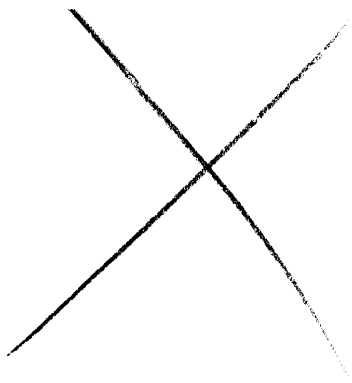


# **REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA**

**Paris, 20-27 May 1981**



**UNITED NATIONS**



# **REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA**

**Paris, 20-27 May 1981**



**UNITED NATIONS**  
**New York, 1981**

**NOTE**

**Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.**

**A/CONF.107/8**



## CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1 - 7	1
I. OPENING MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE . . . . .	8 - 83	2
A. Address by the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference and of the Special Committee against Apartheid, H.E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark . . . . .	14 - 19	2
B. Address by the Director-General of UNESCO, Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow . . . . .	20 - 22	3
C. Address by the Secretary-General of the International Conference, Mr. Issoufou S. Djermakoye . . . . .	23 - 24	4
D. Address by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), H.E. Mr. Edem Kodjo . . . . .	25 - 31	4
E. Address by the First Secretary of the Socialist Party of France, Mr. Lionel Jospin . . . . .	32 - 40	5
F. Address by a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Cuba, H.E. Mr. Jesus Montané Oropesa, representing the Chairman of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries . . . . .	41 - 48	6
G. Address by the President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Mr. Sam Nujoma . . . . .	49 - 55	7
H. Keynote address by the Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, H.E. Dr. Alex I. Ekwueme . . . . .	56 - 65	9
I. Address by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone, H.E. Mr. Sahr R. Fillie-Faboe, M.P., representing the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity . . . . .	66 - 69	10
J. Address by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania and President of the International Conference, H.E. Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim . . . . .	70 - 83	11
II. OFFICERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND MEMBERS OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE . . . . .	84 - 86	13
III. STATEMENTS BY REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, UNITED NATIONS AND ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY ORGANS AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS . . . . .	87 - 166	14
A. National liberation movements . . . . .	87 - 120	14
1. Mr. O. R. Tambo, President, African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) . . . . .	87 - 99	14

# CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
2. Mr. Nyati J. Pokela, Chairman, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) . . . . .	100 - 110	16
3. Mr. Sam Nujoma, President, South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) . . . . .	111 - 116	17
4. H.E. Dr. Ahmed Sidqi Dajani, Member of the Executive Committee, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) . . . . .	117 - 120	18
B. United Nations organs . . . . .	120a - 141	19
1. H.E. Mr. Frank Owen Abdullah, Chairman, Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples . . . . .	120a - 125	19
2. H.E. Mr. Paul J. F. Lusaka, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia . . . . .	126 - 130	20
3. Mr. B. Maycock, Chairman, <u>Ad Hoc</u> Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against <u>Apartheid</u> in Sports . . . . .	131 - 133	21
4. H.E. Mr. Victor Gauci, Rapporteur, Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People . . . . .	134	21
5. H.E. Mr. Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, Chairman, Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa . . . . .	135 - 138	21
6. Mr. Antoine Noel, representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees . . . . .	139 - 141	22
C. Organs of the Organization of African Unity . . . . .	142 - 145	22
H.E. Professor L. K. H. Goma, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zambia and Chairman, the OAU Sanctions Committee . . . . .	142 - 145	22
D. Intergovernmental organizations . . . . .	146 - 166	23
1. H.E. Mr. Yahya Diarra, representative of the Committee of Ambassadors, African, Caribbean and Pacific group of States (ACP) . . . . .	146 - 147	23
2. Mr. E. C. Anyaoku, Deputy Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat . . . . .	148 - 153	23
3. H.E. Mr. Adnane Omrane, Assistant Secretary-General of the League of Arab States . . . . .	154 - 158	24
4. Dr. Wahbi El Bouri, representative of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) . . . . .	159 - 162	24
5. H.E. Mr. Arshad Uz Zaman, Assistant Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference . . . . .	163 - 166	25

# CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
IV. MESSAGES RECEIVED AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE . . . .	167 - 171	26
V. PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE IN PLENARY MEETINGS . . . .	172 - 178	29
A. Statements in the general debate . . . . .	172 - 175	29
B. Message to the President of the French Republic, H.E. Mr. François Mitterand . . . . .	176	29
C. Messages to Bishop Desmond Tutu and Mr. M. N. Pather . . . .	177 - 178	29
VI. WORK OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION . . . . .	179 - 181	31
VII. WORK OF THE TECHNICAL COMMISSION . . . . .	182 - 184	32
VIII. OBSERVANCE OF AFRICA LIBERATION DAY . . . . .	185 - 192	33
IX. CLOSING MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE . . . . .	193 - 199	35
X. TEXTS OF DECLARATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE . .	200 - 289	36
A. Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa . . . .	200 - 275	36
B. Special Declaration on Namibia . . . . .	276 - 291	45

## ANNEXES

I. AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE . . . . .	50
II. GUIDELINES FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE . . . . .	51
III. KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA, H.E. DR. ALEX I. EKWUEME . . . . .	54
IV. ADDRESS AT THE OPENING MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, H.E. MR. EDEM KODJO . . . . .	58
V. ADDRESS AT THE OPENING MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE BY THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF FRANCE, MR. LIONEL JOSPIN . . . . .	63
VI. ADDRESS AT THE OPENING MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE BY THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA AND PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE, H.E. MR. SALIM AHMED SALIM . . . . .	66
VII. ADDRESS AT THE CONCLUDING MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE BY THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA AND PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE, H.E. MR. SALIM AHMED SALIM.	70

CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Page</u>
VIII. MESSAGES RECEIVED FROM HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENTS . . . . .	74
IX. STATEMENTS RECEIVED FROM DELEGATIONS CONCERNING THE DECLARATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE . . . . .	107
X. REPORT OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION . . . . .	111
XI. REPORT OF THE TECHNICAL COMMISSION . . . . .	122
XII. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND OBSERVERS . . . . .	137

## INTRODUCTION

1. The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa was organized by the United Nations, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in accordance with resolutions 34/93 C and 35/206 I adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 12 December 1979 and 16 December 1980, respectively, and held at UNESCO House, Paris, from 20 to 27 May 1981.
2. The decision of the United Nations General Assembly to organize the International Conference followed the endorsement of a proposal of the Special Committee by the Council of Ministers of OAU, at its thirty-third ordinary session held in Monrovia from 6 to 20 July 1979, and the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979.
3. The Assembly requested the Special Committee against Apartheid to take all necessary steps for the organization of the Conference and preparatory meetings in co-operation with OAU. The Special Committee established a Preparatory Committee for the Conference under the chairmanship of H.E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark, Chairman of the Special Committee. It included representatives of OAU and the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, as well as UNESCO which agreed at the request of the Special Committee, to provide facilities for the Conference.
4. Pursuant to the request of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General of the United Nations designated Mr. Issoufou Saidou Djermakoye as Secretary-General of the Conference and Mr. Enuga S. Reddy as Executive Secretary. The Secretary-General of OAU designated H.E. Mr. Peter Onu as Political Secretary of the Conference.
5. Pursuant to decisions of the Preparatory Committee, invitations to the Conference were sent to: (a) all Member States of the United Nations and specialized agencies; (b) United Nations organs concerned; (c) organizations and institutions within the United Nations system; (d) the Chairman of the Conference of Non-aligned Countries; (e) intergovernmental organizations accorded observer status in the United Nations General Assembly, and other intergovernmental organizations designated by the Preparatory Committee; (f) national liberation movements recognized by the United Nations and OAU; and (g) international and national non-governmental organizations, as well as individuals, decided on by the Preparatory Committee.
6. The Preparatory Committee prepared a draft agenda and proposed guidelines for the International Conference.
7. The Conference conducted its work in plenary meetings and in two Commissions - the Political Commission and the Technical Commission. During the Conference a special meeting was held on 25 May 1981 in observance of Africa Liberation Day. At its concluding session on 27 May, the Conference adopted by acclamation the "Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa" and a "Special Declaration on Namibia". It decided to annex the reports of the two Commissions to the report of the International Conference.

## I. OPENING MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

8. The International Conference was opened on 20 May 1981 by the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, H.E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark.

9. Statements of welcome were delivered by the following: the Director-General of UNESCO, Mr. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow; the Secretary-General of the International Conference, Mr. Issoufou Djermakoye; the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, H.E. Mr. Edem Kodjo; the First Secretary of the Socialist Party of France, Mr. Lionel Jospin; the representative of the Chairman of the Conference of Non-aligned Countries, H.E. Mr. Jesus Montané Oropesa; and the President of the South West African People's Organization, Mr. Sam Nujoma, on behalf of the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia.

10. The Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, H.E. Dr. Alex Ekwueme, then delivered the keynote address.

11. H.E. Mr. Sahr Fillie-Faboe, Minister of State of Sierra Leone, read a statement on behalf of H.E. Mr. Siaka Stevens, President of Sierre Leone and current Chairman of OAU.

12. On the proposal of the Preparatory Committee, the Conference then elected H.E. Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, as its President and H.E. Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun, Ambassador to Algeria to France, as its Rapporteur-General.

13. After the opening statement by the President, the Conference adopted its agenda and the guidelines for its work, which are reproduced in annexes I and II respectively.

### A. Address by the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference and of the Special Committee against Apartheid, H.E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark

14. Mr. Clark expressed great satisfaction at the high level of attendance at the Conference which, he said, was unique.

15. He expressed the hope that Conference would lay to rest many of the myths and fallacies regarding the relevance or effectiveness of sanctions in the conduct of international affairs. The friends of South Africa who never hesitated to apply sanctions when it suited them were today not present at the Conference. In a high-minded way, they argued that sanctions only hurt the oppressed people whom they were intended to help, that they were ineffective, and that some independent African States were so dependent upon South Africa for food and special sustenance that they alone knew best what was good for those African States. Of course they reserved the right to apply the triple veto at the Security Council to stop sanctions being imposed against their friend, South Africa.

16. But the most self-serving argument of all was that South Africa was changing because of its economic ties and contacts with certain Western countries. He asked

how foreign capital, which went to South Africa in the first place because of the attraction of the huge profit deriving from the apartheid system, could be the factor to cure apartheid.

17. He affirmed that sanctions were the most peaceful and just means to bring about peaceful change in South Africa in the interest of all the people of South Africa irrespective of race, colour or creed. To argue otherwise was to encourage the escalation of violence in the ongoing conflict in South Africa.

18. Since sanctions were prescribed by the Charter of the United Nations for the peaceful resolution of outstanding problems, he said the Conference should reach agreement on a concrete programme of economic sanctions, including oil embargo, against South Africa, to demonstrate also that much could be done in the area of sanctions, with or without the support of some of the Western Powers who were absent. For instance, it could examine how an oil embargo, which all the major oil exporting countries had introduced, could be made more effective. It should also examine the leverages the participants had, collectively and individually, against those Powers that profited from the inhuman exploitation of apartheid. Fifty independent African States, he stressed, were more important to any Power than South Africa which, in any case, could not guarantee its own stability beyond five years.

19. He expressed the hope that the Conference would make more people aware of the danger to peace and security, which apartheid posed not only to Africa but to the rest of the world.

