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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 60th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Tuesday, 10 November 1992, at 10.30 a.m.

President:

Mr. ROGERS (Vice-President)

(Belize)

Address by Mr. Frederick Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia

Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [27]

- (a) Report of the Secretary-General
- (b) Draft resolution

Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) [38]

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Rogers (Belize), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. FREDERICK CHILUBA, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

Mr. Frederick Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Zambia, His Excellency Mr. Frederick Chiluba, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President CHILUBA: On behalf of the Government and the people of the Republic of Zambia allow me to begin by congratulating

President Stoyan Ganev on his unanimous election to lead the United Nations

General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. His election is as much an acknowledgment of his outstanding and distinguished performance in the service of his country as it is a fitting tribute to Bulgaria, whose commitment to the ideals of the United Nations is well known. We are all relying on his known diplomatic skill for the successful conclusion of these deliberations.

May I also pay a tribute to his predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Samir Shibabi of Saudi Arabia, for his competence and wisdom, which enabled him to conduct the deliberations of the last session with great success.

Let me on this auspicious occasion express my delegation's congratulations to His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General of the United Nations. He has, within the one year that he has been in office, made praiseworthy initiatives designed to uphold the

principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. He has truly continued to ensure that the prestige and efficiency of the United Nations are not compromised in pursuance of multilateral diplomacy. Under his able guidance the United Nations has over the past year continued to garner great successes in many parts of the world where it is constantly engaged.

This session of the General Assembly, like the previous one, is taking place against the background of a transformed global political and ideological outlook. The iron curtain has collapsed. This new scenario presents all of us with a series of opportunities and new challenges. On the one hand, the world now has no cause for not pushing for total disarmament and the creation of conditions for the weaving of the socio-political fabric capable of sustaining overall human development.

The end of the cold war has removed the heavy cloud of a nuclear holocaust which threatened in equal measure adversaries and non-adversaries alike. Now, the world has boundless opportunities. The human, material and technological resources once locked up in exploring the most effective ways of exterminating man can once again be directed towards the sustenance of life. Nuclear weapons are simply instruments of mass destruction. We all have a vested interest in seeing that they are destroyed now, in the most transparent manner, for all mankind to see. Keeping them as part of any country's military inventory can only cause unnecessary suspicions and make others do the same for reasons of safety and national prestige. It is therefore important that those engaged in talks on the reduction of strategic nuclear forces redouble their efforts and bring these talks to fruition. Mankind can now rightly demand general and complete disarmament.

It is heartening to note that the end of the bipolar system of international relations has resulted, in particular, in fruitful talks directed at the reduction of conventional forces in Europe. For too long, Europe has been the focal point of both nuclear and conventional forces, pitting East and West blocs against each other. Now, Europe is divesting itself of the complications of the past and is looking forward with confidence.

A disturbing facet of the end of the cold war is the advent of micronationalism. The re-erergence of destructive nationalist aspirations in the world today has added a dimension of regional conflict that threatens global peace. In Europe, giant nations of yesterday have fragmented into factions engaged in fratricidal wars involving both human and material resources in quantities unimagined before. Now more than ever before, solutions to many regional conflicts defy solutions. In some cases, whole societies have been wiped out.

Africa has never been spared at all. Somalia today is a country on its knees. Clan and ethnic interests now compete for burial grounds. Life no longer has value and that great country continues to bleed, courtesy of its own people. The combination of drought and civil war has led to human misery of enormous proportions.

With the demise of the cold war, a new world structure needs to be constructed for the well-being and future of mankind. The call for a new world order is nothing new. We all dream of a world where the full potential of man can be realized in conditions of freedom and dignity. Regrettably, however, rhetoric about a new world order has not resulted in action. The idea was in gestation for so long that many of us were beginning to fear a still-birth. Now is the time for the international community to bring the idea to fruition. We now need not fear the still-birth of a more rewarding world economic system and of the efforts of all who are producing and distributing the global resources. The structure of the better world that I envisage, if well and truly built, will be such as to make the material strength of a single State less significant. Small nations should count as much as large ones and gain their honour by their contribution to the common cause. There must be an act of faith by the whole world to commit all the working resources for all the people.

Indeed, a new world order is an international imperative today. It is a common enterprise for all of us. As such, it is something in which each and every member State of the General Assembly has a stake. Its creation should therefore reflect that simple but dynamic truth. Hence, we should all contribute not only to the definition of this new world order but also to its

nurturing. It must have, as its most distinguishing feature, a distinct character. It must be premised on equality and transparency. No single nation, however big and powerful, should impose its will on the definition and substance of such a world order. It is our common property and it must be a product of global consensus.

The United Nations system is such a wonderful beginning. Through it our hope for the future, shared by others before and now, that dream of happiness for the hundreds of millions of people, the hope of a free, prosperous and safe world, is within our grasp. We only have to reach out for it. Let us make smooth the machinery of the United Nations. The future of mankind depends on it.

We in Zambia are deeply concerned and, because we are, we welcome the "Agenda for Peace", issued by the Secretary-General in June this year. Through the "Agenda for Peace", the process of reflection and negotiation among Governments will be enhanced. Ways and means of evolving durable structures for maintaining international peace and security will be explored. It is my sincere expectation that the Working Group established for this purpose will receive my country's utmost cooperation. We need an integrated approach as we grapple with the world's multifaceted problems.

Our world still faces the uncomfortable reality of its division into two blocs, the affluent and the poor, the North and the South. With the end of the cold war, the North-South divide has assumed a new significance. Poverty probably represents the greatest threat - and the greatest danger to democratic governance, world peace and stability. Between the rich and the poor there will always be tension. The greater the levels of poverty,

the greater the levels of tension. Political instability, corruption, hunger, illicit drug trading and a litany of other evils trace their roots to mass poverty.

