internal social processes whose objective is to bring about fundamental changes in the political, economic and social structures of the country with a view to restoring the rights of the long-oppressed broad masses of Ethiopia. Any state undertaking such an arduous but noble task of fundamental transformation rightly expects full support and encouragement from sister states in Africa. We say this because we believe that the revolutionary struggle of the Ethiopian people is part and parcel of the African struggle for social, political, economic and cultural emancipation.

Needless to say, the achievement of these noble objectives by the people of Africa is a firm guarantee for genuine political independence and the advancement of our common anti-colonial and anti-imperialist drive throughout the continent. In this respect, the Ethiopian Revolution is grateful for the support it continues to receive from Africa. Regretably, however, Sudan chose to support not the Ethiopian Revolution but its enemies.

Viewed in this perspective, therefore, the contention that the Eritrean problem is the principal factor which led to the deterioration of relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan is untenable. The situation in the Northern Administrative Region of Ethiopia should be viewed within the context of the Ethiopian revolution and the struggle of its people. Its solution also can only be found in this same context. This reactionary movement is merely part and parcel of the overall external and internal reaction directed against our revolution. It is therefore erroneous to treat the situation in Eritrea in isolation from the nation-wide struggle and claim that the secessionist movement is the root cause of the problem existing between the Sudan and Ethiopia. If, indeed, this had been the case, one would have expected that Ethio-Sudanese relations prior to the Ethiopian Revolution would have been as strained as they are today, since the secessionist movement was also in existence in those days.

The fact of the matter is, relations between the two countries were then among the best in Africa. It is logical; therefore, to ask what in fact has caused the deterioration of relations in the last few years. In our view, the answer lies in the policy of the Sudanese Government, in alliance with anti-Ethiopian power, particularly these in our region, to bring about the demise of the Ethiopian Revolution. The fact that even after the Freetown accord the Sudanese government continues to render its open and sustained support not only to the secessionist movement in Eritrea but also to all anti-Ethiopian and counter-revolutionary elements such as the so-called EDU, EPRP, TPLF, OLF, and so forth, confirms our view.

As my Foreign Minister declared in Freetown, and I quote: "... the Eritrean peoblem 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 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".

Mr. Chairman:

I have attempted to clarify certain points so as to provide the correct perspective for our discussions. The Ethiopian delegation has come here to cooperate with all concerned in the search for ways and means of normalizing Ethio-Sudanese bilateral relations. We believe that the Ministerial Consultative Committee is an appropriate mechanism which could accelerate the process of normalization. If the past is any guide, the reaction of this Committee can not but contribute positively to the creation of the necessary atmosphere conducive to the improvement of our relations. I shall therefore indicate briefly the origin, the purposes and objectives of the Consultative Committee when it was instituted. Also, I wish to mention some of the legal instruments created by the Committee that contributed significantly to the healthy state of relations which prevailed between the Sudan and Ethiopia up to 1974.

Mr. Chairman:

The Ethio-Sudan Consultative Committee was established by an agreement concluded between Ethiopia and the Sudan on 28 July 1965 in Addis Ababa. The Committee was set up to review issues of common interest, to chart out action programmes and to ensure the implementation of such programmes. Initially it was entrusted with the task of implementing the provisions of the July 1965 agreement which stated that:

1. neither party shall allow any hostile propaganda to be disseminated or conducted by press, radio or any other media;
2. neither party shall permit, allow or provide facilities for the transfer of arms and ammunition or traffic of arms or ammunition of any type within its territorial jurisdiction for use by either rebels or secessionists,
3. neither party shall allow the national of the other party to engage in or conduct any type of activities that are directly or indirectly designed to encourage secessionist movements in the territory of the other party;

