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Editorial

UN/SA COLLECTION

The General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously declared 1986 as the "International Year of Peace." The Year was solemnly proclaimed on 24 October 1985 — the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

The Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations proclaims the determination of the people to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and for this end to practice tolerance and to live together in harmony with one another and to unite to maintain international peace and security. Hence, the General Assembly resolution states that the promotion of peace is the basic objective of the United Nations.

The intrinsic value of "Peace" to the African region could only be attained by waging a vigorous war against poverty, illiteracy, deprivation, apartheid, sexual discrimination and other social evils and to gain the war on wants and attain human dignity.

Peace in the African context is not just an absence of war. It is the attainment of socio-economic development and unity of the region resulting from conscious efforts in which all its member States individually and collectively participate in a democratic manner. It furthermore means equal access of the people to productive resources and fair allocation of national wealth to them.

It is a sad reality that no sovereign nation can perhaps afford to avoid the responsibility of providing a reasonable level of security and territorial integrity. However, it is equally necessary to understand that the concept of peace and security encompasses far more than a mere military might. An excessive defence expenditure can even erode security rather than enhance it. Indeed, such expenditure severely limits the internal resources available for economic development and social services, especially in the rural sector.

Many countries today are facing this situation. The global defence expenditures have grown so large that it is even difficult to grasp its dimension. The overall total military expenditure in 1979 alone was more than US\$ 400 billion. In addition, in that year, there were 36 million men under

arms in the world's active regular and paramilitary forces, with additional 25 million in the reserves while some 30 million civilians in military-related occupations.

In 1983 the amount of funds spent on the arms race went up to US\$ 800 billion. Public sector expenditures on weapons research and development nearly a decade ago also approached some \$30 billion a year and mobilized the talents of over a million scientists and engineers throughout the world. It takes up a greater research effort than is devoted to any socially beneficial productive activity. It consumes more public research money than is spent on the problems of food, agriculture, energy, health and education combined. (McNamara, 1979)*

If defence expenditures around the world were to be assessed against the full spectrum of actions that tend to promote peace and stability within and among nations, it is obvious that there is a very serious irrational allocation of resources. Africa needs to be cautious and scrutinising in financing her defence budget out of her meagre internal resources, which otherwise could be usefully invested in agriculture, education, population planning programmes and other essential public services.

Over one billion human beings in the developing countries, for example, are faced with stagnation in terms of economic development over the past decade in spite of joint national and international efforts. But beyond the power of any set of statistics to illustrate is the inhuman degradation of the vast majority of these individuals, who are condemned to be clinically alive but robbed of their dignity. The intrinsic potential of life—so promising and rewarding—is eroded for them in a desperate effort of mere survival. The vast majority of rural communities are cut off from the mainstream of development — neither able to contribute much to it nor benefit fairly from it.

Our region is no exception to this profile of poverty. If the past development trends were to continue in the future, the socio-economic condition of the region in the next 25 years would be characterized as “a degradation of the very essence of human dignity” which will be even more acute in the rural areas, where the overwhelming majority of the population lives. Peace is essential for Africa in order to wage and win the war against want, poverty, hunger and malnutrition. The mobilization of all her resources — human and material — is also needed to win such a war.

The current issue of the **Rural Progress** is therefore, devoted to the "International Year of Peace", not only as a noble ideal but as a practical course of action to be consistently followed at all times within and beyond national, subregional and regional boundaries in the interest of sustained development and self-reliance of the African region.

This special issue of **Rural Progress** deals with the subject of "Disarmament and Peace" at the global level and the "Role of the United Nations to maintain Peace". Furthermore, it presents "African Perspective of Peace and Development", as well as the final statement on the "African Regional Seminar for the International Year of Peace". This will hopefully focus the attention of all concerned on the need for a just and lasting peace for genuine and uninterrupted development in the Africa region.

Let us all join hands and pull our efforts and resources together for the attainment of Peace and for the United Nations goals and objectives for —

"A BETTER WORLD FOR ALL !! "

DECLARATION ON THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO PEACE

The General Assembly,

Reaffirming that the principal aim of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security,

Bearing in mind the fundamental principles of international law set forth in the Charter of the United Nations,

Expressing the will and the aspirations of all peoples to eradicate war from the life of mankind and, above all, to avert a world-wide nuclear catastrophe,

Convinced that life without war serves as the primary international prerequisite for the material well-being, development and progress of countries, and for the full implementation of the rights and fundamental human freedoms proclaimed by the United Nations,

Aware that in the nuclear age the establishment of a lasting peace on Earth represents the primary condition for the preservation of human civilization and the survival of mankind,

Recognizing that the maintenance of a peaceful life for peoples is the sacred duty of each State,

1. Solemnly proclaims that the peoples of our planet have a sacred right to peace;
2. Solemnly declares that the preservation of the right of peoples and the promotion of its implementation constitute a fundamental obligation of each State;
3. Emphasizes that ensuring the exercise of the right of peoples to peace demands that the policies of States be directed towards the elimination of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war, the renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations;
4. Appeals to all States and international organizations to do their utmost to assist in implementing the right of peoples to peace through the adoption of appropriate measures at both the national and the international level.



UNITED NATIONS FOR A BETTER WORLD TO SAFEGUARD PEACE AND THE FUTURE OF HUMANITY



The United Nations is an organization primarily committed to maintaining peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations, and achieving international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character. As an organization it serves as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of those common ends, as well as an important forum for negotiating arms control agreements and for planning disarmament measures. It also plays a major role in promoting international co-operation and dialogue in fields ranging from the peaceful uses of nuclear energy to the management of sea and ocean resources and the peaceful uses of outer space. The United Nations has 159 full Member States, six other States and thirteen organizations having observer status.

PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

I. The United Nations Goals and Objectives

1. The primary purpose of the United Nations is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." And, for this purpose, the Charter continues, "the peoples of the United Nations are determined to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest."

2. The objective of disarmament is specified in article 26 of the United Nations Charter as "the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources," and article 11 states that "the General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armament." The Assembly may then make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both. These objectives and methods were spelled out in great detail in the Final Document of the 1978 special session on disarmament. The Final Document contains a Declaration of Principles, a Programme of Action and the machinery for its implementation; it also emphasizes the importance of informing and educating the public and mobilizing public opinion in order to obtain these objectives.

3. In addition, the Final Document reaffirmed the goal of all disarmament efforts laid down by the General Assembly since 1959. It specified that "the ultimate objective

of the efforts of States in the Disarmament process is general and complete disarmament under effective international control."

4. Disarmament cannot be viewed as a problem exclusively for the nuclear-weapon or industrialized countries; it concerns the international community as a whole. Disarmament is also an essential element in the quest for genuine and lasting regional as well as international peace and security, which constitutes the primary purpose of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations and underlies the basic principles enshrined in the two Organizations' Charters.

5. In addition to the awesome threat of nuclear annihilation, the arms race imposes other grave burdens for the international community as a whole and for the African region, as well. The unchecked growth in the acquisition of ever larger and more sophisticated stockpiles of weapons constitutes a socio-economic, political and military risk at the national, regional and global levels. Each new generation of weapons, conventional as well as nuclear, is costlier and deadlier than the one it replaces. The burden of the arms race therefore becomes progressively heavier, particularly in the developing countries.

6. **The Evolution and Current State of Disarmament Efforts:** The history of disarmament efforts in the United Nations shows that comprehensive approaches—in the forefront until 1963—have also been resumed in recent years. At the same time, however, it is the series of nine major multilateral treaties and thirteen bilateral Soviet-American treaties and agreements that dominated the history of disarmament efforts from the early 1960s to 1980. These agreements—all of limited scope—include the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963, the Treaty of Tlatelolco of 1967 prohibiting nuclear-weapons in Latin America, the Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968, the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972 and the various bilateral agreements reached during the SALT negotiations from 1969 to 1979.

