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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 30 May 1986 at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIES (Spain)

- Consideration of the critical economic situation in Africa to focus, in a comprehensive and integrated manner, on the rehabilitation and medium-term and long-term development problems and challenges facing African countries with a view to promoting and adopting action-oriented and concerted measures [6] (continued)
- Credentials of representatives to the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly: report of the Credentials Committee [3] (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 6 (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF THE CRITICAL ECONOMIC SITUATION IN AFRICA TO FOCUS, IN A COMPREHENSIVE AND INTEGRATED MANNER, ON THE REHABILITATION AND MEDIUM-TERM AND LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES FACING AFRICAN COUNTRIES WITH A VIEW TO PROMOTING AND ADOPTING ACTION-ORIENTED AND CONCERTED MEASURES

Mr. SAMUDIO (Panama) (interpretation from Spanish): Allow me first to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly. The fact that you, Mr. President, a son of the homeland Spain, the country of ancient Europe which bequeathed to us its language, race, culture, religion and proud bearing, have been unanimously elected to guide the debate on the critical economic situation in Africa is a clear demonstration of the high level of international relations achieved in this contemporary world, in which countries of the old and new worlds alike can join together in a single cause: the well-being of all countries without distinction.

To the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, we express our appreciation for his submission of the document which is the basis of this special session, in which he has set out the work done by the organizations of the United Nations system and by the Secretariat under his guidance.

Our delegation, which has followed with special attention the statements of the various delegations that have preceded it, expresses its unreserved and complete support of the statement made by Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of Senegal and Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as we consider it to have been enlightening, profound and sincere. He brought to the general debate a feeling of confidence that the proposed goals could be achieved, stressing the positive aspects of the problems involved without falling into a simple rhetorical presentation of traditional or historic positions, which might have negatively affected the atmosphere necessary for the attainment of agreement.

(Mr. Samudio, Panama)

We share his vision, which made it possible to begin the debate with open minds and not to lose sight of the goal to be achieved - the prompt and total recovery of the African continent, avoiding if possible ideological confrontations that could only stress differences and prevent the progress that is necessary for us to commence implementation of the plan of action.

This unprecedented session, this week of Africa in the United Nations, began with vivid expressions by representatives of the peoples of Africa whose artists, poets, singers and musicians, presented in dance and song and the rhythm and language of their peoples the simple aspirations of those peoples, who want only to live in peace and freedom, with security for their families and a future for their children and nations.

In spite of the presentation of a traditional dance devoted to a good harvest, the songs of the lovely South African singer Letta Mbubu and the poems of Duma Nolovu, we could not fail to see the present reality experienced by those peoples - their pain and resentment at the subjugation imposed on them and on the black majority by the racism created by the infamous policy of apartheid and the criminal repression of which they are the victims.

The artistic expressions that we heard here - the music, the dance and the poetry that gave life to this Hall last Monday - were a powerful demonstration of a lofty culture which has not been able to flourish without fear thus far, since it has been repressed, punished and accused of being primitive by those who have not understood it and have wanted to destroy it.

If today, as we meet to study the African economic crisis, we are to understand the real origins of the problems of those peoples, all we need do is consider what has happened to their culture and the plunder and ignorance

(Mr. Samudio, Panama)

involved. Then we shall understand their expressions and, without need for further quest, know the real answer. We should also be able to know that answer if we studied the origins of the problems now afflicting the different fields of human activity in Africa - agriculture, housing construction, education, trade, and various social activities. We should then know about the attempts that have been made to eliminate their customs and traditions because they were not considered to be in keeping with Western culture or technology. Those who supposedly were bringing civilization did not take the trouble to study those peoples and the history of those civilizations, some of which existed before European civilization itself.

The contributions made by the world of music and through popular artistic expression are innumerable. The "Live Aid" concert alone managed to obtain \$100 million in donations for the victims of drought in Africa, especially in Ethiopia.

Through the advance of communications technology, by satellite it was possible for a musical programme to have an audience of over 1.5 billion persons around the world who saw and contributed and identified with the appeal of those young people to help meet the immediate needs of the victims of the greatest natural disaster recorded by mankind.

A subsequent programme produced in the United States obtained donations of over \$5 million, and that continued the spirit of world-wide participation; last week 30 million runners around the world participated in a programme of aid for Africa - a programme which received United Nations support.