Taken together, the poverty-induced problems I have just recited strongly suggest that a global approach to the problem of poverty is called for. The survival of the human race in a sound environment may ultimately depend on it. The major challenge to the international community in this urgent task is to expand opportunities for achieving universal socio-economic equality.

The international community has the grand opportunity offered by the greater willingness among nations to cooperate. With additional goodwill, this asset could be transformed into dialogue that achieves credible commitments, the basis for practical results. Under such a political framework, the nations of the world could work together to discover new frontiers of sustainable development as well as mechanisms and structures that would establish a new economic order guaranteeing equal economic security, employment and social progress for all countries. The Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit gave a glimpse of what is possible if we all, big and small, put our shoulders to the wheel.

Let us all recall that mankind has a genuine desire for change, for the betterment of its condition. The key to meaningful adaptation, one that fully meets the concerns of all interlocutors, is to find ways and means of expanding national, regional and global opportunities for sustainable development. Take Africa as an example. This noble continent of Africa, comprising one fifth of the Earth's total land surface, with one quarter of the world's known resources and about one tenth of the Earth's population,

is today a frightful sight and in a sorry state of repair. Africa has been denied its rightful opportunity. The basic economic problems of the South lie in the lack of economic expansion; hence my emphasis on expanded opportunities.

Through Agenda 21 the United Nations Conference on Environment and

Development made the initial start in the search for expanded opportunities

for sustainable development. Spurred by the full conviction that it would be
environmentally catastrophic for developing countries to go through the same
pattern of economic development as that followed by today's affluent

societies, Agenda 21 attempts to identify possibilities of sustainable
development. The spirit of Agenda 21 has laid stress on new and additional
financial resources and preferential technology transfer. The amount of
reflection and dialogue needed on these issues is still considerable, but one
would hope for the evolution of credible commitments in the near future.

The lack of progress in the multilateral trade negotiations, the Uruguay Round, in effect continues to lock in new and additional possibilities for sustainable development. For most countries of the South, trading one's way out of poverty is a basic ingredient for anchoring in the spirit of national self-reliance, a spirit so essential to independence and sovereignty.

As the United Nations continues rightly to involve itself in the key issues of democracy and human rights, it will increasingly come to realize that poverty will always be a more than cruel brake on the process of consolidating democracy and promoting and protecting human rights.

Fraternal solidarity between the nations of the world will thrive under conditions of trust and confidence. The reform process in the United Nations has borne out this fundamental truth.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the democratization of international relations is a question whose hour has come. We cannot only cry out for social justice and fundamental freedoms at the level of the national entity without being seen to promote them at the international level.

Zambia, like many other nations today, expresses the view that the forms of political and economic domination inherent in our world today should be eliminated, because domination by some nations over others is not the answer to human development anywhere at all. It is important for the United Nations family today to review the system of representation in order to remove all forms of domination. We believe a comprehensive review of the Charter of this body is long overdue. We have new challenges. We support the view that serious consideration should be given to increasing the membership of the Security Council and that the concept and role of the power of veto merit serious re-examination. The equality of man is universally accepted.

Men make nations, and the equality of nations has always made sense.

Small nations should count as much as large ones, and the honour should be that we are all contributing to a common cause. A world with common aspirations should have no fear of embracing democratic international intercourse. I am happy to note that there are a number of pending proposals to reform and restructure numerous policy organs of the United Nations. It is my sincere hope that the international community will seize these opportunities firmly to entrench democracy in these organs.

Please allow me to touch briefly on some of the issues that directly affect the southern African subcontinent. Zambia by geographical necessity and out of choice has been not only an observer but a keen, active participant in the unfolding socio-political scenario in that region. The struggle for the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa has now reached a very critical stage.

We have seen many positive developments. We appreciate them and we commend all those responsible for their achievement. The signing of an

agreement on the voluntary repatriation of South African refugees and exiles, under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, was one such positive development. The negotiation forum that came to be known as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) represents a major breakthrough for peace in that country. I talk in the present tense because I do believe that the forum, whether in its original form or as reconstituted, still represents the best opportunity for the resolution of the many problems that still lie ahead in the realization of democratic ideals for the people of South Africa. We are hopeful that the parties to that conflict will soon sit together and begin the process of negotiations once again.

Zambia, as always, is ready to support the process of change in South Africa. In this regard, we in Zambia welcome the historic agreement which was reached between the President of the African National Congress,

Mr. Nelson Mandela, and the Government of President De Klerk on

26 September 1992. We urge an early resumption of the negotiation process.

There is no viable alternative to negotiations.

We also wish to commend the positive steps taken by all the parties to the conflict in South Africa. We commend the release of the political prisoners by the South African Government. We also commend the efforts of the Goldstone Commission, the fact-finding missions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and of course the United Nations Security Council's initiatives towards ending political violence in South Africa. The ending of political violence remains one of the major and most immediate challenges facing the international community and the people of South Africa, and especially the South African Government, which bears the primary responsibility to end this violence.

Angola is at a crossroads. The resumption of hostilities in Angola is a big blow to the entire international community after such stupendous efforts by Angolans themselves and the rest of the world to restore peace to that troubled country. The restart of the civil war after the elections, which most international observers - including those from the United Nations - deemed free and fair, is a big set-back. We in Zambia think that the frontiers of democracy in Africa are being rolled back, and this is a big challenge that Africa and the international community must address with all the vigour and zeal at their command.

Mozambique is just beginning a long process of knitting the fabric of peace. Thus, the historic peace agreement signed on 4 October 1992 by the representative of the Mozambican political divide is warmly welcomed by us. The civil war that raged in Mozambique and later combined with the worst drought in the region has traumatized the country. The country has been bleeding for too long and the flow of blood has transformed Mozambique into a virtual wasteland. It can be understood, therefore, why those of us who are geographical neighbours of that country and have witnessed the flow of blood for these many years are now beside ourselves with glee at the opportunity for peace. The international community must support the process of peace in Mozambique. We must not tire. The people of Mozambique have a right to look to the international community for assistance in the healing of their land.