7. In the field of arms limitation and disarmament a number of important treaties and agreements have been concluded over the years. While these measures, by themselves, have not stopped the arms race, they do represent significant and concrete achievements in the disarmament process. Nonetheless, the arms race, nuclear as well as conventional, has continued unabated in its quantitative and qualitative aspects. Military expenditures doubled in **constant prices**, so that, even without any element of inflation, twice as much was spent per year in 1980 as in 1960 — reaching some \$800 billion by 1983.

8. Nuclear-weapons have a potential destructive capacity that is unprecedented in human history. With some 50,000 nuclear warheads, the world now has an estimated total destructive capability equal to more than 1 million Hiroshima bombs. It should also be noted that a large number of armed conflicts have occurred since the end of the Second World War, all using conventional weapons. An estimate of the exact number of these conflicts depends on the criteria employed, and several lists have been compiled using different methods. A widely recognized source shows 120 armed conflicts including those involving sub-national groups, in the period 1945-1976.¹ By now it is estimated that the number of armed conflicts since 1945 has probably risen to over 150. More than half the Member States of the United Nations have participated in one or more of these conflicts, which were fought in the territories of over 71 States. The developing world has been the stage, and indeed the victim, of almost all of these armed conflicts, many of which might have escalated to situations dangerous for world security. A large majority of these conflicts have been marked by various forms of involvement, including intervention, sometimes at the invitation of one or both parties, on the part of developed countries, varying from covert assistance or limited logistics support to full participation.

9. Given the situation regarding the continuing growth of armaments, in the last few years the United Nations has convened two special sessions of the General Assembly devoted entirely to disarmament. The 1978 special session was the largest, most representative meeting to ever consider the subject. For the first time in the experience of disarmament negotiations, the international community reached consensus on a comprehensive strategy for disarmament. As well as Affirming that the ultimate aim of all disarmament efforts remains general and complete disarmament, the Final Document of the special session put forward immediate and urgent plans for negotiation and action. Specifically, it called for "the conclusion and implementation of agreements on the cessation of the arms race and on genuine measures of disarmament," and for "measures designed to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war and to lessen the danger of the threat or use of nuclear weapons." It also called for an agreement to eliminate all chemical weapons, the balanced reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces and negotiations on the limitation of the international transfer of weapons.

10. The second special session which was held in 1982, reaffirmed the solemn commitment that had been made to the goals and programmes of the Final Document. Most recently, the 1983 and the 1984 sessions of the General Assembly each adopted over sixty resolutions in pursuit of the disarmament agenda put forward in the Final Document. This effort demonstrates that the international community is concerned about the escalating arms race, and especially the nuclear arms race, but the fact that the arms race has continued shows that there are profound differences as to the ways and means to move forward.

II. PEACE AND DISARMAMENT: THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

11. **Disarmament and International Security:** During the period in which the various limited disarmament treaties and agreements

1/ Istvan Kende, *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. xv, No. 3 (1978), reprinted in *Problems of Contemporary Militarism*, edited by Asbjorn Eide and Marek Thee, (New York, St. Martins Press), p. 261.

referred to were concluded, it was intended that these would be the precursors of more far-reaching treaties that would actually halt the arms race and lead to arms reductions. However, this did not happen, nor has the programme agreed in the Final Document been implemented to stop the arms race. One explanation can be found in the inter-relationship that exists between disarmament and international security, as was indicated in article 34 of the Final Document. It states that "disarmament, relaxation of international tension, respect for the right to self-determination and national independence, the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the strengthening of international peace and security are directly related to each other. Progress in any of these spheres has a beneficial effect on all of them: In turn, failure in one sphere has negative effects on others." These relationships explain why it is extremely difficult to obtain far-reaching disarmament agreements when there is a climate of international insecurity. In the words of the Final Documents, progress for the relaxation of international tension and for the strengthening of international security, would have a beneficial effect on disarmament negotiations. And, at the same time, progress in disarmament would be facilitated by parallel political or international legal measures to strengthen the security of States.

12. Disarmament and Development: The relationship between the arms race and development is essentially competitive; military expenditures in most cases consume resources without contributing to either investments for development or production for consumption. The Final Document of the 1978 Special Session on Disarmament stated that there is a "close relationship between disarmament and development", and that "progress in the former would help greatly in the realization of the latter." And it concluded that, "therefore resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be devoted to the economic and social development of all nations." In 1981 a group of experts

completed a study for the United Nations which examines the relationship between disarmament and development. It concluded that the arms race and underdevelopment are both part of the same problem and that "the world can either continue to pursue the arms race with characteristic vigour or move consciously and with deliberate speed towards a more stable and balanced social and economic development within a more sustainable international economic and political order. It can not do both."

13. Peace is More than the Absence of War:

It is widely claimed that there is a triangular relationship between disarmament and development and international peace and security. The 1982 United Nations expert study on the economic and social consequences of the arms race noted that disarmament cannot progress if the use of force remains a prevailing factor in contemporary international relations. Accordingly, the mechanisms of the United Nations for the peaceful settlement of disputes should be strengthened, and all States should be encouraged to make use of them.

14. The experts also stressed that a strategy for disarmament should include plans for discouraging the use of the world's finite resources for military ends, the conversion of resources already so consumed to non-military purposes and the extensive diversion of these resources to uses related to socio-economic development.

15. The interactive relationship that exist between disarmament and development and international peace and security could be reversed to work for these three goals instead of working against them. Because of the various linkages that exist, positive action within any of these sectors would also facilitate progress in the other sectors.

16. It follows from the above, that peace, if it is to be stable, must be more than the absence of war. Stable peace would include an ongoing peace-building function. It would involve a high level of peaceful interaction and a widely held expectation that problems must and can be resolved by procedures for

peaceful change. To implement fully the peace-building concepts of the United Nations would require a new commitment to the economic and social advancement of all peoples. To implement the Charter concepts for the prevention of threats to the peace would also require, above all, the recommitment by all States to the principles and purposes of the Charter, in particular the provisions for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the non-use of force in international affairs.

17. Prevention of War: Nuclear Disarmament and Conventional Disarmament: As already noted, progress on disarmament, development and international security, would help to create a climate of relaxation of tension and increased confidence that would reduce the risk of war including especially nuclear war. Parallel progress in all three fields would so greatly improve the international climate that it would directly increase the prospects of preventing both conventional and nuclear war.

18. Since its earliest year, the United Nations has been concerned with the problem of the prevention of nuclear war. In 1961, the General Assembly adopted a resolution, at the initiative of a group of non-aligned States, that called for the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. Declaring that any such use would be a direct violation of the United Nations Charter and contrary to the laws of humanity, the General Assembly suggested the prohibition of convening a conference to prepare and sign a convention on the prevention of the use of nuclear weapons for war. This proposal has been widely supported, but has not received universal support. An alternative approach has been to urge nuclear-weapon States to pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. China made such a commitment in 1964, the Soviet Union did so in 1982, and various resolutions of the General Assembly have called upon other nuclear-weapon States to do likewise. In the view of Western States, the key need is not pledges of non-first-use of nuclear weapons, but the renunciation of force in international relations in general,

and the ban on the use of force should be applicable as comprehensively laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, that is, it should cover both conventional and nuclear weapons.

19. In addition to these initiatives to prevent nuclear war, there have been other initiatives for conventional disarmament and for the prevention of all war. Proposals have been put forward by Western countries calling for the non-use of all force, both conventional and nuclear, more openness concerning military activities and for confidence-building measures to reduce the risks of accidental war by increasingly close communications between governments.