4. both parties shall take immediate and effective measures to eliminate all offices established by dissident elements... and shall take care that no offices are that no offices are established in the future;
5. neither party shall allow its territory to be used as a training centre for any person or persons who wish to conduct or encourage secessionist movement...;
6. neither party shall allow any person or persons to whom asylum has been granted to engage in any activities hostile or subversive to the national interest of the other party;
7. neither party shall allow nationals of the other party who are not holding a valid passport to establish residence within its territorial jurisdiction, unless the two parties agree otherwise;
8. both parties agree to put into effect the Extradition Agreement signed on March 29, 1964, immediately after ratification by both parties;

The first Ethio-Sudan Ministerial Consultative Committee met in Khartoum from 24 to 27 June 1966. The two parties, reaffirming their desire to strengthen the historical links of brotherhood and the need to promote relations of good neighbourliness and cooperation between the sister countries had, among other things, agreed:

a. to set up a joint boundary commission
b. to establish a joint administrative committee to settle local border problems on the spot, and
c. to elominate subversive activities detrimental to their friendly relations and national interests.

Through subsequent meeting, certain positive measures have been taken to control the activities of dissidents and secessionist elements who, at the time, were creating serious problems in Southern Sudan and Northern Ethiopia. While consultations and action programmes were initially focused on matters of security, issues relating to trade,

cultural and economic cooperation were also discussed and agreed upon. To this effect, a number of bilateral agreements have been signed and joint commissions have been set up.

In Freetown, we made specific reference to the agreement of March 1971 signed by Ethiopia and the Sudan copies of which were distributed to members of the Mediation Committee. Once again, I wish to draw the attention of our brothers to that same agreement, which the eminent Sudanese scholar, Mr. Mohammed Omar Beshir, an active participant in the search for a political solution to the problem of Southern Sudan, had referred to in one of his books on Southern Sudan as "the most important agreement in the direction of solving the Southern problem". This is the agreement, I am sure you all recall, which binds the two states to:

a. take all necessary measures in order to put an end to all forms of subversive activities;
b. prohibit all subversive activities;
c. disarm all rebel elements and close their camps;
d. expel all rebel and dissident leaders;
e. take all necessary measures to encourage the voluntary repatriation of refugees, etc.

Now that the Ethio-Sudan Ministerial Consultative Committee is being reactivated, we sincerely hope that this and other agreements concluded between Ethiopia and the Sudan would be strictly enforced through existing or new mechanisms and institutions thus elevating Ethio-Sudan relations to a level commensurate with good neighbourliness and promote cooperation and joint ventures for the benefit of the peoples of Ethiopia and the Sudan who are so closely linked by history, geography and culture.

Mr. Chairman:

Finally, let me take this oppprtunity to express the sincere gratitude of the Ethiopian delegation to His Excellency President Siaka Stevens for the initiative he has taken to help bring about the normalization of relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan, both before and after the OAU Ad Hoc Mediation Committee meeting in Freetown. His mediatory role, which has consistently demonstrated genuine

African qualities, has won the admiration of the people and Government of socialist Ethiopia. It is proper at this time, therefore, to salute this great son of Africa.

The personal effort also deployed by your Excellency in convening the present meeting has been a model of diplomatic skill of the highest order. On behalf of my delegation and myself, I would like to congratulate you for a job well done. May I assure you in this connection Sir, that the delegation of Ethiopia, conscious of the seriousness of our work at Dar es Salaam and the commitment of our country to good neighbourliness, will wholeheartedly cooperate with Your Excellency and the other distinguished members of the Committee to help make this meeting a success.

By hosting this meeting in this beautiful capital Mr, Chairman, Mwalimu President Julius K.Nyerere, the Government and people of Tanzania have once again demonstrated their dedication to the cause of African Unity. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to express our gratitude to the President and the people of Tanzania for their fraternal hospitality extended to us. It is a great honour for me to pay tribute to this illustrioussson of Africa, a man whose commitment and dedication to the full emanicipation and the unity of Africa is a source of justified pride and inspiration. There will be no higher tribute to the President, the Government and the people of the United Republic of Tanzania for hosting this meeting than the successful outcome of our deliberations here leading to harmony and cooperation between the two sister states of Ethiopia and the Sudan.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman

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Annex IV

STATEMENT BY MR. FRANCIS M. DENG, STATE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN TO THE OAU AD HOC MEDIATION COMMISSION ON SUDAN/ETHIOPIA DISPUTE HELD IN DAR-ES-SALAAM, JUNE 20TH, 1978

STATEMENT BY DR. FRANCIS M. DENG, STATE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN TO THE OAU AD HOC MEDIATION COMMISSION ON SUDAN/ETHIOPIA DISPUTE HELD IN DAR ES SALAAM JUNE 20TH, 1978

Mr. Chairman,
Mr. Secretary General,
Honourable Members of the Commission,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Our relations with Ethiopia cannot be viewed in isolation from the conceptual framework of our foreign relations in general. Nor can foreign relations be viewed as a series of isolated events in a nation's life. They are or ought to be elements of a synchronized policy determined and guided by fundamental values and objectives that have their roots in domestic situations.

The values and objective behind Sudan foreign policy and therefore the substantive context of that policy can best be understood in the context of the conditions that prevailed in our country before the May Revolution.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Sudan is one of those African countries that while potentially enriched by ethnic and cultural diversities were in fact afflicted in a chronic conflict resulting from the confrontations between the elements of those diversities. For seventeen years, our people were devastated by an intensive war that was inevitably the result of colonial designs and unconceived policies of party politics. The result was not only damage to human lives, but also destructive use of wealth and frustration, indeed retardation of economic growth.

With the May Revolution came the well known Addis Ababa Accord a name that should testify to our indebtedness to our Ethiopian brothers. With unprecedented moral courage, the leadership of May Revoultion repudiated all conformist traditional and reactionary approaches to the settlement of such problems and faced the challenge of dialogue and negotiation. The overriding consideration was that it was not enough to defend the principles of unity and the maintainance

.../2

of inherited boundaries if those principles were not founded on justice and the common will. National unity and solidarity which form the indestructable power of a nation, must of necessity be mutual and mutually beneficial.

Ladies and Gentlemen, before Addis Ababa, many of our people used to fear that any degree of concession to the demand of the South for self-determination and any degree of devolution, autonomy, or federation would inevitably be used as a stepping stone towards separation and was therefore in itself a degree of separation. Addis Ababa Accord and all that we have been able to do since then have completely exploded the myth of essential love for separation. The lovetthat now exist in the Sudan today is unanonymously for unity. And this far in excess of the expectations of even the optimists.

Nor was national unity limited to the solution of the Southern Problems. Once that front was reconciled, the process of national mobilization in unity began to broaden into a pervasive philosophy that charatirizes our constitutive process, whether with respect to the embracing alliance of all the working forces in the Sudan Socialist Union and the National Assembly or through the devolution of power to the provinces and the rural areas. Recently the process was crowned with the national reconciliation that has brought back political dissidents who had gone into refuge to continue opposition to the May Revolution. The world is aware of our recent efforts in this respect and the monumental success we have scored in rechannelling the energies of our manpower into construction instead of destruction.

THis is a point very much worth emphasizing, for having brought unity and solidarity to our people, the May Revolution embarked upon a most ambitious programme of social and economic development that is orientated towards social justice and the bridging of developmental gaps between various parts of the country. This development conception has become an effective strategy and ideology for a uniting process of nation building.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, these twin principles of national unity through a peaceful negotiated national consensus and the acceleration of an embracing, socially orientated and equitable development have become the pillars of our domestic and foreign policies which we recount in detail here to demonstrate our motives and to share our experience with others who might learn something from it Ethiopia being a case in point. As we said in our meetings of Freetown, a country with these as the motivating and conditioning principles can only desire peace and solidarity on its borders and in its region. This is why the May Revolution has been to consolidate good neighbourly relations and to activate joint Ministerial Committees with all our neighbours. With sister country Ethiopia, this was further crowned by our exceptional success in peacefully negotiating and agreeing on border demarcation in 1972, a significant indication of the excellent relations that prevailed between the two countries and the history which goes back to the origins of recorded history.