Those programmes were possible only because of technological advances in television, the medium that transmitted live images directly to hundreds of millions of homes around the world, thus raising the general awareness of the crisis in Africa and the need to support the appeal for help.

(Mr. Samudio, Panama)

Those recent gigantic programmes have awakened the world's conscience to the need for help with the problems of drought, desertification, refugee camps, and the dangerous malnutrition of children. Images transmitted by television in living colour immediately awakened the humanitarian spirit that results in donations such as the millions already received.

None the less, we must be careful since those images could give an erroneous idea of the African reality, and convey the impression of an entire continent that is hungry and unable to feed itself. Television is a marvellous means of communication but, since it is a medium that transmits images, in the case of Africa there is a risk that only the image of malnourished, sick children will remain in the memory of peoples and that a distorted idea of reality will linger: the idea that only primitive persons are involved, that they cannot help themselves but must depend on the charity and generosity of the entire world for their survival.

The problems of Africa are more profound than those images can convey; it is impossible to find simplistic solutions to serious problems.

(Mr. Samudio, Panama)

Although Africa is the cradle of mankind, according to anthropological theory, and its history dates back thousands of years before Christ, it is also a young continent composed of countries of age-old traditions and cultures that have just attained their independence and entered the community of free and sovereign nations less than 25 years ago.

How can we hold the countries of Africa responsible for their misfortunes when it was only in the 1960s, through the resolute action of the United Nations and its Committee on decolonization, that they were able to achieve their independence and set aside their colonial past, which was hampering their potential?

There is no better proof of this irrefutable affirmation than the list of signatories to the Charter of the United Nations, whose fortieth anniversary is being celebrated this year. It contains the names of only two sub-Saharan countries, Liberia and Ethiopia, excluding, of course, the Republic of South Africa and its minority government.

Today 50 African countries are represented in the United Nations - a clear demonstration of their peoples' will for freedom. Only Namibia remains to free itself of illegal occupation and enter the community of nations, master of its own destiny, to the joy of all those of us who support its independence.

These past 25 years have been difficult for those countries, some of which obtained their freedom after long years of liberation struggle and enormous sacrifices by their populations. But they soon became aware that their dependence on exports of raw materials was not a sufficient economic basis to sustain their economies and make the needed investments to rescue their peoples from the poverty and the under-development they faced at the time of their independence.

While many mistakes have been made, they are recognized in the official document submitted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to this special session for its consideration.

(Mr. Samudio, Panama)

Those 25 years of struggle for the survival of their peoples - their achievements and failures, the actions taken to overcome under-development, the construction of the necessary infrastructure, both material and human - have been included in the sincere and open presentation contained in Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery, where it is recognized that, in spite of the time that has elapsed, the foundations of the old inherited economic structures have not changed and that only a change in direction and policy can guarantee the beginning of recovery.

The significance of the OAU document is that, before requesting resources and international support for the recovery programme, the countries concerned pledge with their own resources to finance a large part of the total cost.

But in order to be able to generate those resources to finance their national programmes, it is necessary for their economies to be in the process of recovery. This can be achieved only if the enormous resources allocated in their budgets for debt-servicing can instead be invested in building the new economic infrastructures necessary in the medium and short term. These concessions on the part of the donor countries would form the foundations of a "new relationship" between the countries of Africa and the international community. In turn the African countries would be committing themselves to investing 45 per cent of the total Programme in agriculture, offering appropriate incentives to encourage production and improve and liberalize the framework in which private initiative can act.

Our delegation was pleased to hear statements by donor countries in this direction, such as that made by the representative of Canada, which is offering a 15-year moratorium for development loans to the sub-Saharan countries, representing assistance in paying the debt amounting to \$US 250 million, and that made by the representative of the Netherlands expressing his Government's decision to cancel

(Mr. Samudio, Panama)

interest and principal payments on loans for development, a savings of \$US 80 million, and inviting other donor countries to take similar actions.

These statements we have noted among the many other suggestions made by the participating delegations are commendable, but it is possible to resolve the problem of Africa only if these actions are undertaken jointly and receive the support of all donor countries.

The countries of Latin America also want to make their contribution, in addition to their support for the various United Nations programmes on the African continent.

