

EIGHT H CONFERENCE  
OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT  
OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES  
Harare, August-September 1986  
ADDRESS BY COMRADE DENIS SASSOU-NGUESSO  
PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE CONGOLESE LABOUR PARTY  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, HEAD OF GOVERNMENT  
PRESIDENT OF THE ORGANIZATION.OF AFRICAN UNITY  
TO THE  
EIGHTH SUMMIT MEETING OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES  
Harare, September 1986

Mr Prime Minister,  
Heads of State or Government,  
Heads of Delegations,  
Your Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

May I first of all express our gratitude to the delegations of Latin America, Asia and Europe for having accepted and supported the idea of holding this meeting on African soil in Zimbabwe.

We highly appreciate this token of active solidarity towards Africa, particularly this part of our continent which, as everyone knows, is subject to repeated aggression on the part of those who think that force, as such, can crush right, defy justice, the liberty of peoples and impose itself by terror.

But today, in a significant manner, we accept the challenge because we have adopted another style of relations between peoples, countries, civilizations and cultures.

We who share in our common heritage and in our daily lives the lessons of foreign domination, unequal relations between countries, the practice of intimidation by the powerful against the weak, have chosen the force of law, the dignity of man and peoples. Here in Harare, on symbolic soil, a land of heroic struggle to safeguard human dignity, we affirm and proclaim unambiguously the determination of our peoples to fight any system which makes man not the equal of man, not the brother of man, but his oppressor and even his executioner.

HAR-08 3

In) this context, at the vety gates of Pretoria, may I be permitted to salute the memory of the victims of apartheid and the determination of the fighters who every day, if not every hour, are sacrificing their lives so that liberty and respect for others may spread from one end of our continent to the other. Our thoughts turn quite naturally to Nelson Mandela and his companions detained in South African prisons.

Since we are speaking of our heroes, may I pay a tribute to the glorious memory of Indira Gandhi who. presided with distinction over our Seventh Summit and whose name will always be closely associated with the struggle of her country, India, to consolidate our Movement. K

We haVe come from vatiuous parts of the world to express here in Hararei a city that is now recorded in the annals of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the determination of our peoples to combat the odious regime of agartheid and the illegal otcupation of Namibia by South Africa.

On behalf of the Organization of African Unity, on behalf of the Congolese People and of the delegation that accompanies me and in my. own name I should also like to present most fraternal greetings to frime Minister Mugabe and through him to the heroic people of Zimbabwe for the warm welcome, the genuine African hOSpitality and the marks of attention that have been shown to us since our arrival and for the sacrifices that have been made in order' to ensure the success of this Conference despite repeated South African intimidation and aggression.

May I also present ,to Prime Minister Robert Mugabe my warm congratulations on the important message that he has just delivered, a message of great significance, which we should accept as a working document of the Conference.

This is an appropriate occasion to pay homage to the firm commitment to dialogue and solidarity undertaken by our countries through a Movement that was born in special conditions of arduous struggle for the independence and liberty of peoples; a Movement that has remained faithful these 20 years to its ideals of peace and social progress; a Movement that in its profound aspirations, which have never been disavowed, I defines itself as the antidote to an international political system based on the logic of blocs, prey to a perpetual confrontation that is a dangerous threat to international peace and security.

Against the background of the spectre of insecurity and threats of all kinds that result from the misguided concept of bipolarization of the international political system we are holding this Conference, which coincides with the 25th Anniversary of our Movement, marking a quarter of a century of effort, a review of which will enable us to discern the lines of force of a future policy.

Today, in fact, Our Movement has justified the hopes placed in it by our States and peoples, as an appropriate framework for useful and concerted action.

The Movement has distinguished itself in the world by its innovative attitude, by its anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist stances and has made as great a contribution

as possible to changing the face of a world dominated by conflict; a world of injustice and exploitation, in which wealth is still concentrated in the hands of a privileged few to the detriment of the majority.