B. Address by the Director-General of UNESCO  
Mr. Aradou-Mahtar M'Bow

20. Mr. M'Bow found significance in the fact that the Conference was being held at UNESCO, from which the South African régime had itself withdrawn in 1951 without any pressure being put upon it - but due to the sole fact that the Organization had decided to collect scientific data concerning questions of race, to broadcast them widely, and to prepare an educational campaign based on the facts that it had elicited.

21. This work was logical for UNESCO, and fulfilled its purpose to ensure universal respect for justice, law, human rights and fundamental freedoms. These goals were inseparable, and were common to all beings; the wound inflicted on the people of South Africa shed the blood of mankind at large. The survival of the apartheid régime in the face of all the signal progress and achievements that had been registered in the last quarter of a century was an insult to mankind. Brutal repression and harsh exploitation of labour were the visible signs of this outrage but there were also the poisonous effects that the system of apartheid exerted deeply on hearts and minds everywhere.

22. He wished the Conference great success, and considered that it would have wide repercussions in the world in putting an end to the vicious system that it had met to destroy.

C. Address by the Secretary-General of the International Conference, Mr. Issoufou S. Djermakoye

23. Mr. Djermakoye conveyed the best wishes of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. He thanked the Government of France and the Director-General of UNESCO for the facilities they had accorded for the holding of the Conference in Paris and at UNESCO House.

24. Africa, he said, attached great importance to putting an end to apartheid on the continent and he saluted all the participants who had come together to express their negation of apartheid. Their work, he said, would serve to maintain peace in the world and help to realize the highest aims of the United Nations.

D. Address by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), H.E. Mr. Edem Kodjo\*

25. Mr. Edem Kodjo said that repeated calls to the masters of Pretoria to come to their senses had failed. The moment had arrived to intensify the fight against their diabolical obduracy.

26. South Africa was a colossus with feet of clay which was trying to defy not only Africa, but the whole world. It practised State terrorism: a small white minority held the rest of the population hostage. A battery of repressive measures kept the system together. No less than 153 repressive laws had been passed in 33 years. Among these the laws on internal security and on terrorism showed the barbaric character of the régime. Cold murders were being clumsily faked as suicides, as in the case of Steve Biko and others who had died in detention. National leaders like Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Herman Toivo Ja Toivo were rotting in their cells. Appeals for clemency made in their favour by the African Governments and the international community had gone in vain.

27. All talk of a relaxed evolution towards betterment of the apartheid system was unfounded. In January 1981 the Pretoria régime had been given the opportunity to prove its liberal claims, and to find reconciliation with Africa and the world. But the negotiations on Namibia had shown South Africa as hostile and negative, finding excuses and hiding behind its puppets of the DTA while accusing the United Nations of being prejudiced.

28. Nothing could stop the liberation of Namibia and South Africa and it was the realization of this no doubt that made the apartheid régime turn upon the Front-line States to damage their economies and destabilize their Governments. Angola, Mozambique and Zambia had all suffered air raids, bombardments and economic sabotage, and in this roll call there was the raid on Maputo on 30 January in which many ANC freedom fighters had been killed.

29. The OAU fully subscribed to the conclusions drawn by the International Commission of Enquiry into the acts of aggression against the Popular Republic of Angola. The Commission had held that the repeated acts of aggression by South

---

\* The text of the statement is reproduced in annex IV below.



Africa were a crime against humanity; that its actions created a situation of undeclared war and were thus a crime of aggression; and that its acts were a great threat to world peace and security, and were thus a crime against peace.

30. Mr. Kodjo recalled that the Plan of Action for African economic development adopted in Lagos in April 1980 by African Heads of State and Government had denounced Pretoria's desperate attempts to maintain the status quo in Namibia and South Africa.

31. What Nazism was, he said, is apartheid today. Those who fought the battle of yesterday should join in the fight of the moment. No State could claim to be a friend of Africa if it held off from this combat and continued to conduct guilty economic and political relations with Pretoria. The West and America must join the struggle without reserve.

E. Address by the First Secretary of the Socialist Party of France, Mr. Lionel Jospin\*

32. Mr. Lionel Jospin, First Secretary of the Socialist Party of France expressed appreciation for the opportunity given to him to address the Conference, and in doing so to address also the international community.

33. He said the Conference was opening at the time when a great unified movement of the people had just elected as President of the French Republic, François Mitterand, in whom the forces of hope were embodied. Because of this hope, the Socialist Party was responsible, not only to the French people, but also to all those who were struggling for their independence, dignity and freedom, in various parts of the world. In the name of the Socialist Party he wished to pay homage to all those who had fought for freedom in Africa and were still struggling for it today.

34. In Africa, which had already suffered so much, there was one country, Namibia, which was still illegally occupied, contrary to all international laws. The Socialist Party had always recognized the legal authority of the United Nations with regard to that territory, and had frequently denounced the action taken by the Pretoria régime to prevent Namibia from achieving independence. It supported Security Council resolutions 431 (1978) and 435 (1978). It was shocked by the fact that South Africa had thought fit to question the impartiality of the United Nations, by casting suspicion on a plan with which the five Western countries of what is known as the "contact group" had expressed agreement.

35. When the Geneva Conference failed in January, it had expressed the opinion that South Africa was largely responsible for its failure. It took special interest in the recommendations of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries which had met in Algiers in April.

36. The Socialist Party would call upon the Government that would shortly be set up in France to do everything possible to ensure that Namibia achieved independence in the conditions set forth in Security Council resolution 435. There must be no putting off, no temporizing and, still more certainly, no action other than this.

---

\* The text of this address is reproduced in annex V below.

36a. The Socialist Party had constantly denounced the apartheid régime as one of the greatest injustices of our day. What was disturbing was not only the aggressive policy of the Pretoria Government, but also the nature of power that was based on racism, which was a constant threat to peace and a fundamental obstacle to the development of the continent of Africa.