We must broaden South-South co-operation, where our countries can contribute with the experience they have acquired in the solution of similar problems. Many of these problems have been resolved by means of simple, uncomplicated methodologies, with the use of local materials and technology, customs and traditions of the people, such as projects based on human resources for financial support, precious experience that having been given material value can make a significant economic contribution to African recovery.

Our delegation has in the Latin American Group put forward the idea of holding a meeting jointly with the African Group in which it would be possible to submit some concrete ideas in connection with that non-traditional type of aid. This would make it possible for some countries, like Panama, to make contributions, such as scholarships and technical assistance in the field of development, exchanges of experts, students and university professors. Our not being able to make significant financial contributions does not mean that we are not participating together with all other nations to the recovery of our brother peoples in Africa.

Latin America has always been convinced that the African peoples' freedom was the best contribution the United Nations could make towards world peace; hence it

(Mr. Samudio, Panama)

has always acted firmly towards achieving that end ever since the inception of this Organization 40 years ago.

Latin America gave its total and resolute support to the African countries' yearnings for freedom and independence and welcomed the emergence of the African continent and its peoples in the United Nations.

Today, at this significant time in its history, Africa has by its side the Latin American countries which, like the African countries, fought for their freedom at a time in their own historic past and are today also struggling to obtain their economic freedom for the benefit of their peoples and the pride of their nations.

Mr. HUPPER ARGUELLO (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Nicaragua wishes to congratulate you, Sir, on your having been entrusted with the great task of presiding over this special session on the critical economic situation in Africa. We are sure that your experience and diplomatic skills will help guide us to achieve our goals.

Just a few months after the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we are meeting here in this historic special session to analyse the critical economic situation in Africa.

The United Nations, which played a very important role in helping the African peoples to achieve their political independence, now must face a greater challenge, that of helping the African peoples to do away with the existing neo-colonial structures and achieve the support of the international community on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States without discrimination or conditions of any sort.

(Mr. Hupper Arguello, Nicaragua)

We are meeting in this forum as a political response to the appeal made by the General Assembly in resolution 40/40 on the critical economic situation in Africa. But, above all, we are meeting in order to come up with a different response to the critical economic situation in Africa. I say "a different response" because there is a real need for a coherent, suitable and concrete response properly geared to the needs that have been clearly stated by Africa.

We observe with deep concern that the underlying causes of the critical situation of the African countries remain in being and that today more than ever before their solution requires the concerted action of the international community.

The adverse effects of the present international economic situation - the deterioration in the terms of trade, the sharp drop in prices of export commodities, the implementation of protectionist policies by the developed countries, the growing trend towards the net transfer of financial resources to the developed countries, and the heavy, indeed crushing, burden of external debt - are all factors that play a decisive part in causing the problems of international economic development.

Africa is confronting a very broad range of problems that demand our attention. Drought, desertification and the subsequent food shortages are the principal elements aggravating the effects of the economic crisis. As a result of all this, the African continent is a mosaic of peoples and nations which at the present time are obliged to come to grips with hunger, destitution and anguish. The situation experienced by the African peoples is a clear example of the international economic reality which is characterized today by injustice and inequity in the existing relations between the developed and the developing countries. Latin America is also a victim of these unjust relationships and fully understands the problems and proposed solutions set forth by the African countries.

(Mr. Hupper Arguello, Nicaragua)

Nicaragua firmly believes that world peace and security are indissolubly linked to the eradication of poverty, hunger and the unjust economic relations that exist at the present time. This affirmation obliges us to acknowledge that the problem we are now considering inherently involves the need for new historic relations as well as for effective implementation of the new international economic order. The history of the African nations is similar to that of many of our countries, marked as it is by colonial exploitation.

A substantive solution requires the decisive and responsible support of the international community as a whole. In the General Assembly we have read and heard about the unswerving determination of the African peoples and Governments to achieve a substantive solution to the present situation. Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery 1986-1990 reflects, in the most concrete form, the firm will of the African countries to break out of this acute, critical economic situation confronting their continent.

We acknowledge the determination and fortitude shown by the African countries, in the midst of such difficulties, in their present desire to take a unified, unitary approach imbued with African solidarity and a sense of the dominant realities of the region; an approach envisaging concrete methods and solutions that would result in the approval of Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery 1986-1990. Hence, it is vital for the international community to give its full support to the national efforts and the regional tasks identified in that document.