20. The dangers that exist with respect to nuclear war arise from the risk of accident, miscalculation or inadvertence or from the possibility that a local or regional conventional war might escalate into a nuclear war involving the nuclear-weapon States. In this connection, a number of agreements have been concluded between the major nuclear-weapon Powers in order to reduce the risk of nuclear war. Nonetheless, so long as nuclear weapons exist, there is always some risk. The General Assembly therefore remains profoundly preoccupied over the danger of war, in particular nuclear war, the prevention of which remains the most acute and urgent task of the day.

III. THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN DISARMAMENT

21. The Multilateral Political Context for Disarmament: As stated in the Final Document of the 1978 Special Session on Disarmament, the United Nations, in accordance with the Charter, has a central role and primary responsibility in the sphere of disarmament. The General Assembly provides a focal point and a forum where all Member States can discuss and explore ideas and initiatives on disarmament and on related security issues. The Final Document specifies that the General Assembly "has been and should remain as the main deliberative organ of the United Nations in the field of

disarmament and should make every effort to facilitate the implementation of disarmament measures." The Disarmament Commission examines and makes recommendations on disarmament issues when the Assembly is not in session.

22. Responsibility for multilateral disarmament negotiations is entrusted to the Geneva-based Conference on disarmament. This is the single multilateral disarmament negotiating body and consists of 40 Member States including the 5 nuclear-weapon States. The CD agenda for 1984 included nuclear test ban proposals, cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, the prevention of nuclear war, chemical weapons, prevention of an arms race in outer space, the problem of new types of weapons of mass destruction such as radiological weapons, and a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

23. The work of the CD, as well as the efforts of other disarmament bodies, cannot be isolated from the general political climate. Progress in disarmament would be facilitated by a climate of co-operation and constructive relations among States, in particular the major nuclear Powers.

24. **The United Nations World Disarmament Campaign:** The importance of informing and educating the public and mobilizing public opinion for disarmament was stressed in the Final Document of the 1978 Special Session on Disarmament. The Second Special Session then launched the World Disarmament Campaign to inform, to educate and to generate public understanding and support for the objectives of the United Nations in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. The co-operation of all States is essential to guarantee the universality of the Campaign. In particular, States are encouraged to co-operate within the United Nations to ensure a better flow of information and to avoid the dissemination of false and tendentious information.

25. Since the World Disarmament Campaign was launched in 1982, significant efforts

have been made within the United Nations system to implement it world wide and in a balanced factual and objective manner. The Department for Disarmament Affairs has endeavoured: (a) to expand and improve the geographical balance of the register of non-governmental organizations, the mass media, educational communities, research institutes and individuals interested in disarmament; (b) to increase the dissemination of United Nations disarmament information material to all regions of the world; (c) to organize as many seminars, conferences and meetings as possible in different regions and at the United Nations Headquarters; (d) to organize special events which could draw additional attention to disarmament and to the work of the United Nations in this field; (e) to undertake speaking engagements and to participate in meetings organized by various constituencies of the Campaign; (f) to publicise the Campaign; and (g) to expand the activities of the United Nations field offices and information centres. Regional seminars and conferences for non-governmental organizations, research institutes, educational communities and the media have so far been organized in several countries around the world. In addition several events have in 1985 been organized in individual member States.

26. In this connection the role of the public is extremely important in expanding understanding of the risk that now exist for all countries if there is ever a nuclear war. It is also important that people understand the means by which disarmament agreements are being sought and negotiated and that successful work for disarmament requires the support of all countries and all people.

IV. PEACE AND DISARMAMENT: THE AFRICAN REGIONAL CONTEXT

27. **Armaments, Disarmaments and Peace in Africa:** Through the national policies and other pronouncements of African States in particular within the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations, peace and socio-economic progress emerge among

the principal concerns and priority goals of the region. From this basic position, preventing an arms race and promoting the peaceful settlement of disputes emerge also as particularly relevant objectives within the African regional context.

28. The term "arms race" may not be fully appropriate to describe Africa's military developments which, although notable, appear generally marginal in global quantitative and qualitative terms. With the exception, in particular, of South Africa, countries of the region do not possess significant weapons production facilities or capabilities and the principal characteristic of the armaments phenomenon in the region is almost total dependence on external or foreign sources of supply. Nevertheless, the regional impact of African military developments is significant, especially in terms of their socio-economic consequences.

29. To be meaningful, arms restraint and disarmament initiatives cannot be seen as goals in themselves but as elements in a wider quest for peace and security, regionally as well as internationally. Peace emerges in the African regional context as a dynamic concept embracing more than just the absence of war. The quest for peace in the area can therefore be seen as encompassing also, among other things, the quest for an end to **apartheid**, independence for Namibia, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for the territorial integrity of all countries, peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, prevention of nuclear war and socio-economic advancement. Progress in any of these spheres could produce beneficial effects on all of them and, in turn, failure in one field could have negative effects on the others.

30. The region faces a most serious socio-economic situation. In this critical circumstance, it is especially important to recognize that the price of arms acquisitions and other military requirements must be paid from resources badly needed for socio-economic development-related goals such as program-

mes for agriculture, education, health and housing. Socio-economic progress and the requisition of arms therefore appear locked in a competitive relationship for limited resources, a situation that hits particularly hard at developing countries, especially those in Africa with severely fragile economies.

31. Military spending and armaments acquisition should therefore be seen together with the causes of or reasons for such developments, in order to provide a fuller picture of the situation in the region. The existence, in the region, not least of such political and military concerns as the overall situation in Southern Africa could conceivably serve to encourage the process of expanding and improving the military capabilities of the countries of the region, with the possible result of enhancing the prospects of an arms race in the area.

32. The emergence of an arms race in Africa would be a particularly destabilizing development, not only for the region's stability and progress, but for international peace and security as a whole.

33. Arms restraint and disarmament by all countries in the African region would appear to offer more realistic prospects for realizing meaningful measures towards peace in the region, than further militarization which might instead tend to enhance political differences, heighten mutual suspicious and mistrust, perpetuate confrontations and, ultimately, erode security, politico-military as well as socio-economic.

34. The principal significance of disarmament for peace in Africa can be seen within the context of the practical interrelationships between disarmament, development and security: without progress in disarmament, genuine security would be difficult to attain; and without security, socio-economic progress would be difficult to achieve. And, without socio-economic progress, the vicious cycle of tension and crisis would persist. Conversely, substantial progress in the field of development, by enhancing socio-economic well-being, narrowing the economic gaps

within and between States and, in general, contributing to improving the human condition, is increasingly seen as essential for the maintenance of peace and order everywhere.

35. The resolution of the fundamental political problems of Southern Africa, namely, the continued illegal South African control of Namibia and maintenance of the **apartheid** policies of the Government of Africa, could contribute significantly to creating favourable conditions both for regional arms restraint and, in the long run, for peace in the area by removing or substantially reducing fears and distrust. Any endeavour at peace in the region while those problems remain unresolved, can be seen largely as short-term rather than lasting, uneasy rather than enduring and almost always overshadowed by the probability of the outbreak of armed conflict.

36. The denuclearization of Africa and peace in the region: One aspect of military-related developments in Africa that has attracted particular attention in the region and at the United Nations for more than two decades, is the danger of extending the nuclear arms race to Africa. Surely, the introduction or production of nuclear weapons in Africa would pose a particularly grave threat to peace and security in the area. Since 1960, the African countries have adopted or sponsored the adoption of a series of decisions aimed at making the continent of Africa a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

37. In 1960, at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, the African States submitted the first draft resolution concerning the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone on the continent of Africa.² The draft resolution, which was not put to a vote, contained an invitation to all States to regard and respect the African continent as a nuclear-

weapon-free zone and requested them to halt all nuclear-weapon or ballistic missile tests in Africa and to eliminate and refrain from establishing installations intended for use in testing, storing or transporting such weapons.