37. It was quite wrong to maintain, as conservative forces do, that economic development would lead to the gradual breakdown of the apartheid system.

38. The Socialist Party has always supported the view that sanctions should be imposed against South Africa. In particular, it advocated:

- Discontinuing all trade with Namibia, and in particular the import of uranium;
- Cutting down French imports from South Africa as rapidly as technical constraints allowed;
- Discontinuing all public investment and all assistance to private investment; and
- A total arms embargo.

These sanctions must be accompanied by greater support for the front-line countries which were seriously threatened by South Africa.

39. A government of the Left should lend political and diplomatic support and humanitarian assistance to refugees and militants of the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia.

40. All the Socialists of France had rejoiced that the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and, recently, Zimbabwe, had achieved independence. It was his ardent hope that, in the near future, they would rejoice to see an independent Namibia play its part fully in the development of the peoples of southern Africa.

F. Address by a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Cuba, H.E. Mr. Jesus Montané Oropesa, representing the Chairman of the Conference of Non-aligned Countries

41. Mr. Montané Oropesa read a message from His Excellency Mr. Fidel Castro Ruz, Chairman of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries. 1/

42. H.E. Mr. Fidel Castro Ruz stated that the present international circumstances gave the holding of the International Conference major political and moral significance for all mankind. The fact that representatives of other intergovernmental organizations and numerous non-governmental organizations and personalities from all the continents also participated in this Conference, convoked

---

1/ The text of the message is reproduced in annex VIII below.

under the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, gave extraordinary authority to its deliberations and agreements.

43. Ever since its founding, the Non-Aligned Movement had clearly and firmly condemned South Africa's apartheid policy and declared it to be a serious violation of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The decisions of the recent meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement, held in Algiers, strongly stressed that position, which Cuba, as Chairman of the Movement, once again reaffirmed.

44. The struggle against apartheid became a cherished cause for the international community. The clamour to eradicate this horrendous system, whose very existence constituted a crime against mankind, reached universal proportions. The condemnation of apartheid became one with the condemnation of certain Western Powers. In the first place, the Government of the United States of America - whose economic, technological and military collaboration with South Africa, under different covers, had enabled the apartheid system to survive this long - was the main cause of the South African Republic's aggressive policy, a veritable state terrorism carried out against the independent countries in southern Africa and the region's national liberation movements; it gave the racists access to nuclear technology, with which they were trying to blackmail the African continent as a whole, thus creating a serious hotbed of danger to world peace.

45. The international community had recently witnessed a meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations at which, in the name of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and OAU comprehensive and mandatory sanctions were requested against South Africa because of its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, a territory whose independence the United Nations was responsible for protecting.

46. The fact that the Western permanent members of the Security Council were expected to veto the proposed sanctions did not make their action any less monstrous.

47. In spite of the backing of certain Western powers - especially the Government of the United States, which did not hesitate to proclaim the Pretoria régime a traditional ally that supplies important strategic minerals and could not be abandoned - the South African racists were more isolated and repudiated than ever. Sooner or later, the apartheid régime would sink into oblivion.

48. On behalf of the Non-aligned Countries and on behalf of the Government and people of Cuba, he reaffirmed inviolable solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian and South African patriots for freedom and independence, for total elimination of the apartheid régime and the establishment of a truly democratic society.

G. Address by the President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Mr. Sam Nujoma

49. Mr. Nujoma, speaking on behalf of the national liberation movements of southern Africa, said that the Conference was meeting at a crucial time in the history of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa. On the one hand, the triumph of liberation in Zimbabwe acted as a powerful spur for SWAPO in Namibia and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). On the other hand, the South

African racist régime, unnerved by the demoralizing defeat of its sinister manoeuvres to preserve Zimbabwe as a buffer, sought deliberately to reverse the irreversible tide of liberation and national independence in southern Africa. Terrorist, racist South Africa had now a friend in the White House in Washington who went out of his way to let the world know that there was an emerging unholy alliance between Pretoria and Washington. That was a major development with far-reaching implications for the whole of Africa and southern Africa in particular. The Boer racists felt that they could more than ever before defy with impunity the will of the international community.

50. There was a general agreement that the threat to international peace and security in southern Africa, arising from the policies and actions of the racist régime of South Africa was a source of grave concern to the United Nations and the wider international community. But the recalcitrant Western Powers - by increasing their collaboration with the brutal apartheid régime and by persistently protecting it from sanctions and other punitive measures provided for under the United Nations Charter - reinforced that régime's destructive power in the region, undermined the effectiveness of the United Nations and aggravated the threat and breach of the peace and security in southern Africa. On 30 April 1981 the whole world saw yet another demonstration of antagonism and insensitivity of the three NATO powers on the United Nations Security Council when they ganged up to cast triple vetoes to frustrate the will of the majority demanding comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

51. The level of participation in the present Conference, he said, assured that its stated objectives would be realized. Meanwhile, the fighting forces and patriots of Namibia and South Africa would continue to intensify the armed liberation struggle for exerting maximum pressure on the enemy. The Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of ANC, had already carried the struggle to the very nerve centres of fascism. Its revolutionary actions would continue to grow until the settler minority oppressors would come to their senses and surrender power to the majority.

52. SWAPO and its military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, had been waging the liberation war for the past 15 years against the most powerful war machine on the continent of Africa. Not only did they demonstrate their capacity to confront the massive enemy forces but they also drove the point home to the racists that military victory by them was not possible.

53. Mr. Nujoma stressed that racist South Africa was nothing more than a front-line manager and police of Western powers dutifully protecting their interests and global designs in southern Africa. It was they who had massively armed this neo-Hitlerite régime to the teeth with the most devastating and sophisticated weapons and technological know-how. It was an open secret that racist South Africa was now a nuclear Power posing a constant threat to the continent of Africa, thanks to the Western powers.