The southern African subcontinent as a whole, therefore, is on the brink of change - this time, change for the better. Democracy is taking root and in some cases is already flowering. The people are once again taking centre stage in the management of their affairs. No more are the political institutions of the leaders supreme to the people, but the people are becoming

supreme as they have to take decisions in their countries. This region, and indeed Africa as a whole, requires the support of the international community as we endeavour to change our political systems. The surest way of getting our people out of poverty and squalour is to give them the right to develop in an environment of freedom and equal opportunity. Democracy will recreate the African family. To stand in the way of democracy is to generate violence, because you cannot stop it without instigating violence, and that is what must be avoided. Change must be peaceful, and the systems and Governments have to facilitate peaceful change. It will give us the socio-political fabric, the strong ties of economic linkages, under which our people will dwell in peace, safety and freedom. As Africa democratizes, Africa must not be deserted.

We in Zambia are determined to make democracy work. We want to ensure economic growth and sustainable development in an environment of freedom.

This is necessary. This is the surest way to regenerate the human qualities needed to build the nation. We acknowledge the support of the international community in our efforts. We are grateful to the many nations that have come to our aid and to those that have answered our request to write off some of our debts in order to give us an opportunity to start afresh.

Unless we can build a strong economy capable of sustaining the needs of our people, and unless our people have a stake in that economy, they will have nothing to defend and it will not be possible to defend or appreciate democracy. Democracy, in that case, may not succeed in Zambia. Our people rightly interpret the efficacy of a governmental system by its ability to provide an environment in which they can afford food, shelter and clothing. Democracy has to provide - otherwise our people will lose faith in it.

While the future is largely unsettled, the present political climate in international relations gives us some cause for optimism. Never before in the history of the United Nations have we been better equipped to achieve our goals in the areas of international peace, security, and economic and social progress, predicated on environmentally sound human activities. We now have the opportunity, indeed we now have the hour; let us seize it and fulfil our obligations to posterity of a peaceful world based on justice and prosperity for all mankind.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Zambia for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Frederick Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 27

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/453 and Add.1)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/47/L.14)

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Mauritius, who will introduce draft resolution A/47/L.14 in the course of his statement.

Mr. PEERTHAM (Mauritius) (interpretation from French): Allow me first of all to welcome His Excellency Mr. Frederick Chiluba, the President of the Republic of Zambia, who honours the General Assembly, and the African Group in particular, with his presence among us this morning.

We are pleased with the constant strengthening and dynamic evolution of the cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Made formal almost 30 years ago, this cooperation has indeed

become traditional, remaining based on the principles of law, justice and progress that guide it in every field of mutual interest to the two organizations.

In these times of worldwide changes, requiring of us all a new solidarity among peoples and nations, we are bound to strengthen relations between the United Nations and the OAU, notwithstanding the uncertainties of international cooperation.

The United Nations and the Organization of Africa Unity have to their credit many successes in the political field, particularly as regards decolonization. Nevertheless, and in spite of certain prospects opened up by recent developments, the two organizations remain concerned with the political evolution in South Africa. We hope that the process of change will continue concretely and irreversibly, in accordance with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 44/244, adopted by consensus, and the Declaration against apartheid adopted at the sixteenth special session. In this regard, the implementation of urgent measures to eliminate violence would assist in establishing an atmosphere conducive to the resumption, smooth functioning and conclusion of negotiations for the effective elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

It was precisely from that point of view that the Security Council, aware of the gravity of the situation, at the request of the OAU devoted its meeting of 17 August 1992 to South Africa and adopted its resolution 772 (1992) authorizing, inter alia, the Secretary-General to deploy,

"as a matter of urgency, United Nations observers in South Africa, in such a manner and in such numbers as he determines necessary to address

effectively the areas of concern noted in his report, in coordination with the structures set up under the National Peace Accord". (Security Council resolution 772 (1992), para. 4)

Other hotbeds of conflict also concern Africa. There are still many obstacles standing in the way of peace, despite the measures adopted recently by the United Nations in, for example, Somalia and Angola. Nevertheless, we welcome the establishment of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and the Organizations's cooperation in the implementation of the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO).

In general, it is encouraging to note the support and multifaceted assistance the United Nations is giving the OAU in its efforts to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts and the democratization process in Africa.

At the level of their secretariats, the OAU and the United Nations, as well as their respective organs, continue to hold periodic consultation meetings, which are an excellent mechanism for cooperation between the two organizations. In this respect, I should like to express my great satisfaction not only to the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the OAU, but also to all the specialized agencies, which I hardly need list here, whose support of and contribution to the pan-African organization remain indispensable.

The Secretary-General's report (A/47/453) of 18 September 1992 gives an overview of numerous areas of cooperation with the OAU. It details the progress achieved and the efforts still needed, given the huge scale of the economic and social problems which Africa still faces in spite of the reforms undertaken.

As we know, the economic situation of the countries of Africa remains precarious, despite the reform policies. Africa's recovery and development continue to be hampered by the collapse in commodity prices, the debt burden, the negative transfer of resources, the lack of credit facilities and the devastating drought which continues to afflict several regions of the continent, not to mention the consequences of economic destabilization in southern Africa.

Moreover, the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990 did not live up to expectations. For that reason I am happy that at its forty-sixth session the General Assembly adopted the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, although the machinery for its implementation has not yet begun operation a year after its adoption.