Against the background of such flagrant injustice, it is comforting to note that, during its 25 years of existence, the Movement - has demonstrated that it has retained all its importance, all its topicality, its strength, and that it has still had the necessary resources to work towards a radical and qualitative transformation of international relations, as is shown by the initiative it has taken on numerous occasions, in particular:

The convening of the First Session of UNCTAD in 1964 following the 1961 Declaration of Belgrade ;

The Definition and adoption of a Programme for Peace and International Co-operation at the Cairo Summit Conference in 1964;

The development of the principle of self-reliance and collective autonomy at the Lusaka Summit in 1970;

The appeal for the introduction of the New International Economic Order made at the Algiers Summit in 1973.

Many other- important initiatives have also been taken, such as the demand to launch global negotiations and the adoption of guiding principles for strengthening the collective autonomy of the developing countries at the Havana Summit in 1979.

HAR-08 3

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemenr

On this occasion it is appropriate to emphasize the importance and the historic responsibility of our Movement, which has placed the problems of peace, security and economic and social development at the heart of its concerns, subjects whose interconnection no longer needs to be demonstrated, as it is so evident today that. any savings, however minute, in military expenditure would make a substantial contribution towards improving the living conditions of the peoples. But it is important for us to ask ourselves in what world context we are carrying on our struggle.

The international scene shows us a world living in fear, haunted by the nuclear threat of destruction; a world of proliferating hotbeds of tension.

. A rapid glance around is enough to show the extremely dangerous nature of this situation.

The continent of Asia is today still confronted- by serious tension: in the Korean Peninsula, where the hopes placed in a possible peaceful reunification of the two brother states are dashed daily, in Afghanistan and Kampuchea where there is an urgent need to work for the re-establishment of peace and. unity within the nations concerned. The Indian Ocean is' still the scene of strategic manoeuvres and nuclear tests.

In the Mediterranean, we still have fresh in our memories the murderous bombing of the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi.

LHAR-083

In Latin America, "Nicaragua is daily confronted by aggression and other subversive and destabilizing machinations by the counter-revolutionary forces supported from the exterior.

In the Middle East, the war of attrition that has been raging for six years between the brother countries of Iran and Iraq drags on, while Israel remains as intransigent and aggressive today as in the past on the question of Palestine and the occupied Arab territories.

Lebanon is falling in ruins and one may well ask what will become of it after so much destruction and loss.

The Cypriot nation remains divided.

In southern Africa the situation is still marked by the instability and tension created by the Pretoria regime.

Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia have again been the victims of South African aggression because they spoke out for liberty and the struggle against apartheid in the region. The

Pretoria 'regime uses every possible method of intimidation, including economic pressure, making particular use of the recruitment, training and equipment of tiny armed groups for subversive manoeuvres against the front-line States.

The People's Republic of Angola is facing attacks by South African troops that are occupying part of its territory and the manoeuvres of puppets armed by Pretoria and the Western Powers.

The Organization of African Unity has twice spoken out against this flagrant intervention, condemning the repeal of  
HAR-083

\_ 3 -

.the Clark amendment and the link established between the independence of Namibia and the presence of Cuban troops on Angolan soil.

We consider that as long as apartheid in South Africa, the illegal occupation of Namibia and the murderous aggression of the Pretoria regime against the States 'in the region continue, it would be illusory to imagine a return to peace in this part of the world. .

It is comforting that the international community is becoming more and more aware of the gravity of the situation in southern Africa and of the need for rapid solutions. Our presence here has great symbolic significance. \_

But, should we continue to combat apartheid by mere declarations, by mere condemnation, by mere statements, to which Pretoria assured of powerful support, will remain deaf? Should we remain resigned in the face of the powerful coalition of interests which work to maintain or even consolidate the odious system of apartheid? i

What has happened to resolution 435 adopted by the Security Council on the Independence of Namibia in 1978?

Where is the contact group set up for that purpose?

What are we concretely doing to help the front-line states to increase and strengthen their autonomy from Pretoria with a view to fighting it more effectively?

That is the situation that confronts the Movement at \_ present. Our Conference must consider this crucial problem by proposing, I am convinced, solutions for a remedy, because the upholders of apartheid and the forces hostile to change may

HAR-08 3



take us at our word, for we shall be judged not by what we have said and promised but by what we have actually done.

The oppressed South African people awaits concrete acts of solidarity from us.

The people of Namibia impatiently await the results of our Conference in order to find out whether a further step has been taken towards speeding up the process of achieving the independence of their country.