54. He said the ever-expanding relations of trade and commerce by multinational corporations from the Western countries in South Africa and Namibia and their ruthless exploitation of human and natural resources to the detriment of the African masses were exhaustively discussed in the United Nations and other international forums. The continued supply of arms and ammunition to the fascist régime in violation of the existing arms embargo and the clandestine shipment of oil which enabled the Botha régime to conduct a terrorist war of aggression against the people aggravated the already serious situation in southern Africa. Recruitment of mercenaries from certain countries continued. The Western

Powers, through their vetoes and other political actions, protected South Africa in the United Nations.

55. SWAPO had stated time and again that it accepted Security Council resolution 435 in its final and definitive form. It insisted that this resolution be implemented without any further delay, modification, qualification, dilution or the so-called strengthening.

H. Keynote address by the Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, H.E. Dr. Alex I. Ekwueme\*

56. His Excellency Dr. Alex I. Ekwueme, the Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria said that three weeks ago, an anxious world waited in suspense as the count-down began in the United Nations Security Council debate on the imposition of sanctions against South Africa for its persistent violations of various United Nations resolutions on Namibia. The hopes of the entire world were doomed and shattered under the weight of the triple veto cast by France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America against the sanctions resolutions for which there was an overwhelming global consensus. The votes which made a travesty of the Charter of the United Nations were cast by civilized and democratic nations.

57. He said that this Conference reaffirmed the abiding commitment of the vast majority of mankind to continue the search for a peaceful resolution of the crisis created by apartheid South Africa in the whole southern Africa region, while at the same time asserting the obligation of the international community to take enforcement measures to put an end to South Africa's intransigence and defiance.

58. It represented a repudiation of the reactionary policies of those who, as permanent members of the Security Council, had abused the trust placed upon them and vitiated the purposes and principles of the United Nations by acting contrarily to Article 24 (2) of the Charter.

59. This Conference, at the end of the day, must override and render null and void, the triple veto by appealing directly over the heads of Governments to the hearts and conscience of the vast majority of those in the West who still placed personal freedoms above the lure of South African gold.

60. The call for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa was not an act of pique or vengeance. It was simply that South Africa's act of illegality gave rise to consequences of the gravest magnitude characterized by a serious threat to international peace, and acts of aggression, all of which fell within the purview of Article 39 of the Charter.

61. The Vice-President said that this was not the first international conference on apartheid, nor was it the first time the international community, including those who profited by the activities of the multinationals in South Africa had been called upon to act, in concert, to bring coercive measures to bear in South Africa. The evidence suggested that all previous attempts on this score were feeble, inconsistent and even observed more in the breach, than in the observance. Many who were at the World Conference for Action against Apartheid, held in Lagos, Nigeria, in August 1977 would readily appreciate how unsuccessful was the summons for action urged at that conference.

---

\* The text of the address is reproduced in annex III below.

62. He said this Conference should not only review the measures taken by the international community since the Lagos Conference towards the elimination of apartheid, but, in the light of the recent failure of the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, promulgate an international Plan of Action to bring South Africa to its knees. The efforts to end the bantustanization of South Africa and the reign of terror unleashed daily by South Africa on Namibia and independent African States bordering Namibia, by using the instrument approved by the United Nations Charter, that is, mandatory sanctions as provided for under Chapter VII, as characterized as "confrontation", and yet with no other alternative or viable solution was provided. The glitter of gold became a more convincing consideration than the lives, the liberty and the well-being of Africans.

63. Africa was no longer willing to permit the cheap exchange of African blood for South Africa's gold and diamonds. If need be, Africa would utilize whatever means were open to it to secure the final liquidation of apartheid South Africa.

64. Dr. Ekwueme stressed that Africa did not come to this conference to seek confrontation, but neither would it compromise in further prevarications regarding the liberties of those to whom it was denied for more than a hundred years.

65. The Vice-President concluded by pledging Nigeria's best endeavours to the attainment and fulfilment of Nelson Mandela's hopes and aspirations for his beloved South Africa.

I. Address by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs  
of Sierra Leone, H.E. Mr. Sahr R. Fillie-Faboe, M.P.,  
representing the Chairman of the Organization of  
African Unity

66. H.E. Mr. Fillie-Faboe conveyed greetings from the current chairman of OAU, H.E. Dr. Siaka Stevens, President of Sierra Leone. He recalled that the Security Council was recently convened by African States with the objective of imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia. Most regrettably, the concerted efforts to deploy non-coercive enforcement measures against the recidivist and pariah South Africa were frustrated by the three Western permanent members of the Security Council. This misuse of the veto was a blow not only against the United Nations but also against international peace and security and, indeed, against the struggling people of Namibia.

67. South Africa's apartheid policy remained a perennial threat to international peace and security. In order to perpetuate that policy and intimidate its neighbours, South Africa converted its territory and the illegally occupied Namibia into springboards from which it launched unprovoked armed aggression against the neighbouring States of Angola, Mozambique and Zambia almost on a daily basis. Such wanton acts of aggression, in clear and manifest breach of the United Nations Charter, called for international action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

68. It was illogical, to say the least, that three of the permanent members of the Security Council, supposedly the custodians of international peace, both severally and collectively had so far not only not seen fit to take appropriate action under the Charter against South Africa but had persistently frustrated action by the Council whenever such action had been called for by others.

69. Mr. Fillie-Faboe said that it was the sincere wish of the current Chairman of the OAU that the international solidarity which was manifested and led to the success of the recent Geneva Conference on Assistance to African Refugees would similarly be displayed on this occasion, thus leading to the success of the present Conference. It was his wish that during the deliberations serious consideration would be given to finding ways and means of alleviating the burden that would inevitably be placed on the sisterly States bordering South Africa.