38. The following year, at its sixteenth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1652 (XVI), on 24 November 1961, by which it called upon Member States not to carry out nuclear tests in Africa in any form, to refrain from using Africa for testing, storing or transporting nuclear weapons and to consider and respect the continent as a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

39. In 1963, the Summit Conference of Independent African States approved a resolution on general disarmament which contained provisions for concerted action towards the goal of making Africa a nuclear-weapon-free zone.³

40. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), at its first regular session held at Cairo in July 1964, adopted the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa in which they solemnly declared their readiness to undertake through an international agreement to be concluded under United Nations auspices, not to manufacture or acquire control of nuclear weapons. The General Assembly, at its twentieth session, endorsed the Declaration by its resolution 2033 (XX) of 3 December 1965, and called upon all States to refrain from testing, manufacturing, using or deploying nuclear weapons on the continent of Africa as well as from transferring such weapons, scientific data or technical assistance, either directly or indirectly, in any form which might be used to assist in the manufacture or use of nuclear weapons in Africa.

41. At its twenty-ninth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3261 E (XXIX) of 9 December 1974, calling upon all States to consider and respect the continent of Africa as a nuclear-weapon-free zone. The resolution, which was adopted unanimously,

2/ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 67, 86, 69 and 73, document A.4680, para. 17.

3/ For the complete text of the resolution, see *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplementary for January to December 1963*, document DC/208, annex 1, sect. G., document ENDC/93/Rev.1.

reflected the consensus of the international community on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Africa.

42. Since 1975, international attempts to secure the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa have focused on the preservation of the international consensus against the introduction of nuclear weapons into the continent. In so doing, the international community has been guided by its conviction that the implementation of that Declaration would be a significant measure to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world and conducive to general and complete disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. In this regard, the General Assembly has adopted nine resolutions since 1975. In addition, the OAU, the Non-aligned Movement and the Islamic Conference have repeatedly reiterated their call upon all States to respect the continent of Africa as a nuclear-weapon-free zone and to refrain from testing, manufacturing, deploying, transporting, storing, using or threatening to use nuclear weapons on the African continent.

43. Meanwhile, grave concern has been expressed by the international community at South Africa's nuclear capability. At every session since 1976, the General Assembly, in the context of its discussions on realizing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Africa, has paid particular attention to the developments that have taken place, especially as they relate to activities of South Africa in the nuclear field. It has since 1976 adopted eight resolutions on this particular issue on South Africa.

44. Of relevance also is the fact that the Security Council has adopted resolution 418 (1977), imposing an arms embargo on South Africa, and resolution 421 (1977), establishing a committee that has reported on the ways and means of making the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa more effective and that has recommended, inter alia, that all forms of nuclear collaboration with the latter should cease.⁴

45. Reflecting the frustration of the international community over the lack of progress towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa, the General Assembly, at its tenth special session, stated the following in its Final Document:

“63 (c). In Africa, where the Organization of African Unity has affirmed a decision for the denuclearization of the region, the Security Council of the United Nations shall take appropriate effective steps whenever necessary to prevent the frustration of this objective”.

46. The general preoccupation with South Africa's nuclear capability reached its high point as the result of the discovery in 1977 in the Kalahari Desert of what was reported to be a nuclear-weapon test site, and of a report suggesting that a low yield nuclear explosion might have been conducted during September 1979 in the area between the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic at a relatively short distance from South Africa. That prompted the General Assembly to adopt its resolution 34/76 B of 11 December 1979 requesting the Secretary-General to prepare, with the assistance of appropriate experts, a comprehensive report on South Africa's plan and capability in the nuclear field.

47. The Secretary-General submitted his report the following year to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.⁵ The report, prepared by a group of experts, stated that there was no undisputed scientific explanation for the light signal recorded by satellite on 22 September 1979. The initial presumption that there has been a nuclear explosion by South Africa or any other country in the South Atlantic area had not been substantiated nor had it been fully disproved. According to the report there

4/ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980, document S.14179.*

5/ A/35/402 and Corr.1; also published as *South Africa's Plan and Capability in the Nuclear Field* (United Nations Sales publication, No.E.81.I.10)

was no doubt that South Africa had the technical capability to make nuclear weapons and the necessary means of delivery. The experts expressed the view that the introduction of nuclear weapons into the African continent, particularly into Southern Africa, not only would be severe blow to world-wide efforts at non-proliferation but also would upset many years of work to spare the African continent from the nuclear arms race and to make it a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

48. By resolution 35/146 A, adopted on 12 December 1980, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, expressed its deep alarm that the Secretary-General's report had established South Africa's capability to manufacture nuclear weapons and reaffirmed that the apartheid regime's nuclear plans and capability constitute a very grave danger to international peace and security and, in particular, jeopardize the security of African States and increase the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

49. By its resolution 38/181 A, adopted on 20 December 1983, the General Assembly requested the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, in co-operation with the Department for Disarmament Affairs and in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, to provide data on the continued development of South Africa's nuclear capability.

50. Pursuant to the Assembly's request, a report on the subject was submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session, in September 1984.⁶ Among the broad findings presented in the report which covered the period since the preparation of the report of the Secretary-General mentioned earlier above on South Africa's plan and capability, are the following:

“ (a) Uranium production in South Africa and Namibia has increased by about 50 per cent since the figures

in the Secretary-General's report to the General Assembly mentioned above (from 1978 to 1982);

- “ (b) A pilot enrichment plant has been in operation for 8 to 10 years providing highly enriched uranium for the SAFARI-I reactor and for other purposes that are not known. Operating experience is obtained which is of importance for developing the enrichment technology further and for preparing phase of a semi-commercial enrichment plant, which is approaching the completion stage;
- “ (c) the first reactor — Koeberg-I of the Koeberg nuclear power plant started operations in March 1984 and a second reactor, Koeberg-II is expected to be completed in 1984;
- “ (d) Research and development on fuel technology to enable South Africa to manufacture its own nuclear fuel is in progress. A hot-cell laboratory is under construction at Pelindaba;
- “ (e) A decision has been taken to establish a new Nuclear Research Centre. No programme for this centre has been published;
- “ (f) A new legislation was enacted and institutional restructuring took place aimed at strengthening the control and management of South Africa's nuclear programme;
- “ (g) South Africa has stated its readiness to resume discussions with the International Atomic Energy Agency secretariat on safeguards in respect to its semi-commercial enrichment plant, but not its pilot enrichment plant. It has also announced its nuclear export policy;
- “ (h) South Africa continues to have a technical capability to manufacture nuclear weapons.”

6/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-ninth Session, document A/39/470.

51. While no concrete steps have been taken since 1975 with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa, efforts have concentrated on:

- (a) Averting the danger posed by the threat from South Africa's reported nuclear capability;
- (b) Establishing a link between the United Nations and the OAU concerning the implementation of the Declaration.

52. All resolutions adopted by the General Assembly since 1975 have requested the Secretary-General to render all necessary assistance to the OAU towards the realization of the Declaration. Two of the resolutions adopted, 3471 (XXX) of 11 December 1975 and 31/69 were more specific on this respect in that they emphasized the readiness of the African Heads of State and Government to conclude an international treaty to realize the Declaration under the auspices of the United Nations.

53. **CONCLUSION:** Peace and disarmament are dynamic concepts incorporating a variety of factors, elements and circumstances. They are also universal concerns of interest to all countries. It would appear, however, that in certain cases, questions of peace and disarmament could be handled more easily within an appropriate regional context and framework than by attempting to apply from the start broad concepts and approaches to widely differing situations, especially as conditions may differ from country to country and region to region, requiring different,

specific responses. That is the basic and overall context within which the treatment of the relationship between disarmament and peace in the African region can be seen. It is clearly recognized, at the same time, that a regional approach is only a component, a step-by-step contribution to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament and worldwide peace. On the long-term, the viability and lasting effectiveness of regional measures would be greatly enhanced when considered in a global context.