Many of these shortcomings were exhaustively and eloquently stated by the current Chairman of the OAU, President of the Republic of Senegal,

Mr. Abdou Diouf, in his address to the Assembly on 30 September this year.

Africa therefore appeals to the United Nations and the international community as a whole to adhere to the commitments that must be honoured to achieve the goals set out in the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, in line with the decisions of the General Assembly.

That is why I have the pleasure to submit to the Assembly on behalf of the African Group draft resolution A/47/L.14, entitled "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity". This is a traditional resolution, whose principal aim is to spell out the main categories of cooperation between the Secretariats of the United Nations and the OAU, which are chiefly responsible for implementation in the political, social, economic and administrative spheres.

I should like to refer to certain operative paragraphs of the resolution concerning priority areas of cooperation.

In the political sphere, operative paragraph 4

"Requests the United Nations to continue to support the Organization of African Unity in its efforts to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts and peacefully to manage change in Africa".

Paragraph 7

"Reiterates the determination of the United Nations, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, to continue its efforts for the early eradication of racial discrimination and apartheid, ... and to provide the necessary assistance to that end".

In the social sphere, paragraph 9

"Urges all Member States and regional and international organizations, in particular those of the United Nations system, as well as non-governmental organizations, to provide the necessary economic, financial and technical assistance to refugees, as well as to African countries of asylum".

As regards the economic sphere, paragraph 11

"Reaffirms that the implementation of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s will necessitate the full

participation of the international community, in particular of the Governments, organizations and programmes of the United Nations system, as well as intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations".

Ιt

"emphasizes the importance and the vital need urgently to adopt appropriate measures to ensure its implementation in accordance with General Assembly decisions".

Paragraph 15

"Urges the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the relevant agencies of the United Nations system to extend their support and cooperation to the member States and the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity for the effective organizational arrangement and smooth functioning of the African Economic Community".

With regard to the administrative sphere, paragraph 22

"Calls upon the relevant organs of the United Nations to ensure the effective, fair and equitable representation of Africa at senior and policy levels at their respective headquarters and in their regional field operations".

With regard to implementing the recommendations in the resolution, paragraph 21

"Requests the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity
to ensure that the representatives of their secretariats continue to hold
regular close consultations on the implementations of the present
resolution".

Those are some of the key points I wished to stress in submitting for the Assembly's consideration draft resolution A/47/L.14, entitled "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity".

In order to continue the consultations that have so far been conducted in a constructive and cooperative spirit within the regional groups, and to arrive at a consensus, I would request you, Mr. President, to postpone the adoption of the draft resolution to a later date.

Mr. BIZIMANA (Rwanda) (interpretation from French): Today's consideration by the General Assembly of an agenda item concerning cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) comes at a time when the prospects for economic growth in Africa are at their most worrying and when the political situation on the continent is affected by hot-spots of tension and conflicts, creating human suffering and material damage on an alarming scale.

The economic situation in particular is deteriorating at a disturbing pace, accelerated by galloping population growth, the chronic debt burden, the collapse of commodity prices, tariff barriers and limited access to markets and technology.

This crisis, with its devastating impact, has brought in its wake poverty, marked by malnutrition, famine, illiteracy, disease and unemployment. The fragility of the situation is exacerbated by a variety of natural calamities, to which should be added the phenomena of desertification and drought that severely afflict many countries in Africa.

Faced with this social and economic crisis, which persists on the African continent despite the positive changes that have occurred on the international political scene, the delegation of Rwanda expresses its appreciation of the efforts of the United Nations and endorses the conclusions and recommendations in the report submitted by the Secretary-General under this agenda item, on United Nations cooperation with, and support for the OAU.

In this regard, we strongly support the approach advocated for giving effect to the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community, by strengthening regional and subregional economic communities. Rwanda, a member of four regional and subregional economic organizations—the Eastern and Southern African Preferential Trade Area, the Economic Community of Central African States, the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries and the Organization for the Management and Development of the River Kagera Basin will make every effort to promote the goals of the African Economic Community.

My delegation would call for international solidarity so that this instrument for the economic recovery of Africa can receive the wholehearted support of all partners for development.

As to the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, which is highlighted in the Secretary-General's report, we would like to emphasize the need for the United Nations and the international community to take concerted and effective action so as to guarantee its success and remove those obstacles that led to the failure of the Programme of Action for the period 1986 to 1990.

Against this background, Rwanda would once again join the appeal made from this rostrum on 30 September 1992 by President Abdou Diouf, the current President of the OAU, and by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at the fifty-sixth ordinary session, held at Dakar from 22 to 28 June 1992, inviting the international community to support Africa's efforts by, inter alia, providing adequate financial resources to ensure that its annual growth rate can reach at least 6 per cent. The appeal is all the more urgent, since this target, which requires in 1992 \$30 billion as official development assistance is far from being met.

Hence, while we commend the action taken by the United Nations for follow-up and monitoring of implementation of the Programme of Action for Africa, we believe the Organization must go beyond that and, as soon as possible, take concrete action in terms of firm commitments to mobilize the financial resources needed for real implementation of the Programme.

We hope that, at the same time, an exhaustive assessment of the humanitarian aspect of the Programme will be undertaken urgently with a view, in particular, to eradicating poverty in Africa. This is the only way that

the current trend towards the marginalization of Africa can, to some extent, be reversed for the benefit of shared progress and the well-being of all in order to ensure lasting and environmentally viable development, to which mankind as a whole aspires.

The Secretary-General's report deals with another aspect of cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU that is of particular interest to Rwanda that is, refugees, returnees and displaced persons.

In this connection, the report highlights the close cooperation between the OAU and bodies within the United Nations system with a view to seeking a lasting solution to the problem of Rwandese refugees.