The front-line States will highly appreciate any sacrifice made to enable them to be less dependent and less vulnerable.

In this spirit they urgently need today to reorganize their transport and communication networks.

Could we not at this juncture reactivate the Special Fund for Namibia and create a Solidarity Fund for southern Africa?

Should we not more intensively organize material, diplomatic and financial aid to support the struggle of the Namibian people, the liberation movements and the entire southern African region?

Should we not bring about the immediate liberation of Nelson Mandela and his companions, the abolition of apartheid and the state of emergency, as well as the establishment of a multi-racial and democratic post-apartheid society?

Africa, meeting on the occasion of the twenty-second OAU Summit, committed itself to applying concrete measures to make the struggle against Pretoria more credible and more effective. It can count on the support and solidarity of the

HAR-083

-10 ..

whole of our Movement in order to bring about a rapid solution to this scourge. h

In the past we have faced tests that were just as difficult. And our cause has triumphed. There is no reason why the same should not be the case in the struggle against apartheid.

The tense international climate that we have just described is scarcely more reassuring in the economic sphere. The adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States gave grounds for hope regarding the prospects and possibility of abolishing the current dominant economic order based on an asymmetrical and unjust international division of labour.

However, the recent development of international economic relations and the history of international negotiations show that the present international order cannot bring about and sustain the economic and social development of the developing countries in general and of the African countries in particular.

On the contrary, the developed countries of the North are formally restructuring international economic relations with a view to maintaining the status quo, namely, an international division of labour that is favourable to the dominant economies and systematic plundering of the resources of the so-called poor countries.

The unshakeable egoism which governs international relations explains the refusal of the developed countries to engage in global negotiations and the stalemate in the North-South dialogue. Evaluation of the industrialization policies carried out in the framework of the review of the three development decades shows that the "redeployment of industries" to the South does not necessarily mean that a creative transfer of technology really takes root. This review shows on the contrary that the modalities for the transfer and dissemination of technology strengthen a widespread technological, financial and cultural dependence. x Admittedly, some progress has been made in the context of the growth of industrial activity. However, these results are very uneven, partial and insignificant and concern only a small number of countries that are as a rule specially chosen. Even in this case we are dealing with limited industrialization, which is generally full of pitfalls in view of the unequal economic order. Also, sectoral negotiations have mostly come to grief, as is shown by the discussions on the code of conduct for the transfer of technology, the discussions on world food security, the agreements on cereals and the spectacular collapse of commodity prices. Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, Everyone knows that the concern to achieve "permanent sovereignty" and "full enjoyment" of the natural resources HAR-oe3'

induced our countries to have adopted in Nairobi in 1976 an "Integrated Programme for Commodities" and a "Common Stabilization Fund" by the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Today, that is to say ten years after its adoption, this regulatory mechanism intended to ensure fair and remunerative prices has proved to be a pious wish!

In fact, as the 1985 World Development Report by the World Bank shows, only one of the 18 agreements envisaged was actually implemented; The volume of the Common Stabilization Fund, which was estimated at US\$6 billion was quite simply reduced to US\$400 million.

The breathtaking fall in commodity prices jeopardizes the implementation of development programmes because of the strategic position of natural resources in financing most of our economies. In addition to the consequences of foreign exchange losses there were the effects of the worsening of the heavy debt burden.

In view of this disturbing economic and social situation the question before us is to consider the components and the concrete modalities for constructing genuine interdependence on the basis of the principle of collective self-reliance and autonomy. .

The Organization of African Unity is in fact convinced that the solution of the problems of the liberation and development of the African continent demands the rapid deployment of close and active South-South co-operation, which  
HAR-083

the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77 earnestly desire.

South-South co-operation is also the essential instrument for building up negotiating capacity. and a position of strength for the establishment of an international order based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit that is compatible with the development objectives of the countries of the South and with the aspirations of their peoples.

If South-South co-operation is to attain its objectives, it must avoid the faults that we now deplore.

In fact, it should be relieved of all vicissitudes such as Malthusian practices, the pursuit of one-sided benefits and other commercial strategies based on the exploitation of the weak. .