What went wrong? Here, I need not say much because the answer to that question was the preoccupation of our meeting in Freetown. If I may, I shall only restrict myself to a few quotations which summerize the gist of what emerged as the consensus, namely that the deterioration in the bilateral relations between the Sudan and Ethiopia could not be isolated from the intensification of the Eritrean problem. In order to provide a balanced foundation for that consensus, permit me Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, to quote from the respective parties. In the second statement of the Sudan, we said and I quote:

"Of course, we are not here to speak on behalf of the Eritrean people. They are their own spokesman. 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."
End of quote.

understanding between the two neighbours". End of quote.

This shared perspective was what led the Committee towards the relevant preambler paragraph in which it said, and I quote "Considering the statements made by the two heads of delegations from Ethiopia and the Sudan recognizing the serious implications of the political conflicts in the area affecting friendly traditional relations between Ethiopia and Sudan." Consequently the operative paragraph 6 stated: "Expresses its readiness to assist Ethiopia and the Sudan in the implication of these recommendations and in the search for peaceful solutions to the problems that endangers peace and stability in the area".

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, the recommendations of Freetown could be grouped into three main categories:

1. Those relating to the normalization of bilateral relations and the restoration of an atmosphere of confidence, in particular, the immediate cessation of hostile acts and propaganda and the re-establishment of air links between the two countries.

2. Those relating to the search for peaceful solutions to the problems that endanger peace and stability in the area.

3. Those reaffirming the OAU resolution AHG/Res.85(XIV) of the 14th Ordinary Summit which calls on:

4. All African States to refrain from resorting to foreign intervention in the settlement of conflicts between African States and in particular the interference of all extra African powers, especially the big powers, in the internal affairs of African States.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, all the members of this Committee and indeed the whole continent of Africa are justified to be proud of the Freetown Accord which was hailed throughout the world not only as victory for our Continent but also as a testimony to our ability to solve our own problems by ourselves and without the complicating, often self serving hands of foreign intervention. It is with this pride in the African achievement that the Sudan proceeded to implement the Freetown Accord immediately and meticulously.

We returned to Ethiopia a large number of officers and soldiers who had been forced by the conflict to enter our borders and who wished to return. We restored the permission for Ethiopian Airlines to resume its scheduled flights via Khartoum. Even more significant, we resumed Sudan airways flights to Addis despite continuing advice of the experts that it was uneconomical; we did it to demonstrate good will and not for commercial purposes. We ceased all hostile propaganda by the Sudanese and significantly restricted the use of Radio Omdurman to the Eritrean movement, thereby terminating its use by EDU and other Ethiopian dissidents. Even the Eritrean programmes were directed to be channelled towards the constructive efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Eritrean problem and to cease slanderous propaganda. And indeed Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, how otherwise could we have slammed the door on the Eritrean movements when no steps were taken by Ethiopia to indicate a serious desire to solve the problem peacefully, when the repeated appeals of President Nimeiri renewing his initiative to mediate after the Freetown Accord fell on dead ears, when the Sudan went even further to suggest a visit of our First Vice President to Addis to iron out with the Ethiopian leadership impending problems and to think together with the Ethiopian leadership on peaceful alternatives on the Eritrean situation only to be rebuffed with silence or endless delay tactics, when indeed Ethiopia was demonstrating to the world its resolve and confidence in solving the problems of the area through military might, a might that clearly went outside its national power to involve one of the greatest powers on earth. How in the face of such gross contravention of the letter and spirit of Freetown could we turn a blind eye to what we had accepted as the genesis of our problem. And even assuming that Ethiopia had demonstrated a readiness to cooperate with the Sudan in finding a peaceful solution to the Eritrean problem, how could we have had a face to try to influence the Eritreans to talk for less to compromise if we had suddenly and without positive alternatives closed our studios and thereby taken the side of their adversary without qualification?