In this regard, I would like to recall Rwanda's commitment, reiterated on 2 October last in the general debate in the Assembly by the Prime Minister of the Rwandese Republic, who emphasized my country's firm commitment to find a just and lasting solution to its refugee problem.

In order to give effect to this commitment, action has been taken to establish favourable conditions for the return of refugees that opt for voluntary repatriation, particularly through identifying resettlement zones, promulgating a law on general amnesty and sensitizing and educating our people so as to welcome returnees in a spirit of peaceful coexistence.

We also welcome efforts made by the OAU and the Office of the High

Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to prepare within their respective mandates
a plan of action for implementation of the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration on

Rwandese refugees, which was adopted on 9 February 1991. The third

consultative meeting between these two bodies was held in Addis Ababa from 29
to 30 July 1992 with representatives from the countries of asylum, is eloquent
proof of fruitful cooperation with a view to ensuring the success of this

operation.

With regard to that process, we firmly support the recommendations in the Secretary-General's report under which the OAU, the UNHCR and other bodies concerned are urged to finalize the plan of action on Rwandese refugees.

Implementation of the recommendation of the consultative meeting between the OAU and the UNHCR, to which I have referred - wherein it is emphasized that it is urgent that the countries of asylum facilitate preparatory activities under the plan of action, including investigations, technical and legal studies and the updating of procedures by those countries for local integration and naturalization of those refugees who so wish it would be one of the responses to the appeal made in the Secretary-General's report.

The urgent need to finalize a detailed and comprehensive plan of action is also warranted by the need to organize by the end of this year a round-table meeting of donors to finance the plan so as to ensure repatriation of Rwandese refugees who wish to return immediately after the conclusion of the peace agreement to be reached as the concluding stage of the ongoing political negotiations, which are expected to end by 22 December 1992.

Consideration of the item now before the General Assembly would not be complete if we failed to mention the urgent need for logistic and financial resources by the OAU, whose commendable efforts to deal with the many the many requests for settlement of conflicts are sometimes delayed owing to lack of adequate resources.

Such support for the OAU, particularly at this time when it is developing appropriate mechanisms for the prevention and management of conflicts, would allow it to participate actively in the implementation of the approach one which, incidentally, we endorse mentioned by the Secretary-General in his report "An Agenda for Peace" with regard, in particular, to regional

agreements and bodies which could, by way of sustained decentralization, ease the task of the Security Council and thus contribute to a greater sense of participation, consensus, shared management and democratization in international relations.

For all those reasons, we ask the Assembly kindly to adopt draft resolution A/47/L.14 by consensus, when the consultations announced by Ambassador Peerthum of Mauritius have been concluded.

Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): The Sierra Leone delegation welcomes the efforts to intensify and strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Indeed, the relationship between the two organizations, one might say, is even natural, given their symbiosis. Both organizations have common purposes and objectives, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the improvement of the standard of living of peoples in larger freedom, the exercise of the right to self-determination and the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

According to the Secretary-General's report, cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU now covers a wide spectrum, ranging from the political, economic, social and environmental fields to the technical and humanitarian fields, including efforts to stem the flow of refugees and displaced persons.

As I have said, my delegation welcomes this horizontal and vertical cooperation. We wish to acknowledge the role of this Organization in providing assistance to finding solutions to the myriad internecine conflicts that plague the African landscape today. While the primary responsibility to find solutions to such conflicts remains that of African States and their

Governments, this Organization, as custodian of international peace and security cannot afford to neglect, let alone to wash its hands of, situations that threaten regional peace and security or result in a massive threat to human life, leading to great suffering, if not worse, of their victims.

The Sierra Leone delegation is therefore of the view that, while the United Nations should continue to remind African Governments of their responsibilities towards their citizens and that human rights abuses lead to conflicts and adverse socio-economic conditions, it should at the same time intensify its efforts in addressing such conflict situations as those in Somalia, Liberia and that conflict's effects on my own country, Sierra Leone southern Sudan and South Africa, as, in most of these troubled regions, life and personal security have become a nightmarish experience for their people.

The intention of the Secretary-General that regional organizations such as the OAU should play an increasing role in conflict resolution and peaceful settlement of disputes is laudable. However, the Organization of African Unity is not so endowed, in terms of either material resources or institutional experience, as to be able to carry out such responsibilities on its own. Hence, if the objective of the Secretary-General is to be achieved, the United Nations must assist in providing the necessary resources the organization needs in its peacemaking, conflict-resolution efforts.

The range of cooperative efforts between the Organization of African
Unity and the specialized agencies is indeed quite impressive. In fact, it
extends to almost every member of the United Nations system itself, including
the Department of Economic and Social Development, the Department of
Humanitarian Affairs, the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief
Coordinator, the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Conference
on Trade and Development, the United Nations Environment Programme, the United
Nations Fund for Population Activities, the World Food Programme, the Economic
Commission for Africa, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, the
Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations

Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the Universal Postal Union, the International Telecommunication Union, the World Intellectual Property Organization, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the World Meteorological Organization and the International Maritime Organization - an impressive list indeed.

Most of these agencies are equipped with outstanding experts sent out, in most cases under very difficult cirumstances, to put the socio-economic efforts of African countries on a firm foundation and on a sustainable basis for growth and development. While we acknowledge and pay a tribute to the role these organizations and individuals have played and continue to play in eliminating chronic diseases, in reducing infant mortality, in alleviating poverty and in preserving the environment, the fact remains that the African socio-economic condition today is more dismal than it was 20 years ago.

Africa is today in a permanent state of economic emergency. The reasons for this are multifaceted and well known. In the view of my delegation, in order to overcome them we need to go back to first principles. The Sierra Leone delegation would therefore like to see this Organization help African countries overcome the problem of perennial food crisis not through food assistance for which we are indeed grateful alone, but by letting the green revolution happen in Africa also to save us from perennial famine and starvation.