J. Address by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania and President of the International Conference, H.E. Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim\*

70. H.E. Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim said that there was no issue on which consensus existed as on the abhorrence of apartheid. It had been declared an international crime, and condemned as an affront on the conscience of mankind. It posed a real, immediate and serious danger to international peace and security.

71. He believed it was most appropriate that the Conference was being held at the headquarters of UNESCO, and in Paris, the capital of France with its liberal spirit and its long traditional relations with Africa.

72. France had a great responsibility as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and a member of the European Communities to promote freedom and peace in southern Africa. The recent message of H.E. Mr. François Mitterand to the French Anti-Apartheid Movement gave hope of closest co-operation with the Government and people of France in the efforts for justice, freedom and peace in southern Africa.

73. This International Conference brought together representatives of Governments, specialized agencies, non-governmental organizations and distinguished individuals to review the present situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole, and to consider international action in response to the objective situation.

74. The situation in South Africa and Namibia posed such a political, legal and moral question that there is a danger of yielding to despair and cynicism. The aspirations of the peoples in those countries could be compromised by inaction by those on whom primary responsibility had been placed to arrest such ominous developments. In such a situation a loud public opinion was all the more called for.

75. The reality was that the situation in southern Africa constituted a threat to international peace and security. Bearing in mind the fact that breach of peace in one region was a threat to universal peace and considering the magnitude of the implications of racial conflagration, the world could not watch with indifference the flouting of the principles on which the United Nations was based.

76. Experience both on South Africa and in situations of oppression elsewhere had amply demonstrated that appeals to reason alone had not impressed those responsible for such evils. It had been consistently evident that a certain minimum of pressure was necessary to deliver the message. The presence at the Conference of high Government officials, parliamentarians, trade unionists, churchmen and other distinguished persons offered a unique opportunity for laying down a strategy for international mobilization against South Africa.

---

\* The text of the statement is reproduced in annex VI below.

77. The measures to be taken can be a combination of factors - political, economic, diplomatic and cultural. The conference should also express solidarity with national liberation movements. A renewed call from the conference for material, humanitarian and moral support for ANC, PAC and SWAPO could be a boost to the struggle already being waged in South Africa and Namibia.

78. While this conference should avoid confrontation on sanctions, it should not go for the lowest common denominator either. Either scenario would encourage South Africa to continue with its intransigency. The conference should speak with one voice and give South Africa an unambiguous message that the world could no longer condone racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

79. The conference should examine specific aspects of sanctions, especially an oil embargo. South Africa was vulnerable, especially because of its dependence on oil for industrialization, and many countries imposed a unilateral voluntary oil embargo against South Africa. The conference should examine ways and means of ensuring that the voluntary oil embargo was made effective.

80. Another area which needed to be looked at was the diplomatic, cultural and sports fields. If South Africa was made and felt to be the international pariah that it was through severing diplomatic and cultural links, she would rethink her abominable apartheid policy. If sporting links were cut off through the conclusion and enforcement of an effective convention against sports contacts, South Africa would end her complacency and know that the world was determined to act.

81. Closely related to the whole question of enforcement of sanctions against South Africa were the legitimate problems facing some of the independent States in southern Africa whose economies were, through the circumstances of geography and history, very much linked with apartheid South Africa. The conference should examine ways and means to assist those countries to overcome their present undeniably delicate and precarious situation.

82. The victims of apartheid, in millions, would not sit by and dissipate their energies through frustration. Indeed, an armed resistance was very much in evidence within South Africa thanks to the determination of the national liberation movement there. If the international community did not help the people of South Africa to minimize their suffering in overthrowing apartheid, it shall have itself to blame for any resulting and inevitable conflagration.

83. The conference could contribute tremendously to shorten the period of the victory of freedom in South Africa and Namibia by recommending immediate and meaningful measures, especially economic sanctions, a comprehensive arms embargo, ending nuclear collaboration with South Africa and cutting off diplomatic, cultural and sporting links with South Africa.



II. OFFICERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND  
MEMBERS OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE

84. The Conference elected the following officers:

- President: H.E. Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania
- Vice-Presidents: H.E. Mr. Moustapha Niasse, Minister of State responsible for Foreign Affairs, Senegal
- H.E. Professor Dr. Mochtar Kumaatmadja, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia
- H.E. Mr. Yuri N. Kochubey, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
- H.E. Mr. Johan Jørgen Holst, State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway
- H.E. Mr. Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, Permanent Representative of Mexico to the United Nations
- H.E. Mr. Edem Kodjo, Secretary-General, Organization of African Unity (ex officio)
- H.E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark, Chairman, United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid (ex officio)
- Rapporteur-General: H.E. Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun, Ambassador of Algeria to France

85. The Conference established two Commissions: the Political Commission to consider items 2 and 3 of the agenda and the Technical Commission to consider item 3 of the agenda with particular reference to specific aspects of sanctions against South Africa. All Governments, organizations and individuals invited to the Conference were entitled to participate in the work of the Commissions.

85a. The Conference elected H.E. Mr. Paulo Teixeira Jorge, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Angola, as Chairman of the Political Commission and H.E. Mr. Noel Sinclair, Permanent Representative of Guyana to the United Nations, as Chairman of the Technical Commission. The Chairman of the two Commissions were designated as ex officio Vice-Chairmen of the Conference.

86. In accordance with the guidelines, the officers of the Conference and representatives of the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia constituted the Steering Committee which was responsible for the conduct of work of the Conference and for the preparation of the draft declaration. The Steering Committee invited to its meetings the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia; and the Chairman of the OAU Sanctions Committee.