The United Nations has been playing a very important role in the implementation of concrete machinery that has helped to relieve, in part, the difficult situation in Africa. Nicaragua acknowledges and welcomes those efforts and the efforts of all the financial institutions and governmental and non-governmental agencies involved in this task. None the less, this special

(Mr. Hupper Arguello, Nicaragua)

session clearly demonstrates the need for an extraordinary shared effort that will pull together in an integrated approach the programme policies to be followed over the next few years. What is needed is broad and sustained measures of support for the efforts that Africa is now making and will make in the medium and long term, through clear and concrete commitments by the international community.

The situation in southern Africa demands particular attention since it must be overcome if the countries of that region are to be able to press ahead with their process of transformation of their political, economic and social structures in order to eliminate the historical inequalities prevailing in the region.

Certain States that advocate concrete solutions to the critical economic situation in Africa must now more than ever before put an end to the so-called policy of constructive engagement, designed to perpetuate Pretoria's racist régime. They must abandon the use of destabilizing, terrorist policies which finance mercenary forces and provide them with sophisticated armaments in order to destabilize and overthrow the legitimate Governments of the front-line States. All of this limits the economic growth of those countries and violates the principles of international law.

The Pretoria racist régime's aggressive policies and constant destabilization directed against some front-line States have forced those countries to devote a large share of their budgets to defence, thus undermining their development programmes.

Nicaragua is a victim of the same kind of policies. Nicaragua has also felt the economic and social effects of foreign aggression and is well aware of the high price that has to be paid to defend freedom, sovereignty and independence. That is why we believe that peace is the basic condition for development and progress.

(Mr. Hupper Arguello, Nicaragua)

In conclusion, we express our solidarity with the African peoples and our hope that the international community will respond maturely and pragmatically to their difficult political, economic and social situation, guided by the continent's collective efforts towards unity, since the African countries themselves can best show the way forward and contribute to the search for the appropriate solutions required by what is happening in Africa, in order to preserve international peace and security.

Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The General Assembly is meeting at its thirteenth special session, after many months of painstaking preparations, to provide a high-level, serious forum to consider the critical economic situation in Africa and adopt concrete measures to achieve a comprehensive solution to the problems that have led to that situation.

While Africa and all who warmly sympathize with it were preparing for this special session, some others in the imperialist camp were not only washing their hands of all blame, but were also arrogant enough to prescribe simplistic, erroneous and deeply-rooted ideological approaches to solving the problems. They claim that policy mistakes at the national levels were mainly responsible for the present appalling conditions. Emphasis on the public sector, they say, shackled the private sector and prevented the free and unhindered interaction of market forces. They allege that mistaken priorities led to a substantial waste of the available resources, and that mismanagement and corruption were the main drains on the potential for development.

Given the opportunity, imperialist circles would undoubtedly go so far as to blame the African countries themselves for having caused the continent's present economic difficulties by, inter alia, opting for independence, adopting a socio-economic system of their own choice, or allowing high birth rates and preventing high mortality. That is indeed absurd.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

No amount of orchestrated effort by imperialism could distort some well-established historic facts that lie at the root of the miseries stifling Africa today. It cannot seriously be disputed that most of what are now accepted as barriers to well-paced development in Africa were inherited from the colonial era. The infrastructure left behind by the ex-colonial Powers was such that they could use it as a means of continuing the extremely unjust and exploitative economic intercourse between the markets of the newly liberated countries and those of the so-called metropolitan Powers.

Having robbed their colonies of the readily available human and material riches, the colonialist Powers left behind a shameful legacy of a completely shattered traditional economy, under-development and total economic dependence. As colonialism walked out of the door, neo-colonialism came in through the window. Banking on the destitution and misery of the newly independent countries, neo-colonialism managed to strengthen the bonds of dependence that tied their national economies to the markets of the ex-colonial Powers.