To explain the continued use of Radio Omdurman by the Eritrean movement must not be understood to imply that the Sudan is on the defensive while Ethiopia is abiding by the Freetown recommendation for the cessation of hostile propaganda. The opposite is the case, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen. At a time when the Sudan can justifiably be proud of revolutionary achievements at home especially by ending chronic traditional problems that reactionary policies had failed to solve, at a time when the Sudan has succeeded in effectively mobilizing our people in a constitutive alliance of all our working forces, at a time when the Sudan continues to widen reconciliation and promote national consensus, at the time when the fruits of our socialism and accelerated social and economic development are reaching all corners of our countr , in short at the time when the relentless march of the May Revolution is beginning to bear tangible fruits, our Ethiopian brothers continues to resort to slanderous slogans against the demonstrated integrity of our Revolution. From a long series of such slanders, permit me to quote the most recent one by none other than the Chairman himself Colonel Mangistu, delivered on 8th June, 1978 and on a subject of vital relevancy - the situation in Eritrea: I quote from an unofficial translation: "The reactionary ruling governments in the neighbouring Arab countries join ranks against our revolution and historical integrity with the assistance of the imperialists and in coordination with the Sudanese leadership. This is done to prevent Ethiopia from becoming strong enough to foil their old sinister designs."

It must be stressed, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen that despite such slanders from the highest authority in Ethiopia the only utterances from President Nimeiry of Ethiopian since Freetwon have been cordial r references to our historical relations and constructive suggestions for the peaceful settlement of the Eritrean problem. President Nimeiri's statements or those of any political leader in the Sudan have not expressed or implied any derogatory reference to Ethiopia or her leadership.

[illegible]

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, the rebuff the Sudan received on the First Vice President's suggested visit which was given much publication in both countries was not an isolated incident but part of a series of indications that the attitude of Ethiopia in Freetown was drastically altered shortly after Freetown. At a time when our good friends and peoples of good will around the world hailed President Nimeiri's national reconcilaitaion programme. Ethiopia repeatedly refused to permit the leaders of our refugees from having access to their men to arrange for their repatriation to the Sudan. Quite the contrary they continued to use them for perpetuating their hostile intentions towards a country that was knocking at their door to demonstrate support and cooperation. And indeed Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, cooperation is the motive of the Sudan in the region and whatever Ethiopia says in these meeting, her actions at home indicate that regional cooperation is certainly not an Ethiopian priority, to say the least.

For instance, in an effort to promote regional cooperation Ethiopia was invited to join the technical joint board for the Nile water together with other countries associated with the Nile. Until now, no positive reply has been received from Ethiopia; instead, Ethiopia is embarking unilaterally and with the assistance of a major power on building a dam on Lake Tano without prior consultation or coordination with Sudan and Egypt. Although the Sudan welcomes the efforts of Ethiopia to utilize water resources for its own development we believe nonetheless that this should be done in comformity with the international conventions and treaties governing rivers to the best behefit of all the states.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and Gentlemen, distinguished delegates what do we do now? Before I venture to make any suggestions let me say that we have come here with a positive disposition but also with an attitude of realism. We should not be pessimistic but we should also not gloss over the issues. It was indeed our desire to maximize

positive expectations that we suggested the postponement of an earlier meeting so that we could unify our view of the agenda and our expectations from the meeting. We were afraid that Ethiopia might plan to proceed to Joint Ministerial meeting involving a large number of ministers on both sides in an attempt to promote bilateral relations while by-stepping the central issues which we had recognized in Freetown. Had we come to Nairobi with divertent views on what we had come for, Freetown Accord might have been dismantled and the world might have witnessed more disagreement than agreement, We might at best have ended with the challenge of restoring the spirit of Freetown rather than go beyond. Now that the issues were clarified before hand and we are all here with a common view of our task, we believe that it is possible for this meeting to register the positive developments since Freetown and to identify the obstacles that must now be removed to accelerate our progress towards the desired goal. From what we have siad, it is quite apparent that certain steps still need to be taken to implement the Freetown Accord more faithfully.