It is the view of the Sierra Leone delegation that, while macroeconomic and structural adjustment measures have a role to play in the calibration of our economic performance, this Organization, together with its specialized

agencies, should help the African countries overcome the perennial problem of agriculture and food deficit.

Secondly, the United Nations must engage the problem of Africa's external indebtedness if Africa's efforts at development are not to come to naught.

The spectacle of African countries having to transfer economic resources to the industrialized countries of the North is unjustifiable and untenable, in the view of my delegation.

Also in the context of socio-economic development, my delegation regrets that the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s has so far not attracted the resources from the international community commensurate with its importance, and would therefore like to join in the renewed appeal to the international community to make available the necessary resources in order to achieve the objectives of the New Agenda.

Finally, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the donor countries and to the multilateral agencies for their support and assistance and, in like manner, my delegation would like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his unceasing efforts to bring peace to the African continent and for his efforts to mobilize resources to overcome the problems of Africa's underdevelopment. We hope that through such efforts, one day in the not-too-distant future peace will reign in all African countries, and that a silver lining will at last appear on the horizon as far as Africa's economic development is concerned.

Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): I have the honour, on behalf of the European Community and its member States, to address this plenary meeting of the General Assembly on agenda item 27, concerning cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The European Community and its member States attach great importance to regional cooperation and therefore welcome and applaud the efforts towards greater cooperation currently being made by the countries of the Organization of African Unity. The role played by the OAU in the consolidation of national independence, both politically and economically, and in the development of the nationhood of its members is an important one. Greater cooperation between African countries deserves the full support of the United Nations.

The European Community and its member States believe that where conflicts occur the countries most directly concerned should be encouraged to find solutions. This applies not only to political problems but also to economic, social and environmental ones. They therefore fully support the efforts of the OAU aimed at finding regional solutions to African problems. The European Community and its member States heard with interest, therefore, the statement by the Chairman of the OAU in the general debate in the General Assembly, in which he outlined the agreement reached by Heads of State and Government at the last OAU summit meeting in Dakar to establish a regional mechanism for the prevention, management and settlement of conflicts.

The role that regional organizations can play in international peace and security is a major theme in the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277). We commend this idea. In many situations, a bigger and more effective role can be played by the relevant regional organization in coordination with the United Nations. There is an increasing trend for regional organizations to do more in respect both of peace-keeping and of peacemaking, and we look forward to its continuation.

The European Community and its member States welcome the continuing cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU in their efforts to solve the long-standing issue of Western Sahara and the role being played by the OAU in efforts to alleviate the plight of Somalia. We also welcome the recent decision of the OAU to send observers to South Africa to work with those from the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the European Community. The European Community and its member States are active in all these areas, as well as in Angola and Mozambique.

In his statement to the General Assembly, the President of the OAU also noted that democracy had made great progress in Africa in recent months. He said that authoritarian regimes had given way to democratically elected governments; confrontation to cooperation; and bullets to ballots.

The European Community and its member States warmly welcome the tide of political reform now flowing in Africa. They warmly welcomed the signing in Rome on 4 October of a Mozambican peace agreement between the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO. The agreement offers the prospect of progress towards peace, national reconciliation and multiparty democracy in a country devastated by war. The European Community and its member States call on the two parties to carry out the agreement in good faith and reaffirm their commitment to assist the people of Mozambique in the reconstruction of their country.

The European Community and its member States express their grave concern about recent events in Angola and deplore the violence over the weekend of 31 October and 1 November, which claimed so many lives. The European Community and its member States support the continued involvement of the United Nations in the peace process in Angola and call on all parties to abide by Security Council resolution 785 (1992), adopted by the Council on 30 October, and to respect the cease-fire negotiated through the good offices of the Secretary-General on the night of the first of November. The only hope for peace in Angola is for both sides to refrain from violence and to continue to implement the peace agreements embodied in the Bicesse Accords, in particular as regards the demobilization and confinement of their troops and collection of their weapons, the formation of the Unified National Armed Force and the creation of conditions allowing the holding of a second ballot in the presidential election. The European Community and its member States will hold responsible any party which obstructs the peace process to which all parties have committed themselves and which has been democratically endorsed by the Angolan people.

The European Community and its member States are helping to promote good governance, human rights and sound electoral practices elsewhere in Africa.

Both at the community level and at national level, they have shown their wish to respond to requests for assistance in election monitoring.

It is the countries of Africa that are primarily responsible for the future of their continent. This has been acknowledged in the deliberations of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The need for popular participation, the creation of free and democratic institutions and the solution of acute economic restructuring problems have been recognized as simultaneous tasks to be addressed in the process of development. The European Community and its member States welcome the growing consensus on the need for full respect for universally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms and for the establishment of a democratic, pluralist society and of Governments which are responsive to the wishes and needs of their peoples. They hope that the OAU will continue to contribute to this process by inspiring its members in this direction. They reaffirm their commitment to assisting African countries in this process.

Africa is a continent of vast potential, but, sadly, it still faces a critical economic situation. Poverty has been aggravated by natural disasters, such as the severe drought affecting the southern African region in particular, which have added to the suffering of countries already devastated by such man-made crises such as civil wars and internal strife. We have all been horrified by the tragedy of Somalia, which resulted from the civil war and which requires the most committed response on the part of the international community. The European Community and its member States are deeply committed to the relief of famine in Somalia. They will continue to

contribute substantially to short-term relief efforts for the afflicted population and to meeting Somalia's long-term development needs. They will, of course, contribute in the same way in other countries in Africa. They recall the strong links that exist through the Lomé Convention and the New Mediterranean Policy with member States of the OAU. In this connection particular attention must be paid to the needs of the least developed countries in Africa, many of which still have substantial debt burdens. The European Community and its member States intend to cooperate with all relevant organizations in order to promote the economic growth and development of the continent. To this end they attach particular importance to cooperation with the OAU. They note that the New Agenda for Africa, adopted at the forty-sixth session of the General Assambly, provides a useful framework for the necessary efforts of both the Africa; countries themselves and the international community to stimulate long-term development.