Brutal exploitation thus continued, while the efforts of the young African countries to complement their political freedom with economic independence were seriously hampered by a lack of qualified national cadres, a diversified economy, sufficient financial resources and advanced technology and know-how. Capitalist transnational corporations gained tight control over the most important spheres of their economies. According to carefully gathered statistics, those capitalist monopolies have made a 350 per cent profit from their overall investment in Africa. That figure, which means an outflow of more than \$10 billion annually, is higher than the average for all other developing countries taken together. The outflow of financial resources from Africa in the 1970s was more than 80 per cent higher than the inflow of those resources. Between 1980 and 1983 that trend drastically worsened, resulting in an outflow four times greater than the inflow.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

The enormity of such exploitation would be seen to be much greater if we were to add to it the policy sacrifices that were made because of the lack of interest by transnational corporations in certain other fields of fundamental importance to the national economies of the developing African countries.

The extended overall crisis in the world capitalist system, the virtual collapse of the export commodity prices of the developing countries, the unfavourable and adverse terms of trade, the continuing decline in real terms in official development assistance, the increased barriers put up through protectionism, excessively high interest rates and sharp currency fluctuations and the increasingly heavy burden of debt and debt-servicing have further aggravated the crisis in the African economy.

To these underlying causes should be added the imperialist policy of interference, militarism and aggression. The use of economic assistance as a means of political pressure, economic blockades, the instigation of political and economic instability, military intimidation, including the use of mercenary bands, the provocation of bilateral, subregional and regional hostilities and armed conflicts and outright aggression by imperialism - primarily United States imperialism - have compelled Africa unwillingly to engage in an arms race that has squandered a significant portion of its scarce resources and greatly reduced its potential for socio-economic development.

It is therefore to falsify the facts to put the blame for the present critical economic conditions in the African countries squarely on the shoulders of their national Governments. There is no doubt that the developed capitalist countries have a direct responsibility for the factors that have plunged Africa into hunger, disease, poverty, illiteracy and under-development. It is, therefore, the responsibility of those capitalist countries to help undo what they have themselves done in Africa.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan appreciates the well-considered approach adopted in July 1985 in Addis Ababa by the Assembly of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at its Twenty-first Ordinary Session. Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery 1986-1990, which has made a sober analysis of the causes underlying the present situation, proposes a balanced and comprehensive medium and long-term strategy for overcoming the fundamental problems. We fully support the demands of the African countries which are, in our opinion, modest and realistic. We wish, however, to point out that problems of such gravity and magnitude should be tackled in a global manner through identification and the complete eradication of the main causes behind them. The establishment of a new international economic order is, in our view, the most comprehensive, appropriate and lasting response to Africa's economic crisis and, indeed, to that of the rest of the world.

We also believe that it is immoral, and indeed criminal, to spend almost a trillion dollars annually on the production of the most sophisticated means of war and destruction, while millions of human beings die or are exposed to the threat of death due to lack of food, shelter and medicine. The adoption of concrete measures for stopping the arms race on earth and preventing it in space and for general and complete disarmament will release more than the required funds necessary for accelerating the economic development of all developing countries, including, of course, African countries. In this connection, we strongly condemn the decision of the United States not to participate in the Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.

In compliance with the obligations deriving from the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the international community in general, and the developed capitalist countries in particular, are expected to contribute to the genuine efforts of the African countries to achieve

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

their objectives. Such a contribution should be considered as a moral responsibility, the fulfilment of which should not be related to any conditions whatsoever. In the exercise of their sovereign rights the African nations are and must remain the sole authority to decide on their own political and socio-economic systems. Their need for international assistance must not be allowed to be used as a means of dictating to them an alien pattern of development.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on whom I call in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and the decision adopted by the Assembly at its first plenary meeting of this session.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)): It is an honour for me, on behalf of the Palestinian people and their representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, to participate in the current deliberations of the special session on the critical economic situation in Africa. Sir, we are confident that under your presidency and wise guidance this session will achieve its purpose.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, brother Yasser Arafat, wishes to convey his respects and gratitude to the Assembly and, in particular, to His Excellency President Abdou Diouf, who favoured us with a most illuminating analysis of the current critical economic situation in Africa. As members know, Chairman Arafat recently visited a number of friendly States in Africa, accompanied by his adviser on economic matters, with a view to furthering our co-operation in the field of economic development in Africa.