54. The problems and risks of the escalating arms race and of an increasing expenditures on the military are not unique to any particular country or region; different regions may simply display different sets of problems and risks according to the specific conditions or circumstances of the regions concerned. In Africa, a dilemma may have arisen: any further diversion of resources to military uses could damage further an already critical socio-economic situation; on the other hand, the expenditure of scarce resources on arms race may be deemed necessary to enable the countries of the region to maintain internal order and to exercise their legitimate right of self-defence in view, in particular, of the potentially destabilizing consequences of some of the region's political problems. A more viable and lasting option would seem to rest on the pursuit, with vision and realism, of the path towards the peaceful resolution of regional political problems and to seek security through regional co-operation and compliance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT: AN AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

55. **Introduction:** The promotion of peace is the basic objective of the United Nations. The preamble to its Charter proclaims the determination of the peoples of the United Nations to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and for this purpose to practice tolerance and to live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security. The Charter itself states, in the very first Article, that one of the primary purposes of the United Nations "is to maintain international peace and security and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which lead to a breach of peace."

56. It has now been universally recognized, however, that it is erroneous to conceive peace narrowly as a static situation of absence of war. Peace must be viewed in positive and dynamic terms as a just and enduring peace that would go beyond the prevention of armed conflicts to involve a high level of continuing peaceful interaction: prevention of the arms race; promotion of peaceful settlements of disputes; reciprocal just socio-economic relationships between individuals and nations; respect for human rights; and commitment to genuine socio-economic development that would bring with it the objectives of economic and social wellbeing, equity, human dignity and socio-economic justice.

57. This latter aspect, emphasizing the close link and interdependence between peace and development, was recognized in various declarations and resolutions of the United Nations and has also received wide attention in the works of several scholars and research institutions. The Declaration on Social Pro-

gress and Development, proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1969, stated that "international peace and security on the one hand, and social progress and economic development on the other, are closely interdependent and influence each other" and went on to add that the primary conditions of social progress and development were "peaceful co-existence, peace, friendly relations and co-operation among States irrespective of differences in social, economic or political systems".

58. It has been increasingly recognized that peace and development can not be pursued in isolation of one another and that progress in the achievement of one facilitates progress in the achievement of the other, and vice versa. It is only in the absence of tension, conflicts and violence could a country develop properly and enjoy the fruits of development. On the other hand, peace requires development. In the absence of genuine socio-economic development, poverty and deprivation, human misery and socio-economic injustice and inequity would create resentments, frustrations, tensions and even violence which would only help to undermine lasting peace, security and stability. Those considerations apply equally within the national context as well as between States, hence the close relationship at a global level between the maintenance of international peace and security and the creation of a just international socio-economic order. Furthermore, the close interrelationship between peace and development is reflected in the competitive relationship for limited resources between socio-economic development on the one hand and arms race, brought about by a continuation of belligerency situation and political and military concerns, on the other. Expanded spending on arms acquisition and other military requirements can only be paid for from finite resources badly needed for socio-economic development and would only help to retard progress in achieving this important goal. In developing countries, where

much of the investment for development comes from the Government and where the tax base is small, a direct conflict exists between military expenditure and development. Increased military expenditure in the face of depleted and stagnating government revenue, often lead developing countries to economize on expenditure in areas of social and economic development, with obvious negative consequences. Arms restraint and the removal of the causes of mutual fear and distrust and armed confrontation should free resources for socio-economic development, alleviation of poverty and the solution of other pressing social and economic problems.

59. This interrelationship between peace and development is particularly important in Africa, a region which currently faces a most serious socio-economic situation. The following sections of the paper attempt to highlight some of the issues involved in this interrelationship.

I. BARRIERS TO PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

60. Africa has historically inherited political, social and economic structures that militate against peaceful development. Colonialism itself was a structure of violence. It left behind legacies of violence which are today much more glaringly epitomized by the apartheid regime in South Africa. Apartheid, as a system of political oppression, socio-economic exploitation and ideological degradation has dispossessed, uprooted and denationalized the indigenous African majority. It has dehumanized the African man, deprived him of his human and birthrights, exploited his labour and resources for the development of his oppressors and left him in an environment so rife and strife that violence has become engrained in the very fabric of the daily life of South Africans.

61. Furthermore, through its continued illegal control of Namibia, the massive destabilization and economic blackmail against neighbouring independent African States and the destruction of their infrastructure, Pre-

toria regime has greatly undermined peace and security in the region and stymied the development efforts of the neighbouring independent African States. As long as those problems and the apartheid policies in South Africa remain, any endeavour towards lasting peace in the region, just socio-economic development in South Africa and uninterrupted development in the neighbouring independent African States will remain illusive and unfulfilled.

62. Even in countries where political independence has been a reality for over two decades, the heritage of colonialism proved to be a tremendous burden on positive and rapid socio-economic transformation. The legacy of interterritorial discord and instability, arising out of conflicts over territorial right, has undermined peace in many parts of the region and has diverted scarce resources away from development and the alleviation of poverty to military purposes.

63. Another legacy of colonialism relates to the problems of uneven development and socio-political conflicts within individual nations. Unless those problems are appropriately tackled and solved, conflicts arising out of such situations will continue to drain development resources and retard socio-economic progress. In many African countries development efforts have either come to a halt or suffered serious setbacks as a result of armed conflict within the national boundaries.

64. Upon the attainment of their political independence, the African peoples and Governments fervently believed that political independence will lead to rapid economic progress and social stability. An assessment of Africa's socio-economic performance in recent years will, unfortunately, reveal that it has been a disappointing one and that it has not generated results that are conducive to sustained and equitable development. In fact Africa today suffers from a serious economic and social crisis of unprecedented proportions. The implications of such rapid deterioration in the economic and social conditions for peace and stability both at the national

and regional levels are self-evident. Africa's economic and social crisis has been fomenting since the mid 1970s as a result of the cumulative impact of a number of adverse factors both internal and external. The crisis escalated and reached a critical level in the early 1980s as a result of the wide-spread, severe and persistent drought and the deteriorating international economic environment. All those factors have interacted to create monumental economic and social problems whose solution is beyond the ability of African countries, for many of whom the issue is one of sheer survival.⁷

65. The drought which in the early 1970s was localized in a few countries in the Sudano-Sahelian region has now spread to 36 countries, thus affecting coastal and other areas in Eastern, Western, Central and Southern Africa which were hitherto unaffected by it. The prolonged drought has led to serious food scarcity which has further exacerbated an already unfavourable food situation in the continent. It has triggered off loss of human lives, sharp depletion of animal wealth, critical famine, malnutrition, water and energy shortages, degradation and loss of agricultural and grazing land and severe dislocations of the normal patterns of the economic and social life of millions of Africans, not to say the least about its devastating impact on the fragile African economies.

66. More than 150 million people are faced with starvation death, extreme hunger, malnutrition and, in a number of cases, grave shortages of safe drinking water. The food situation has deteriorated so drastically in Africa to the extent that in 34 drought-stricken countries, the imports of cereals have increased from about 4 million metric tons in 1970 to over 23 million metric tons in 1982. To make matters worse 24 of these countries are unable to produce enough

food for their rapidly growing populations, but they also do not have sufficient resources to pay for food imports and, therefore have to depend to a large extent, on emergency food aid. The estimated food aid requirements for 1983-84 were about 3.3 million tons, even after taking into account normal commercial imports.