In the field of bilateral relations, we believe that Ethiopia needs to reciprocate all the efforts Sudan has exerted to improve relations. I need not mention the discourtesy to our First Vice President in the context of suggested actions, but I must mention the attitude of Ethiopia towards our refugees who want to respond to President Nimeri's initiative of broadening national unity and reconciliation as an illustration of lacking good will which should be remedied. Besidds, Ethiopia should cease her slanderous propaganda against our Revolution and instead embrace President Nimeiri's sincerest offer to be of assistance to Ethiopia. And here we must stress that all the Sudan calls for is a negotiated peaceful settlement with the assisting hand of a mediator, whoever that mediator may be. We are not inviting ourselves to the task of mediation only offering our good offices and willingness to help if and when needed. Furthermore should demonstrate its readiness to cooperate with the Sudan and other states in the mutual utilisation of the Nile waters.

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With respect to the question of foreign interference, it is now apparent that Africa's best weapon against foreign designs is for us to solve our problems by oursleves without the complicating hand of foreign partners, especially when the problem concerns brothers and sisters and when the foreign intervention is by a major power with her own strategic designs. We must remember that these foreign powers have interests to serve and our bargaining position is weakened by our very weakness that necessitates our resort to their help.

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates, we in the Sudan are busy celebrating our success in achieving domestic peace and unity and we are busy reconstructing our country, and fostering the building of our nation. We have no interests in conflicts, on the contrary, we are devoted to peace and preoccupied with the fruits of peace, national u unity, and struggle for prosperity. Let Ethiopia believe that and act accordingly and we will be able to do a lot together for our common good. In other words, let us implement Freetown Accord realistically and fully and not evasively and selectively.

In conclusion Mr. Chairman, permit me to convey through you to your most distinguished President, Dr. Stevens our profound esteem and gratitude for the great personal interest he has shown to the work of this Committee. Without his inspiring guidance, we could not have achieved what we did in Freetown. We must also thank you Mr. Chairman for your great patience, your dedication and your tireless endeavour to see a successful conclusion to this Commission's work not only in the interest of the parties immediately concerned but also in the interest of the unity and prosperity of our beloved continent. Our gratitude and appreciation also go to our distinguished Secretary General and all the Distinguished delegates who have so affectively shared your commitment to our common cause.

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates, while the great President and son of Africa, Mwalimu Nyerere, and the great people of Tanzania, would undoubtedly prefer to labour unmentioned for the same cause which brings us to this beautiful capital, we know that our venue could not have been more appropriate both in essence and in name.

If we should conclude our work on a positive note we would have indeed expressed our appreciation and gratitude in the most appropriate manner desired by our dedicated host and his people.

I thank you.

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Annex V

SECOND STATEMENT MADE BY THE HEAD OF THE ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION MAJOR DAWIT WOLDE GIORGIS TO THE MEETING OF THE OAU ETHIOPIA/SUDAN AD HOC MEDIATION COMMISSION IN DAR-ES-SALAAM, TANZANIA ON 20 JUNE, 1978

SECOND STATEMENT MADE BY THE HEAD OF THE ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION MAJOR DAWIT GIORGIS TO THE MEETING OF THE OAU ETHIOPIA-SUDAN AD HOC MEDIATION COMMISSION MEETING IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA ON 20 JUNE 1978

Mr. Chairman,

As I said in my opening statement my delegation came to Dar es Salaam to review the implementation of the Freetown Accord and to search jointly for ways and means of further implementing those portions of the recommendations which are yet to be complied with. To our surprise, we have witnessed a movement away from the spirit of Freetown. It is the view of my delegation that :

a) the Freetown Accord did not make the cessatiion of hostile propaganda from Sudan against Ethiopia conditional upon the solution of the problem in Ethiopia's Northern Administrative region in a fashion acceptable to the Sudan. If this were the case, the recommendations would not have been accepted by Ethiopia because it would have meant direct interference in Ethiopia's internal affairs.

b) the recommendation which we have just adopted falls to reinforce the Freetown recommendations in that it seeks to avoid responsibility by attempting to suggest the necessity for a summit before seeing to it that the Freetown Accord was implemented in full thereby creating the necessary atmosphere for a meeting at the highest level. I refer in particular to the propaganda broadcasts by secessionist and anti-Ethiopian elements from the Sudanese Capital using the official broadcast medium of the Government of the Sudan. This state of affairs is, of course, contrary to and a clear non-compliance with the spirit and the letter of the Freetown recommendations.