At the turn of the century, history books tell us, European colonial Powers sent missions, garbed in priesthood, followed by others, garbed in military uniforms, to the "dark continent of Africa". Stanley and Livingstone, as well as Cecil Rhodes, were among the better known leaders of such missions. Africa was

(Mr. Terzi, PLO)

the bread-basket. Colonial Powers confronted one another but, like the guards who shared the "cloth" of the crucified Christ, those Powers parcelled out the continent into zones of interest. For decades they sucked the natural and human resources of the continent of Africa. It was a feast for them: African gems, African ivory, African food and, more significantly, African cannon fodder for their armies. We all remember the foreign legionnaires of the French armies, and I personally remember the Basuto units that were deployed by the British Mandate in Palestine against our people in our uprising against that Mandate.

However, the awakening of the African peoples resulted in the inevitable historic event of the achievement of political independence. Our brothers in the so-called dark continent realized that the colonialists had already pillaged the natural resources to the extent of near depletion. The colonialists had not helped in the development of the human resources and thus there was an absence of adequate cadres to take over and assume the responsibilities of the new politically independent countries. Very often such cadres are sucked away from their homes in the operation commonly known as the "brain-drain". Thus, the struggle for independence and freedom was aggravated by the need to achieve economic liberation. Loans, apparently innocent, were granted and so-called help was offered by Governments and transnational corporations. The newly independent countries awakened to realize that they were in a much more tragic situation than ever before. The Assembly has been informed by a number of speakers that the situation now is worse and more tragic than it was 20 years ago, particularly south of the Sahara. One is led to believe that independence was self-defeating and counter-productive. Debts were mounting and the servicing of those debts became the issue to the extent that those debtor States had to appeal for more loans to pay part of the accruing interest, and the issue then became "rescheduling".

(Mr. Terzi, PLO)

On the other hand, acts of aggression, particularly against countries that adopted progressive socio-economic structure and planning, forced those States to allocate a large portion of their national budgets to the purchase of arms in order to defend their countries, at the cost of diverting attention from and forgoing economic development: the issue became self-defence. The acts of aggression by the United States against Libya and the act of aggression against Tunisia - a joint venture by Israel and the United States - are some examples.

The colonial base in South Africa became a vestige of racist ideology and practices in addition to being a springboard for acts of aggression against the front-line States. South Africa continues its brutal suppression of the aspiration of the people of South Africa to be seen as human and that of the people of Namibia to be independent politically and economically. But clearly, the uranium and other such valuable natural resources have not as yet been totally depleted. The racist apartheid régime maintains a firm grip on the area. It also provides a testing ground for South Africa's joint adventures in the nuclear field with the other racist régime, that of the Zionists in occupied Palestine. The issue for the peoples of Africa has thus regressed to survival, not development.

We cannot deny that Mother Nature is sometimes cruel. The drought has had a devastating effect. Sadly, our afflicted brothers have had to extend their hand, asking for some immediate help: a few loaves of bread, a number of tents, some blankets, immediate medical care. Some donors did not let their left hand know what their right hand was donating; they honoured their duty and adhered to moral values. Others capitalized on what they claimed they had donated and attempted to gain political dividends. Yet others responded to some inherent ideology and saw an opportunity to kindle the hateful fires of racial discrimination; they extended help especially and specifically to those of their own race, further proof of their nature of their ideology, which aims at dehumanizing the "others". We admire and

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appreciate the fact that the peoples - as distinct from the Governments - of many countries donated with no big fuss or any expectation of receiving recognition or rewards.

This is probably the first time the General Assembly has been convened to consider one of the four purposes of the United Nations, as set out in Article I of the Charter:

"To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

We wish at this point to thank the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for having taken the initiative of addressing the economic crisis in the developing countries.

What the continent of Africa needs - and immediately - is the following: peace and non-intervention. The OAU has presented its proposals in the form of Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery. We must recognize that the Africans know better, and we must respect their wishes and respond to their calls and aspirations. Their analysis and diagnosis of the critical situation in Africa and their prescription for remedies provide the international community with insights and assign responsibilities. But a prerequisite is peace and the total elimination of the threat or use of force against Africa and the African States. Each State in Africa knows best what it needs.

This historic march of development in other countries - countries that have become super-industrialized - must be taken into consideration, but cannot and should not become the pattern imposed. We are here to share and benefit from the experiences and efforts of one another, and not merely to emulate. The tractor and the use of mechanized tools and modern technology in agriculture and other fields

(Mr. Terzi, PLO)

are already there; the developing countries should be enabled to use those tools effectively, the industrialized countries making them accessible but not using them as shackles or strings attached, or as exploitative and lucrative investments. The industrialized countries should not offer such help through third parties with the intention of furthering and promoting the interests and expansionist aims of such third parties - as is the case with the so-called Israeli help to some countries in Africa, which is based on United States funding of Israel.