III. STATEMENTS BY REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION  
MOVEMENTS, UNITED NATIONS AND ORGANIZATION OF  
AFRICAN UNITY ORGANS AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL  
ORGANIZATIONS

A. National liberation movements

1. Mr. O. R. Tambo, President, African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)

87. Mr. O. R. Tambo said that sanctions were not to be seen as a way of reforming apartheid nor merely as a gesture of disapproval. They were a weapon that the international community could and must use against the racist régime to weaken its capacity to maintain its aggressive posture. They were a way of cutting off support for racist South Africa, and denying the régime the means through which it could sustain and perpetuate itself.

88. Sanctions could not be expected in themselves to bring down the apartheid system. They were not an alternative to struggle by the South African and Namibian people, but an important complement to it. The effect of sanctions, properly implemented, would be to limit the scope, scale and duration of the war that was now raging in southern Africa.

89. Mr. Tambo said that conflict inside South Africa was sharpening. At every level, the mass of the population was finding ways to show its opposition to the apartheid system in schools, factories, rural settlements, squatter camps and townships. In every walk of life, the people were taking action to show that they were not prepared to acquiesce in the designs of the Botha régime, that they were determined to take upon themselves the burden of their liberation and to use every weapon at their disposal to bring about a democratic non-racial South Africa.

90. The countries that built the South African war machine and buttressed apartheid also deployed every political and diplomatic tactic in an effort to shield the régime from international action. Their repeated frustration of the attempts by the Security Council to act in response to General Assembly resolutions and the persistent thwarting of the will of the international community laid these countries open to the charge of abusing their powers in the Security Council. They perverted the historic responsibility given to them as permanent members by using their power to promote rather than remove the threat to and the breach of international peace and security. The President of the United States of America had publicly described apartheid South Africa as a friendly country, a wartime ally, and a partner in the defence of United States strategic interests.

91. For the imperialists and racist South Africa alike, the ultimate objectives were to regain economic, political and military control over the entire southern African region and to perpetuate the plunder of the region's mineral resources. The strategy applied in order to secure these objectives included the denial of the legitimacy of the liberation struggle and the attempted isolation of the liberation movement; the isolation of independent African countries from the world progressive forces, their destabilization and the overthrow of their legal

Governments; and the attempt to transform the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans into military zones as an extension of the NATO alliance.

92. Mr. Tambo rejected the contention that armed struggle and sanctions were unnecessary, because Mr. Botha could be further persuaded to bring about changes in the apartheid system. What change there was in South Africa, he said, had not been initiated by the oppressors, but by the nationwide upsurge of the people. The change that had taken place was that the tide turned irreversibly in favour of the people, and the forces of liberation now posed a very real and invincible challenge to the wielders of power in Pretoria.

93. The alleged concern of the veto casters for the interests of the black population was also expressed in the argument that sanctions would harm the black people of South Africa and be disastrous for the independent States neighbouring South Africa. The call for sanctions was, however, initiated inside the country by the majority of the people of South Africa. OAU and other progressive forces responded to this call from the South African people, which now had the support of the overwhelming majority of the nations of the world.

94. There was no possibility of the people of South Africa ever accepting the status quo and acquiescing in their own oppression and exploitation. There should no longer be any doubt that anything could deter the South African people from continuing the liberation struggle until victory be won. A bitter struggle lay ahead and already the war had spilt over the borders as Pretoria threatened and attacked neighbouring States. Without action by the international community the war would continue to spill over, and larger areas and more people would be sucked into it. No State on the border or within range of Pretoria's war machine would be able to escape the consequences. Concern for the suffering peoples of the front-line States could therefore best be manifested by taking urgent steps to limit the Pretoria régime's aggressive capacity by effective comprehensive sanctions.

95. The net result of the failure to impose sanctions was that apartheid repression and brutality grew and the only people not to have suffered in the process was the white minority. The opposition to sanctions in the Security Council or in the parliaments of Western Europe was based not on the concern for the peoples of Namibia, South Africa or southern Africa. The 12 vetoes were cast quite simply to protect the Botha régime and to preserve apartheid.

96. Mr. Tambo said that ANC made a special appeal to all oil-producing States to join in the embargo already imposed by OAU and OPEC members and others, and further to take effective legislative and administrative measures to make their embargo water-tight.

97. He appealed to those Governments which refused to impose sanctions until the Security Council made them mandatory now to act. A Security Council resolution could make sanctions mandatory, but it was also the sovereign right of every country to choose to impose sanctions. It was within the domestic jurisdiction of every Government to take effective measures to stop all commercial, financial, economic, political, technical, military, cultural and sporting links with racist South Africa.

98. In making these appeals to States to act without waiting for the Security Council decision, he did not suggest that the attempt to secure mandatory sanctions be abandoned. On the contrary, efforts in that direction must be

increased. One of the principal issues to which this Conference must address itself was the steps the world community should take to ensure that the Security Council discharged its proper function and brought to an end the breach of the peace and threat to international security that now existed in southern Africa. Inasmuch as the Security Council failed to act, the members of the General Assembly should now "unite for peace" and make appropriate recommendations.

99. Action under Chapter VII was the ultimate peaceful sanction provided for in the United Nations Charter. If sanctions were not imposed on so blatant an offender and so persistent a violator of the Charter as apartheid South Africa, then the efforts of the international community towards a peaceful resolution of international problems would have proved an exercise in futility.

2. Mr. Nyati J. Pokela, Chairman, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)

100. Mr. Pokela said that the international Conference took place at a crucial time in the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for national liberation and self-determination. He drew attention to the continued escalation of black resistance to white domination in the forms of workers' strikes, students' strikes, bus boycotts, rent protests, armed struggle and other political actions, as well as the growing guerrilla warfare in South Africa, as confirmed by the South African security police.

101. Referring to the general elections held in April 1981 in South Africa, he said that those elections were meaningless to the black population as they did not concern the issue of the restructuring of the society. The election debate revolved around the argument whether to implement apartheid rigidly or in a reformed manner and was therefore irrelevant.