The alleviation of poverty will be hard to achieve unless progress in reducing population growth accelerates. The European Community and its member States therefore strongly commend the Secretary-General of the OAU for having drawn attention to the difficulties of producing food for up to an additional 20 million people annually in Africa, of creating the additional jobs they will require, of providing education for 97 million more students by the year 2000 and of greatly expanding urban infrastructure and services. This is an area where the United Nations has done much good work, but there is still much more to do in cooperation with regional organizations such as the OAU.

The European Community and its member States believe that the OAU will continue to play an important role in African and world affairs in harmony with the guiding principle; of the United Nations Charter and in cooperation

with the United Nations. They are equally convinced that the strong bonds of friendship and cooperation which unite the members of the OAU and the member States of the European Community will continue to intensify in all their various aspects over the years to come.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 2011 (XX) of 11 October 1965, I now call on the Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity.

Mr. SY (Organization of African Unity (OAU)) (interpretation from French): The end of the cold war has provided the United Nations with new opportunities to fulfil its tasks and to promote international peace and security, prosperity for all and universal respect for human rights.

Today more than ever before, the participation of all is needed for the attainment of these goals. The democratic trend that is now profoundly altering all societies must find expression through an increased democratization in international relations.

The United Nations can be of great help in this process, particularly by setting up mechanisms and procedures to strengthen cooperation with regional organizations.

Where the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is concerned, the cooperative relations it enjoys with the United Nations have improved over the years. However, given the risks of marginalization the continent is facing, those relations must now be adapted and strengthened.

The earliest relations of cooperation between the OAU and the United Nations relate to decolonization. They were of great help in enabling the Organization to realize one of its principal goals, namely, the elimination of colonialism in Africa. To ay, the only case still open is that of Western

Sahara. The OAU is cooperating with the United Nations in organizing and supervising a referendum on self-determination for the people of Western Sahara within the framework of the settlement plan adopted by the Security Council in resolutions 658 (1990) and 690 (1991).

As for the anti-apartheid struggle, our two organizations have been cooperating for many years to sensitize the international community to the situation in South Africa, to keep up pressure on the Pretoria authorities with a view, <u>inter alia</u>, to implementing the 1990 Declaration, and to provide assistance to the apartheid victims.

However, the positive developments in the last two years, as well as the ongoing process of negotiations, are now threatened by the violence in South Africa. The OAU, which is extremely concerned about this situation, sent a follow-up mission to South Africa in May 1992 as a concrete contribution to the negotiation process and to the efforts to put an end to the violence.

In this respect, the OAU is also pleased with the Security Council's decision to authorize the Secretary-General to deploy observers in South Africa, and, taking into account the escalation of the violence, appeals to the Security Council to strengthen the role of the observers, including considering the deployment of peace-keeping forces in the future.

As for the OAU, which in September 1992 sent a second mission of inquiry to South Africa for three weeks, it will also deploy observers in South Africa, who, while maintaining their independence, will cooperate with the United Nations observers and with those of other organizations already in South Africa. Finally, the OAU's Secretary-General recently appointed a Special Representative on South Africa to keep the matter under review.

Another sphere in which the OAU expects increased cooperation with the United Nations is in the peaceful settlement of conflicts in Africa.

Indeed, our organization is very much concerned about the number of conflicts in Africa and the heavy loss of life and destruction of resources they bring about. Their perpetuation is a serious obstacle to the economic recovery and development of the continent and a source of the rising number of

refugees. In 1990 the Heads of State or Government of the OAU in a solemn Declaration reaffirmed their determination to work together for the speedy settlement of all conflicts on the continent.

At their last Summit Meeting, held at Dakar, in June and July 1992, they decided to set up a mechanism for the prevention, management and settlement of conflicts in Africa. For this mechanism to become fully operational will certainly require the cooperation and assistance of the United Nations.

That is why we welcome the Secretary-General's important report, entitled "An Agenda for Peace", which contains significant and useful proposals on preventive diplomacy and on the restoration, maintenance and consolidation of peace.

Similarly, it gives an important role to cooperation with regional arrangements or agencies. We congratulate the Secretary-General for this initiative, for my delegation believes that the means offered in this sphere by Chapter VIII of the Charter have not been fully used, and this has sometimes led to delaying the settlement of certain disputes.

Indeed, increased cooperation and constant consultations between the United Nations and the regional organizations in keeping with appropriate mechanisms and procedures can but contribute to the democratization of international relations and promote the emergence of an international consensus on the nature of a problem and the measures to be taken for its settlement.

It must, however, remain clear that the United Nations bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of regional peace and that the action of regional organizations can only be supplemental and not a substitute. In no case can the United Nations avoid its responsibility when a regional

organization, after having sought to find a peaceful solution to a dispute, in accordance with Article 52 (2), requests the United Nations to be seized of the matter.

The United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, must of course encourage the democratization of international relations and decentralization, but it must also first strive to take up all conflicts with the same degree of urgency. A situation such as the one in Somalia, where the reaction of the Security Council was somewhat tardy, should never again be repeated.

"An Agenda for Peace" opens up new possibilities for cooperation, better coordination and the setting up of more effective procedures and mechanisms between the United Nations and the regional organizations.

Thus, as regards preventive diplomacy, the regional organizations, because of their proximity and sensitivity to developments in their regions, are well placed to play an important role in providing early warning. In order to strengthen their ability in this area, it is therefore useful that they be linked by appropriate arrangements to the United Nations early warning network.