The United States would be more sincere to participate directly and not through channels in technical and other forms of aid to developing countries, particularly in Africa. Israel receives \$4 billion from the United States, and I wonder how much Africa would be receiving at the same per capita rate if the aid were sincere. But of course, Africa does not share in plans of aggression and expansion and military adventurism.

Much has been said about individual or private initiative, but at the same time the proponents of such ideas have also suggested that the Africans must decide on their own priorities. That is rather confusing, to say the least. It is in the nature of human individuality that people tend to make the most out of the least in the shortest possible time. But national priorities are within the purview of those who assume responsibilities of a national or even regional dimension; by necessity centralized planning and implementation are the individual or joint responsibility of Governments. That is all the more compelling in the case of developing countries. It is true that some mishandling and inadequate, or even corrupt, management or mismanagement can result in flaws. But I wonder if any developing or super-industrialized State can safely proclaim itself free of corruption. We watch television and read the press here: I need comment no further.

(Mr. Terzi, PLO)

What the Palestine Liberation Organization believes it can contribute within its limited resources is primarily the deployment of human resources. The Palestine Liberation Organization is in fact engaged currently in a number of joint ventures in a number of African States. We are proud that we have one of the highest percentages of university graduates and experts in the fields of agriculture, farming and husbandry, and developed cottage industries, as well as expertise in other fields. By providing such experts we are achieving the aim of helping, on a joint venture basis, in the developing countries and of learning at the same time about the distinct peculiarities and developments on the ground. As a result of the injustices and suffering that afflict our people, we are conscious of our duties towards our brethren. To express our solidarity we share our know-how and experience in the common struggle for liberation and independence, both political and economic.

Long before the Zionist invasion, Palestine was the land of milk and honey. The orange blossoms spread their fragrance for scores of miles. We Palestinians reclaimed our lands to meet our needs. I hate to say it, but the Jaffa orange is still the best; and Jaffa is a Palestinian city.

Palestinians co-operating in the fields of development do not advocate or encourage the excessive production of one particular element; we do not provide false hopes and fictitious futuristic studies and prospects, then, through a pre-planned glut, manipulating the collapse not only of hope but of economic development already in progress. The developing world does not need hands reaching out; it does not need Marshall Plans: it needs understanding and co-operation. It needs a fair and equitable price for the raw materials it produces. The developing countries need peace and security and an end to the use or threat of use of force, whether military or economic, including any form of State terrorism.

(Mr. Terzi, PLO)

Our appeal to the international community, particularly to the industrialized and developed countries, is to honour the purposes of this Organization and work together towards the achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic character.

Last Sunday marked two significant events: "The Race Against Time" and "Hands Across America". What we need is "Hands Across the Universe" - hands that extend in both directions, the vertical and the horizontal, North-South and, simultaneously, North-North and South-South.

Inflation and deflation, rates of interest and debts are but figures on paper that might delay and obstruct development; but the struggle of humanity for human relationships, understanding and co-operation will definitely be victorious.

AGENDA ITEM 3 (continued)

CREDENTIALS OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE THIRTEENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY: REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (A/S-13/12)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 20 of its report was adopted without a vote in the Committee.

May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (S-13/1).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak on this item.

Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): On behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and on behalf of the other delegations that have not recognized the existence of the so-called democratic coalition of Kampuchea, my delegation would like to express our reservations as to the decision adopted by the Credentials Committee.

(Mr. Vongsay, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

We recognize the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which, as everyone knows, is the legitimate representative of the suffering Kampuchean people, victim of the Pol Pot holocaust and massacre.

Mr. TEP (Democratic Kampuchea): Our Assembly has just listened to yet another effort by the representative of Laos, repeating the voice of its master, Viet Nam, to deceive world public opinion. It is known to all that this country continues its established practice of the "Big Lie", hoping that the more frequently an untruth is repeated, the greater the chance it will be accepted. My delegation cannot allow such lies to pass unchallenged.