67. The rapidly deteriorating international economic environment as manifested in the collapse of commodity prices, a stagnation and decline in Official Development Assistance (ODA) in real terms, the prevalence of unprecedented high interest rates, the shift to a regime of sharp fluctuations of exchange rates and increased protectionisms, has contributed, in interaction with the effects of the drought, to the aggravation of the current economic crisis in Africa. To give some examples: The terms of trade of African countries declined by more than 50 per cent between 1977 and 1981. The annual loss of external resources because of the deterioration is equivalent to their total annual aid receipts. The fall in commodity prices has been particularly devastating in Africa. Statistical evidence shows that between 1979 and 1981 African countries exporting coffee, copper, cocoa, banana, vegetable oils and tea suffered a loss of earnings of about US\$2.2 billion due to the sharp decline in the prices of those commodities. As a proportion of the value of exports of goods and services, the external debt of African countries rose from 138 per cent at the end of 1981 to 161 per cent at the end of 1982 and was estimated to reach 180 per cent by the end of 1983. The ratio of debt service to export earnings for Africa as a whole amounted to 22.4 per cent in 1983 compared with 10.7 per cent in 1980.

68. The overall macro indicators of the socio-economic situation in Africa reveal an extremely disturbing picture. For the low income countries in Africa, average per capita income is less than what it was fifteen years ago as a result of stagnant economic growth and high population growth. Per capita income has consistently declined since 1980 at an average annual rate of 4.1 per cent.

7/ For comprehensive analysis of the crisis and its implications see "Special Memorandum by the ECA Conference of Ministers on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis" E/ECA/CM. 10/37/Rev. 2, Addis Ababa, 1984; and "Critical Economic Situation in Africa", Report of the Secretary-General to the Thirty Ninth Session of the General Assembly, A/39/594, 2 October 1984.

70 per cent of the African people are either destitute or are on the verge of poverty. About one half of the African labour force is unemployed or underemployed. Over 50 per cent of the urban population live in slums or squatter housing. Only one in four Africans have access to safe drinking water. Infant mortality rates are among the highest in the world. 5 million of the 7 million infant deaths in the world each year occur in Africa. Health facilities are grossly inadequate and unevenly distributed in favour of urban areas. The larger part of the rural population has only limited access to health care.

69. While the individual African countries are struggling under very difficult conditions to provide for the economic and social needs of their peoples, refugees and displaced persons came in to impose extra economic and socio-political burdens on them. They are not only a problem in that their arrival imposes unexpected economic burden, but also because such situations lead to a host of undesirable socio-political consequences and possible instability. The magnitude of such a problem becomes evident when one takes into account that one in every 200 Africans is either a refugee or displaced person as a result of man-made political and economic conditions and movements in search of food and water as a result of the drought and other natural disasters. In the latter cases as many as 100,000 people have crossed the border to a neighbouring African country in search of relief, which happens to be also a large food deficit and drought affected country. In another East African country, it is reported that as many as 2.2 million persons were displaced as a result of the drought. Such a situation is also frequent in other affected countries.

70. Such is the sad reality of the current social and economic conditions in Africa. Bad as those conditions are, an ECA study entitled "ECA and Africa's Development, 1983-2008: A Preliminary Perspective Study" has shown that if the past development trends were to continue in the future without major conscious changes in the patterns of production, distribution and life styles,

the socio-economic conditions in the year 2008 would be characterized by "a degradation of the very essence of human dignity" and widespread poverty, misery and socio-economic injustice.⁸ The perspective study then went to draw the inevitable implications of such a situation.

71. Such unacceptable socio-economic conditions of a historical trend scenario and their negative implications for peace and political instability must be avoided by all means. It is men who make their own futures and Africans must willfully make their own future of dignity and hope against this background of odds and obstacles. The Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) has charted the path for the socio-economic transformation of Africa on the basis of individual and collective self-reliance and self-sustenance. What remains to be done is for the African Governments and people to break with the past concepts, attitudes and approaches and implement the conscious changes that are needed to set their countries and the continent on a path of genuine self-sustaining development in the interest of the African masses.

II. STRUCTURES FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE

72. Peace and socio-economic development emerges as two primary objectives in the African region. Pronouncements of the individual member States, the resolutions and declarations of the various assemblies of the heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the endeavours of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa have all underscored the importance of the vigorous pursuit of those twin objectives and the nature of the inter-relationship between them. The record has indicated, however, that progress in achieving the development objective is still, unfortunately, very much illusive while the quest for peace is being threatened and/or undermined in many parts of Africa.

8/ "ECA and Africa's Development, 1983-2008: A Preliminary Perspective Study", ECA, Addis Ababa, April 1983, p.93.

73. The foregoing section has briefly shown that interterritorial discords and intra-national socio-political conflicts in Africa — inherited from the colonial past and fomented by socio-political and ideological differences; the continuation of the apartheid situation in South Africa; and South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its destructive and destabilizing acts against the neighbouring independent African States have threatened and breached the peace in the region, encouraged the expansion of military capabilities and expenditure and militated against the achievement of stable and sustained socio-economic development. As long as those structures of violence and conflict remain undismantled, the prospects of the maintenance of lasting peace and stable socio-economic development will be greatly undermined.

74. Without the dismantling of apartheid, violence and repression against the indigenous African majority and the denial of the political, social, economic and human rights of this majority will continue unabated. Likewise, the continuation of the illegal South African control of Namibia and South Africa's aggression against independent African States could only heighten the existing state of mistrust and conflict; endanger any attempts at arms restraint; increase the threat to regional peace and security; and hamper socio-economic progress. The speedy resolution of those fundamental problems remains to be an essential prerequisite for the establishment of enduring peace in the region and the creation of the conditions that are conducive to peaceful development in Southern Africa and to the restoration of the legitimate political, socio-economic and human rights of the indigenous African majority in South Africa.

75. While African countries may need to maintain a certain acceptable level of military spending to enable them to maintain internal order and to exercise their legitimate right of self-defence in the face, in particular, of the potentially destabilizing consequences of some of the region's security problems, it is obvious that any increased diversion of the

region's scarce resources for military use will have serious negative implications for Africa's development efforts — particularly in light of the already existing critical social and economic situation — and might adversely affect any attempts at arms restraint. In view of the particular political and socio-economic circumstances existing in the region, there is urgent need, more than ever before, for the settlement of international and internal disputes through peaceful means in accordance with the charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

76. The succinct review of the economic and social conditions in Africa, in the preceding section, has clearly shown that those conditions have not been particularly propitious to the maintenance of enduring and just peace and political and socio-economic stability. As has also been shown, any perpetuation of the past historical trends of socio-economic development will not only endanger the prospects of peace and stability at the national level, but will also have very grave consequences for the economic and socio-political stability of the region as a

whole. Those considerations; the sad reality that the rapidly deteriorating socio-economic conditions have had serious negative impacts on the economic and social well-being of the African people; and the realization that the socio-economic conditions in Africa by the beginning of the next century would be characterized by nothing short of a 'nightmare' of abject misery, socio-economic injustice and degradation of human dignity if the past negative trends were to continue in the future, call upon the people and Governments of Africa to take all the necessary measures that are required to deal with the current crisis effectively and set the African economies on a path of accelerated self-sustaining and self-reliant development. Concerted and interdependent action in the immediate, short, medium and long-runs and a high degree of political commitment and will to implement such measures are indispensable elements for the success of such endeavours.

77. The "Special Memorandum by the ECA Conference of Ministers of Africa's Economic and Social Crisis" and the report of the UN Secretary General to the Thirty-ninth Session of the General Assembly on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa amply elaborate the emergency requirements as well as the preparedness, prevention, reconstruction and rehabilitation measures that need to be initiated in the short and medium terms to deal with the crisis.⁹ Among the recommended emergency measures are (a) the need for the international community to speed up the physical delivery of the food aid already pledged; urgently decide on additional food allocations to meet the expected food shortages; and to strengthen its response capacity to emergency situations in individual countries; and (b) the need for African countries to ensure the provision of inputs for subsequent planting seasons, e.g. seeds, fertilizers and pesticides; the establishment of security reserves of food, medicines, vaccines, fodder and water; the establishment of effective and reliable early warning systems; the establishment of permanent national structures or mechanisms to cope with emergency situation; the formulation of national programmes and policies to deal with the crisis, including the mobilization of domestic emergency resources (financial and material); and the training of appropriate manpower to deal with the emergency situation.