Mr. Chairman,

Our acceptance of the present recommendation before us, therefore, is based upon our understanding that the call for the creation of a conducive atmosphere means, among other things, compliance with the Freetown recommendations, and particularly, the cessation of all hostile propaganda. It is in this spirit that my delegation offers its cooperation to the Committee.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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Annex VI

SECOND STATEMENT MADE BY THE HEAD OF THE SUDANESE DELEGATION DR. FRANCIS DENG TO THE MEETING OF THE OAU ETHIOPIA-SUDAN AD HOC MEDIATION COMMISSION MEETING IN DAR-ES-SALAAM, TANZANIA ON 20 JUNE 1978

SECOND STATEMENT MADE BY THE HEAD OF THE SUDANESE DELEGATION DR. FRANCIS DENG TO THE MEETING OF THE OAU ETHIOPIA-SUDAN AD HOC MEDIATION COMMISSION MEETING IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA ON 20 JUNE 1978

Mr. Chairman, since our meeting in Freetown, Sudan has consistently demonstrated willingness to cooperate and compromise. It is in this spirit that we have once again accepted the Recommendations of the Committee. We must however put on record a few observations. The information which has been made available to the Committee with respect to the implementation of the Freetown Recommendations shows that Sudan has lived up fully to the letter and spirit of the Freetown Accord, while Ethiopia has virtually failed to do so.

In this connection, it should be recalled that in Freetown, we agreed on three major areas:

a) Bilateral
b) Peaceful solutions to the problems that endanger peace and security in the area.
c) Reaffirming OAU position against foreign interference and in particular interference of Extra African powers.

Nearly all the major steps in the bilateral field were by the Sudán. It is the Sudan which resumed airlinks because it was the Sudan which had terminated such links and stopped the Ethiopian lines. It was also the Sudan which returned the Ethiopian soldiers. Sudan also ended official hostile propaganda, having only radio Eritrea which is directly relevant to the Eritrean problem, the subject of the second area of the recommendations.

With respect to this second area and the third area which concerns foreign intervention Ethiopia has done nothing at all in the implementation of the Freetown Recommentadions. On the contrary while all steps in the bilateral field were taken by the Sudan, Ethiopia continued to complain only about radio Eritrea which means an implied aknowledgement that Sudan has lived up to the Freetown Recommendations. In this context the call for the creation

of an atmosphere conducive to the implementation of the Freetown Recommendations should be understood to be directed towards Ethiopia and in all areas. With respect to the suggested meeting of Heads of State and the observations made by the representative of Ethiopia, we must put on record that it was on the initiative of President Stevens that this Committee has noted the suggestion with support. It was not a suggestion by the Sudan and we do not consider it to be within our competence or for that matter the competence of the Committee to call for such a meeting. Nor do we consider it appropriate for anybody to place prior conditions in the way of such a suggested summit as the Ethiopian representative was clearly indicating. Indeed stating such conditions by the Ethiopian representative is a clear indication of their negative disposition, a fact which has already been well illustrated by their attitude towards the suggested visit of our Vice President. This is why we are sceptical of the Ethiopian intentions towards the implementations of the recommendations that the Committee has just adopted.

In the spirit of cooperation and understanding we undertake to faithfully convey these recommendations of the Committee and the surrounding atmosphere to our Government.

In conclusion we hope that our Ethiopian brothers would reverse their negative attitude in the interest of our two sister countries and for African Unity and solidarity.

LIST OF DELEGATIONS

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-Tangan 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.

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 Isaac 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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