The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea is taking part in the deliberations of the thirteenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, on the critical economic situation in Africa, in a spirit of solidarity and great hope, trying to do its utmost, through its modest means, to contribute to the well-being of the African peoples and Governments. Therefore, it is with great regret that my delegation is obliged to spend the precious time of this special session - which should be used to find ways and means for the benefit of Africa - to tell the truth about the situation in my country, Kampuchea.

The reservations expressed by some delegations once again demonstrate their ill will and remind our Assembly - indeed, I have to thank them for doing so - that Viet Nam is the aggressor, still occupying Kampuchea and causing tremendous suffering to the people of Kampuchea; and that the continued Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea is the root cause of the tension in the region of South-East Asia. These reservations also clearly reflect the persistence of the invader of my country in its policy of aggression against and expansion in Kampuchea, after Laos, and in South-East Asia.

(Mr. Tep, Democratic
Kampuchea)

The recent barbarous attacks carried out by the minority racist régime in Pretoria against the capitals of Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia remind one of the cruel onslaught by the Vietnamese aggressor against the defenceless people of Kampuchea along the Thai-Kampuchean border, and against the Thai people. I should like to inform the Assembly that just two days ago the Vietnamese aggressor pounded the refugee camp in Thailand, causing the deaths of several Kampucheans. There is no difference between the pretexts used by the Pretoria régime and those used by the Hanoi régime. In fact, Hanoi has legitimized Pretoria in its wanton attack against the front-line States in southern Africa.

However, in the case of South Africa, or Namibia or Kampuchea, we must heed the message of history: the aggressors are doomed to failure. The victory of the peoples in their struggle is now a certainty.

It is in this spirit, and in seeking to find a wise solution to the problem of Kampuchea, that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea put forward recently an eight-point peace proposal, contained in document A/41/225, which is comprehensive and reasonable and which has received world-wide support, except for having been flatly rejected by Viet Nam.

Those who follow the course of the Vietnamese expansionist policy are not surprised at this rejection. In fact, despite the protracted stalemate in the military field in Kampuchea in the face of the valiant struggle of the people of Kampuchea, and the Hanoi authorities' isolation in the international arena and their predicament in Viet Nam itself, these authorities will hardly renounce their well-established strategy of forming an Indo-China federation under Viet Nam domination.

(Mr. Tep, Democratic
Kampuchea)

To illustrate that, allow me to quote Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Communist Party of Viet Nam in 1951:

"We are soon going to realize the great union of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia."

More recently, in December 1984, General Le Duc Anh, Commander-in-Chief of the occupying armed forces in Kampuchea, wrote in the Vietnamese People's Army Magazine that:

"Indochina is a single battlefield. That is the strategic viewpoint, a major lesson and a long governing existence in the development of the three fraternal countries."

That is the reality; that is the fact; and that is the root cause of the problem of Kampuchea, and it cannot be denied by lies and tricks, however monstrous they may be.

Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) (interpretation from Chinese): I should like to state our position on the question of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea. Kampuchea is an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country, and has been a Member of the United Nations for a long time. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, with Prince Sihanouk as its President, is effectively leading the Kampuchean people in their struggle to defend the independence and sovereignty of their motherland. This Coalition Government is Kampuchea's legitimate régime, the genuine representative of the Kampuchean people.

The so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea, which was created by force by foreign aggressors, is an out-and-out agent of the foreign authorities and has no right to represent the Kampuchean people. The resolutions adopted at previous sessions of the General Assembly have also refused to recognize that puppet régime.

At the same time, the Chinese delegation would like to reiterate that the fact that the representatives of Afghanistan have been allowed to take part in the special session should not in any way be interpreted as acquiescing in the situation created by the foreign armed invasion and occupation of Afghanistan.

Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): A totally irrelevant remark has just been made by the representative of the People's Republic of China, which was in fact a reiteration of the comments they had made in the Credentials Committee in the course of the consideration of the credentials of members participating in this special session. The remarks of the representative of China, as reflected in paragraph 9 of the report of the Credentials Committee (A/S-13/12), as well as the remarks just made, are totally irrelevant and out of order.

We strongly object to those remarks, which have been both reflected in the report of the Credentials Committee and made in the Assembly. We reiterate our position which we have stated repeatedly in various forums, including in the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.