78. Measures to deal with the crisis in the short and medium-terms should derive from the aforementioned measures and are intended to focus on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the major economic sectors, particularly agriculture, industry and infrastructure. Within this framework, it is essential for member States to implement measures which should, inter-alia, include the following: better use and application of the existing weather and climatic information with a view to improving the operational practices in agriculture, including the introduction of drought resistant crops, water management and energy; elaboration of integrated and realistic range management strategies that would ensure an optimal rationalization of livestock production at all times

in line with the carrying capacity of the range lands; putting land back into cultivation; reducing post harvest losses; establishing a judicious balance between production of food and export crops; introduction of technology packages for increased food production; returning to a greater dependence on locally grown food crops and promoting substitutes for food imports; exploiting water resources for irrigation in low rainfall drought-prone areas by making use of conservation techniques in water use, including the use of water catchments, according priority to afforestation and re-afforestation; removal of input bottlenecks in industry and infrastructure; the utilization, to the maximum level possible, idle industrial capacity; improvement of transport systems; and enhancement of the capacity for research and data collection, analysis and dissemination and manpower training and institutional development in connexion with drought-related activities and requirements. At the sub-regional and regional level it is important that African countries should inter-alia, strengthen regional co-operation to better cope with the crisis. The Regional Plan of Action to Combat the Impacts of Drought in Africa, which was adopted by the Tenth Meeting of ECA Conference of Ministers, elaborates the action needed at the regional level to combat the adverse effects of the drought.¹⁰

79. Since the current further deterioration in Africa's socio-economic conditions has not been triggered off only by the drought situation but also by the global economic recession and the rapidly deteriorating international economic environment in general, the African countries can not successfully manage the crisis situation in the immediate, short and medium-terms without adequate relief measures and support for the reconstruction and rehabilitation programmes from the international community.¹¹ Prominent among the measures that need to be urgent-

9/ Op. cit, pp 15 - 19.

10/ See "Report of the Scientific Roundtable on the Climatic Situation and Drought in Africa", E/ECA/CM.10/23, 15 March, 1984.

11/ See "Special Memorandum by the ECA Conference of Ministers on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis" E/ECA/CM.10/37/Rev.2' Addis Ababa, 1984, Op. cit' pp.23-28.

ly undertaken at the international level are the following. The need to: devise special short-term arrangements which will ensure that the export earning of African countries are stabilized at remunerative levels and to speedily implement the Integrated Programme of Commodities, especially the entry into force of the Common Fund, which UNCTAD has been sponsoring since its Fourth Session in 1976 and conclude the various commodity arrangements that are still pending; increase multilateral concessionary financing and improve the various international monetary arrangements; implement urgent debt relief programmes aimed at reducing the debt burdens of the African countries; increase balance of payments support on appropriately concessionary terms to enable African countries meet their critical import requirements, particularly, industrial raw materials, energy products and other intermediate inputs and spare parts; enhancement of the effectiveness of multilateral assistance to Africa; and for the international community to support sectoral programmes for redeployment for crisis management.

80. It has been mentioned in paragraph 15 that the problem of the refugees and displaced persons in Africa has been seriously aggravated by the drought situation. Apartheid, international political difference and inter-state conflicts have been the major factors behind the refugee exodus. This situation has been further complicated by the drought which forced millions to flee their home lands to neighbouring countries in search of relief. Knowing that many countries of asylum have themselves been hit hard by the socio-economic crisis the refugees have heavily taxed the very fragile infrastructure and scarce resources of those countries and have also created highly undesirable socio-political situations. An urgent need exists to alleviate the human suffering of the millions of refugees and displaced persons; assist the countries of asylum to cope with this additional burden; and attack the root causes of the problem. Although the implementation of integrated long-term programmes to minimize the impact of the drought will help to reduce the need for

massive population movements across national borders, the need still remains to solve the problems of those who already live outside their home lands. In this regard it has been recognized that it is essential for countries to provide asylum to refugees without being overwhelmed by the undesirable economic and socio-political consequences of this situation. The Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II), has favoured this approach and has adopted a number of measures aiming at enabling the refugees to become self-sustaining members of the communities in which they find themselves and called for a development-oriented type of approach to the assistance to refugees to achieve this objective. Any durable solution to the problem of the refugees will however call for the voluntary repatriation of the refugees and the elimination of the causes of intra-state tensions and conflicts and spirit of good neighbourliness, and mutual co-operation.

81. Any lasting solution to Africa's socio-economic crisis and the transformation of Africa from its present dependent situation to fully self-sustained economic community capable of achieving self-sustained and accelerated development in the interest of the African masses are concomitant upon the adoption of far-reaching structural transformation measures. Such measures are detailed in the LPA and the Final Act of Lagos which were unanimously adopted by the African heads of State and Government at their extra ordinary economic summit in 1980.¹² Despite Africa's current difficult and economic situation, the continent is endowed with natural and human resources which, if creatively utilized, could achieve the desired transformation. Such transformation would require far-reaching and conscious changes in the patterns of production, distribution and life-styles which should include, inter-alia, internationalization of the development process in the spirit of collective self-reliance and self-sustainment; an effective and productive interaction of all factors of develop-

12/ See OAU Lagos Plan of Action for the Development of Africa, 1980-2000.

ment; an efficient and co-ordinated exploitation and management of Africa's vast human, mineral and agricultural and energy resources; and the strengthening of sub-regional and regional co-operation to overcome, inter-alia, the present balkanization of the region and to permit a proper and co-ordinated exploitation and utilization of the region's vast resources.

82. The LPA emphasizes the need to restructure the African economies based on the twin principles of national and collective self-reliance and self-sustaining development. Restructuring implies not only the necessary change in the composition of goods and services by gradually increasing the share of industrial products in the national and regional basket of goods and services, but also internalizing the sources of the supply of producer goods, high level skills for natural resource exploration, evaluation and extraction, products and product design, industrial and other production organization and management, project identification, analysis and implementation, research and development, education and training, marketing, banking, shipping and financial services; and changing the pattern of external trade.¹³

83. The kind of development that will not divide and generate tensions and conflict and that is conducive to an enduring and just peace requires the democratization of the development process, the creation of social, economic and political justice and equal opportunities for all, sustained improvement of the economic, social and human conditions for all and the full participation of the people in all dimension of a genuine development process. The LPA and ECA's publications on its implementation have fully recognized the importance of those basic factors.

84. The challenge facing Africa is enormous. The path for a bright future has been clearly charted. The resources and potential for a positive transformation exist. The achieve-

ment of this will depend in the final analysis, on the will of the African people and Governments to initiate the necessary changes. The maintenance of peace is also an essential condition for bringing about another future of hope for Africa and in particular for achieving collective self-reliance, which is a basic principle of the LPA. African countries must as such earnestly endeavour to lessen tensions and conflicts and maintain brotherly relations and increase African solidarity to take full advantage of their common resources, tradition and cultures.

85. Since the root causes of Africa's socio-economic plight are due in part to the excessive outward-orientation of the African economies, the colonial legacies and harmful international economic policies and while the primary responsibility for the restructuring of the African economies rests with the Africans themselves, this task would be extremely difficult, if not futile, without major improvements in the international economic environment and the implementation of a New International Economic Order.