In the field of the restoration of peace, the United Nations has been involved in many efforts to find peaceful solutions to conflicts on the continent. It is a field in which Africans, bearing in mind the political realities and cultural characteristics, have been able to develop procedures and mechanisms which have helped to contain and settle many conflicts.

Recently the OAU was involved, in cooperation with the United Nations, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, in efforts to halt hostilities in Mogadishu, Somalia. This undertaking, the first of its kind, made it possible to bring the belligerents to sign a

cease-fire agreement, and it is still in force. This success should encourage future initiatives. However, as was emphasized in "An Agenda for Peace", the restoration of peace is sometimes made easier by international action designed to improve the situation that gave rise to the dispute or conflict in the first place. Bearing in mind the modest means of the regional organizations, the United Nations could envisage providing support of the kind just mentioned to a regional organization engaged in efforts to restore peace.

As regards the maintenance of peace, the provisions of Chapter VIII, in particular Articles 52 (3) and 53 (1), should be made use of more fully. In any case, it is desirable that the United Nations assist the regional organizations which so desire it to increase their ability to participate in or carry out peace-keeping operations. This support should not only be political but also technical and financial. In any event, one should not let a subregional organization, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), bear the entire burden of a peace-keeping operation when the United Nations is very much concerned. The United Nations should encourage such initiatives and provide every support necessary to strengthen their effectiveness.

The notion of peace-building, is one of the most useful contributions of "An Agenda for Peace". Disarming the combatants, repatriating refugees, monitoring elections and rebuilding infrastructures and institutions all are necessary activities for the durability of peace agreements. Here again, cooperation with the regional organizations is desirable, because this is a case of long-term action requiring a presence for a long period of time that can perhaps only be ensured by a regional organization.

I wished to make certain preliminary observations with regard to some fields where cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU in the settlement of disputes could be envisaged. But the OAU, once it has set up its own mechanism for the prevention, management and settlement of conflicts, will not fail to submit its more detailed proposals to the United Nations.

Several African countries, as well as others throughout the world, have committed themselves to a process of democratic transition in keeping with the 1990 Declaration on the political and economic situation in Africa and the fundamental changes in the world. This process is designed to promote the participation of peoples in the process of development and management of their countries and to establish a political climate that guarantees human rights and a higher level of integrity and probity among State agents.

Since then, a certain number of changes in the political structures of several African States have taken place and elections have been organized also in several countries.

Nevertheless, the problem of democratization in Africa is very complex. It requires institutional changes, as well as changes in the political culture—all of which needs time. The OAU believes that in the interest of Africa this process should be carried out in a calm and orderly manner. Hence it is actively participating in the process by giving unstinting advice to leaders, offering its good offices in cases of deadlocks and participating as observer in elections. We intend to develop our cooperation with the United Nations and other donors in the field of electoral assistance in order to strengthen the credibility and stability of the electoral process in Africa.

The economic situation in Africa remains critical. In spite of the reforms that have been undertaken, with enormous difficulties, in the African countries, the indicators are not all satisfactory. That is why, after the meagre results of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990, it seems important to my delegation that urgent measures be taken to implement the provisions of the New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. For example, paragraph 29 of the New Agenda states that, to achieve an average annual growth rate of real gross national product of at least 6 per cent by African countries over the course of the 1990s, the United Nations has estimated that a minimum of 30 billion dollars in net official development assistance is required in 1992, after which the real net official development assistance would need to grow at an average rate of 4 per cent per annum. It would be useful in the follow-up to the New Agenda for information to be provided on the measures taken to achieve this objective.

Similarly, the African countries believe that the Programme's success will greatly depend on the settlement of the debt problem. My delegation appeals for a peaceful solution to this question to be found. It is important that the structure charged with following up this question at the level of the United Nations Secretariat be strengthened and adequately equipped to perform its tasks of promotion, coordination and information. Similarly, informal intergovernmental consultation machinery could facilitate the exchange of information between the United Nations, the OAU, the African countries and the donor countries.

As for the African economic community, it reflects the determination of the African countries to give priority to cooperation and economic integration

in the 1990s. The process of drafting the protocols is moving ahead in a satisfactory manner. It would be desirable for institutions of the United Nations system to direct their efforts to ensure cooperation with the African countries towards giving increased support to the achievement of an African economic community. In that respect, my delegation is pleased that several specialized agencies have signed agreements of cooperation with the OAU for this purpose.

In the social field, the OAU, in cooperation with the United Nations Children's Fund, is convening the International Conference on Assistance to African Children in Dakar from 25 to 27 November 1992. This Conference is part of the framework of the follow-up to the World Summit for Children and will be an opportunity for dialogue between African countries and donors with a view to mobilizing resources for African children. From this rostrum, I invite all Member States to participate at a high level in this Conference, the importance of which to the future of children in Africa and to the development of the continent I hardly need emphasize.

In conclusion, cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU has made consistent progress over the past few years, particularly since the reactivation of the consultation mechanism. This mechanism can certainly be improved and cannot fail to benefit from the current debate on cooperation between the United Nations and the regional organizations. Finally, I should like to invite all the members of the Assembly to support the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.14 and to adopt it by consensus.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item.

(The President)

I should like to inform members that, as requested by the sponsors, action on draft resolution A/47/L.14 is postponed to a date to be announced in the Journal.

AGENDA ITEM 38

OUESTION OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform representatives that, following consultations regarding agenda item 38 on the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), and taking into account General Assembly decision 46/406 of 13 November 1991, it is proposed that the General Assembly decide to postpone consideration of this item and to include it in the provisional agenda of its forty-eighth session.

May I take it, therefore, that the Assembly, taking into account its decision 46/406, wishes to defer consideration of this item and to include it in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 38.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.