'Similarly, while the principles of collective autonomy and self-reliance necessarily mean relying on one's own strength, South-South co-operation cannot be carried out on the basis of self-sufficiency. It must be incorporated in the international context of the struggle for the transformation of the present international order and the creation of a new system of international economic relations based on genuine independence and sovereign equality.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

In view of the alarming deterioration in the crisis of international economic relations and its repercussions in the African continent, in view of the strengthening of the destabilization policy carried on by the fascist apartheid

regime, it seemed essential to the Organization of African Unity to emphasize strongly that the development of the African continent is in the first place a duty for the African Governments and peoples themselves.

Accordingly, the African Heads of State and Government realized the necessity of firm resolution to take individually and collectively concrete steps in order to accelerate the implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action.

It is against this overall background that we must place the Priority Programme for the Economic Recovery of Africa 1986-1990 adopted by the twenty-first regular session of the Summit Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity.

Whatever the degree of mobilization of African peoples, the severity of the problems and the interdependence of complex nature of developments require support and an attitude of concern on the part of the international community.

In response to this consideration, the session also adopted a resolution calling for the convening of the following three major international conferences:

The extraordinary session of the United Nations' General Assembly devoted to the critical situation in Africa.

This meeting, which was held from 27 May to 1 June 1986 led to the adoption of a United Nations Plan of Action for the Economic Recovery of Africa;

The World Conference under the auspices of United Nations on Sanctions against Racist South Africa;

An international conference on the external debts of the African countries.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

May I be permitted to say to this distinguished gathering and to my brothers from other regions of the developing world, that by adopting such an approach of appealing to the international community, through a special session of the General Assembly devoted to Africa, the Organization of African Unity by no means intended to detract from solidarity with their sister regions of Asia and Latin America, with which it shares the sad fate of underdevelopment and the firm resolve to eradicate it.

Far from wishing to adopt an attitude of turning inwards on itself, the Organization of African Unity merely wished through this approach to take into account the specific situation of Africa, which is in fact the most underdeveloped continent and the one that is most dramatically exposed to the repercussions of the international economic crisis.

The African debt, which is estimated at US\$170 billion, though it may not seem high in absolute terms, is nevertheless stifling the African economies in view of the derisory level of resources that can be mobilized.

It is therefore not a question of an African cartel of debtors intending to reject the spirit of global negotiations on the debt question with their brothers in Asia and America but one of appropriate action. Do not the special nature and urgency of the problem justify priority?

HAR-083

Thus, the twenty-second Summit of the Heads of state and Government of the Organization of African Unity, in reviewing these negotiations, which are intimately linked with the North-South dialogue, has instructed me to express to you not only the complexity of the questions raised but also the deep gratitude of the peoples of the African continent for the unfailing support of the entire international community and particularly of the sister regions of Asia and Latin America, without which these Conferences would not have come about.

I was requested at that session to request our Asian and Latin American brothers in our struggle to give us wider understanding and unfailing solidarity in the disturbing situation of the African continent. This support and solidarity have never been given in an incomplete, grudging or piecemeal manner dictated by special circumstances, a fact that we have always welcomed.

For that reason we exhort our brothers meeting in this Conference to display more active solidarity in the numerous trials with which the African continent is confronted, particularly by:

the implementation of the United Nations Plan of Action for the Economic Recovery and Development of Africa;

A wide variety of support for the liberation movements and the front-line States;

The implementation by all our States of the Programme of Action on comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against

HAR-08 3



South Africa, adopted at the Second Paris Conference in 1986;

Voluntary contributiOns to the Fund for combating drought and famine in Africa;

The necessary support for holding the international conference on the African debt;

The necessary material support for the organization of the Congress of Scientists in Africa, to be held in Brazzaville in 1987.

In addition to these numerous appeals you have your own concerns and we know the efforts that you must devote to them and can only express to you our profound gratitude in advance.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

This Conference should enable us to co-ordinate our action and harmonize .our positions so that we can improve our technical and political participation in the forthcoming international negotiations.

May this world, which aspires to peace, liberty and independence, rid itself of the urge to dominate, which prevails in certain quarters and therefore bears within it the seeds of conflict, and hold high the torch of peace so that justice and solidarity may reibn.

May the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries close its ranks in order to fight with determination against the forces that hinder the march of our peoples towards progress, understanding and peaceful co-operation.

Thank you.

HAR-08 3