86. **CONCLUSION:** The interrelationship between peace and development attains a special significance within the African context. The preceeding sections have highlighted some of the major aspects and implications of this interrelationship and emphasized the fact that peace and development in the region can not be pursued in isolation of one another. Important to stress at this juncture is the fact that the escalation of Africa's social and economic crisis and the continuation of the present explosive situation in Southern Africa pose a threat not only to peace and genuine socio-economic development in the region but also constitute a serious threat to international peace and security. It is incumbent upon the international community to take concerted measures to assist Africa to establish the necessary conditions for accelerated socio-economic development and an enduring and just peace. Such a moral obligation is not dictated only by regional concern and considerations but is also vital for the maintenance of international peace and security and mutually beneficial and just international economic relations.

13/ See "Accelerated Development in Sub-saharan Africa: An assessment by the OAU/ECA and ADB Secretariats", E/ECA/CM.10/16, 1982.

AFRICAN REGIONAL SEMINAR FOR THE INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

I. OBJECTIVES OF THE SEMINAR

87. The African Regional Seminar for the International Year of Peace, jointly organized by the United Nations Department for Political and Security Council Affairs and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), was held at Africa Hall, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 8 to 11 January 1985, in accordance with General Assembly Resolution 38/56 of 7 December 1983, which requested the Secretary-General to carry out, during 1984-1985, the necessary preparations for the observance of the Year, including the organization of regional seminars devoted to promoting the objectives of the year.

88. The main objectives of the African Regional Seminar were to define conditions and basic approaches to peace from the global and regional perspectives; to facilitate a dialogue and exchange of experience among governmental experts, scholars, representatives of non-governmental organizations and representatives of the United Nations System; as well as to prepare appropriate documentation for distribution to the general public as input for the International Year of Peace.

II. FINAL STATEMENT

89. In this time of unprecedented tensions, the International Year of Peace provides a focus for renewed hope and efforts of all mankind to create a peaceful world. Peace must finally be realized in its many forms and contexts — not only in international relations, but also at the regional, sub-regional and national levels. We wish in this regard to express our strongest support for the ideals and goals of the year, which provide a practical and realistic framework for thought and action both today and in the future.

90. The creation and maintenance of peace is subject to many prerequisites, conditions and approaches. Global factors such as nuclear weapons, the arms race, racial discrimination and **apartheid** and the state of the global economy have a negative impact upon the maintenance of peace and the well-being of peoples throughout the world. Just as important, however, are regional and national considerations. A practical approach to lasting peace must therefore encompass the broadest range of efforts. We commend the United Nations for its ability in assisting in the promotion and maintenance of peace, both globally and regionally, as has been demonstrated during its forty years of existence.

91. Peace must be viewed as a positive and dynamic process. A just and enduring peace must go beyond the prevention of armed conflicts to encompass a sustained level of continuing peaceful interactions; the prevention of the arms race; the promotion of peaceful settlement of disputes; a system of socio-economic relationships between individuals and nations based on a just balance of interests; respect for human rights; and commitment to genuine socio-economic development that would bring with it the nations of economic and social well-being, equity, human dignity and socio-economic justice.

92. Of utmost importance in this latter aspect is the close interrelationship of peace and development. Peace and development cannot be pursued in isolation from one another. Progress in the achievement of one facilitates the achievement of the other, and conversely. The interrelationship between peace and development is particularly important and relevant under the current conditions existing in our region. We view with utmost concern the rapidly deteriorating social and economic conditions and the increasing political instability, violence, and internal and inter-state armed conflicts in Africa. These have interacted to create additional threats to peace and stability and to precipitate a socio-economic crisis of unprecedented proportions.

93. We reiterate our most serious concern about the abhorrent and totally despicable policies of the **apartheid** system in South Africa which has committed uncountable crimes against the indigenous African majority in South Africa, continued to destabilize and exercise economic blackmail against the neighbouring independent African states, blocking the independence of Namibia and threatening regional and international peace and security.

94. Only through genuine and concerted action at the national, regional and international levels can such problems be surmounted. We call in this regard upon the African countries to endeavour earnestly to lessen tensions and conflicts, maintain brotherly and good-neighbourly relations and settle their disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. African countries should strengthen subregional and regional co-operation and solidarity among themselves in order to build bridges of confidence and to take full advantage of their common traditions, resources and cultures. The world community must also raise to its moral obligation and provide a durable solution to the South African problem within the framework of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. African interests should not be made subject to external forces.

95. Africa will need to achieve socio-economic development of the kind that will not divide and generate tensions and conflicts and will transform Africa from its present dependent situation to a fully self-sustaining economic community capable of achieving accelerated, self-sustaining and self-reliant socio-economic development in the interest of the African masses. The path of such an alternative development has been clearly charted by the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos. The peoples and Governments of Africa must faithfully adopt the far-reaching structural measures that are needed to bring about a future of dignity, hope, prosperity and a just and lasting peace for Africa.

96. Such a future cannot come about without a radical change in the inequitable world economic order and in the international economic environment still rapidly deteriorating in the case of Africa. We therefore call on the international community to join the efforts aimed at the urgent institution of such reform, the implementation of the needed radical change in the international economic environment, and enhanced co-operation.

97. We recognize the dynamic interrelationship of peace, international security and disarmament and call for effective measures to stop the arms race, in particular, the nuclear arms race. We should support all efforts, bilateral or multilateral aimed at genuine disarmament and arms limitation, in particular, nuclear disarmament. All measures in the field of disarmament will be instrumental in the freeing of resources, currently allocated to military use, for the stimulation of the development process both globally and regionally. With this goal in mind, we urge the international community to recognize Africa's commitment to the creation of a nuclear free zone, as recently reconfirmed in resolution AHG/Res. 126 (XX) of the 20th meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU. This resolution also pointed out the threat posed to the security of Africa by the nuclear programme and continuous development of the nuclear capability of South Africa. Finally, we support all further efforts to implement the "Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace", including the early convening of a conference on this issue.

98. We recognize the importance of preparation for life in peace through education, culture, and economic and social programmes. The realization of these ideals is closely related to the continuing pursuit of national development and will be successful only with the concerted efforts, in a spirit of tolerance, of individuals, families, communities and national entities. Instrumental roles have already been assumed by women, youth, educators and trade unions. We call, in particular, for the development of appro-

priate educational and social programmes to further preparation for life in peace for the benefit of African youth, both today and in the future. We note the role of religion in the promotion of peace and we call for co-operation among the various faiths towards this common end.

99. As further evidence of our continuing commitment to the International Year of Peace, we call upon all States, organizations and individuals to participate effectively in the programme of the Year. We address our plea most directly to the African continent, where peace and development have so long been cherished objectives. We ask that peace and development become the conscious goals of peoples everywhere, and that the Year of Peace serve as the basis for our long-term and continuing efforts to realize these goals.

100. We wish in this regard to propose, **in particular**, that the following activities should be undertaken within the framework of the observance of the International Year of Peace:

- (i) The initiation of long-term analysis of the interrelationship of peace and development, peace and disarmament and preparation for life in peace;
- (ii) The theme — peace and develop-

ment — should be considered in various regional and other meetings to be held in preparation and observance of the International Year of Peace;

- (iii) African youth should be actively involved in shaping the peaceful future of Africa within and beyond the programmes of International Youth Year and the current International Year of Peace.
- (iv) International opinion should be mobilized against racial discrimination and **apartheid**;
- (v) African women should be helped to play a greater role in the preservation of peace and in the preparation for life in peace.

101. It is our firm hope that this African perspective on peace will focus the attention of the international community on the requirements for a just and lasting peace and genuine development in Africa, and will mobilize international support for the creation of the conditions that are necessary for bringing about such desirable goals. It is also hoped that our peoples and Governments will do all that is necessary to contribute to the emergence of a new future of hope, prosperity, dignity and peace on our continent.



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Forty Years of Peace-building