102. There were indications, he said, that the Reagan Administration in the United States of America was prepared to offer overt support to the racist régime of Pretoria. Statements by President Reagan and by officials of his Administration and other actions such as the visit of the South African Foreign Minister to Washington and the encouragement given to Pretoria to join the Western defence planning had increased the minority régime's intransigence.

103. Mr. Pokela linked the long survival of the apartheid régime with the Western economic support and said that transnational corporations in South Africa were even becoming increasingly integrated into the régime's military programme. He considered that the South African people's struggle for national liberation and self-determination was at the same time a struggle against Western imperialism.

104. PAC believed, he said, that South Africa was a colonial territory where the African people were dispossessed of their land. Their struggle was not different from the anti-colonial struggles which had been successfully waged by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The only meaningful change in South Africa, he said, would require an equitable redistribution of wealth and power, to be achieved through a system of socialism. In the task of establishing a South African society in which men and women will be judged by the content and conduct of their character, and not by the colour of their skins, there was a role for the international community.

105. One of the ways in which the international community could play a role in weakening the apartheid régime and achieving the goals of freedom and justice, he explained, was to impose mandatory economic sanctions against the Pretoria régime.

106. While denying the most basic human rights in South Africa, the Pretoria régime had repeatedly committed acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States and trained forces to destabilize those countries in order to make difficult the task of national reconstruction. To enlist Western financial and military support, the Pretoria régime had embarked on a propaganda campaign to label the newly-independent States as "Marxist" and to remind the Western countries of the strategic location and the mineral resources of southern Africa. Despite the obvious threat to international peace and security posed by the white minority régime, the major Western Powers had been opposed to the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa because of their economic interests and of their concern for strategic minerals.

107. Replying to the Western argument that mandatory economic sanctions would hurt blacks most, Mr. Pokela said that black majority opinion in South Africa had always supported the imposition of sanctions. The liberation movements had been unequivocal on that issue. Moreover, blacks in South Africa had always stated that any hardship caused by the imposition of economic sanctions would be worthwhile if it would hasten the elimination of their suffering under apartheid.

108. The argument that by promoting fair employment practices transnationals would undermine apartheid was also hypocritical, he said. On the contrary, there was evidence that economic growth in South Africa had been accompanied by an intensification of repression and that the high rate of inflation had contributed to a decline in real income for most blacks. Also, the "Sullivan Principles" and the EEC "Code of Conduct" had failed to fulfil their stated purpose.

109. Mr. Pokela said that any contemplated economic sanctions against the racist régime should include an oil embargo to which South Africa was vulnerable. He quoted studies made on such vulnerability and added that after the Iranian decision to ban the sale of oil to South Africa, the racist régime hastily enacted legislation prohibiting publication of any information about existing oil supplies or future source of oil. The oil crisis in South Africa affected not only civic transport, factories, mines and agricultural industries, but also the mobility of the security forces. To reinforce the oil embargo, it would be necessary to scrutinize the complicity of Western oil companies, which secured oil from OPEC countries and then sold to South Africa, and to take punitive action against them.

110. Mr. Pokela concluded that the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against the white minority régime represented one lever which the international community could use in its efforts to avert an international conflagration in southern Africa, a conflagration which was inevitable if apartheid was perpetuated.

3. Mr. Sam Nujoma, President, South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)

111. Mr. Nujoma, President of SWAPO, said no one could doubt SWAPO's patience, co-operation and spirit of accommodation during the many years of the efforts by the United Nations to bring about a negotiated or peaceful solution in Namibia. At Geneva recently SWAPO had reiterated its readiness to sign a cease-fire agreement and to accept any feasible date for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia.

112. The very fact that the Security Council meeting on Namibia had taken place in April was a victory. The three Western permanent members were forced to come out in their true colours into the open and to show their collusion with the racist

régime under the watchful eyes of progressive mankind. All five Western Powers had been involved in and continued to promote a sinister campaign to undermine and destroy the United Nations decolonization Plan on Namibia endorsed by Security Council resolution 435 in its final and definitive form.

113. SWAPO had accepted that resolution because it provided a democratic and objective basis for all the Namibian people regardless of colour, national origin, sex, religion, or political affiliation to freely exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. He wished to stress, however, that the Namibian people were making supreme sacrifices to end colonial oppression, exploitation, and racial domination and to eradicate once and for all, apartheid and racial discrimination throughout Namibia. Therefore, they could not and would not under any circumstances support or in any way whatsoever be seen to be associated with the furtherance of the exclusive privileges of a certain section of the Namibian population. They could not endorse racism.

114. Racist South Africa had deliberately wrecked the Geneva pre-implementation meeting. Pretoria's Western allies knew full well its full intentions but did absolutely nothing to prevent the collapse of the meeting.

115. SWAPO was concerned over the establishment of a "South Atlantic Allaince" which, in operation, would strengthen the imperialist designs of terrorist South Africa which had long declared its readiness to attack any African country south of the equator. SWAPO could not and would not be party to the destruction of what the Namibian people had achieved through sacrifices of their patriots in the struggle. Any attempt from whatever quarter asking them to make more concessions after all that they had gone through over the years of suffering and ruthless exploitation would be resisted with all vigour and determination and rejected with the contempt it deserves. This message must be taken seriously by those who were meeting in Washington plotting to undermine SWAPO and the aspirations of the Namibian people for genuine independence.

116. The Conference now had an opportunity to galvanize the international community to continue to insist that what was needed most urgently was the application of a full range of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against terrorist, racist South Africa and to compel it to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and to abandon the obnoxious apartheid system in South Africa. The victory of the French Socialist Party in the last election was a great relief to SWAPO and it welcomed and embraced this happy development as its own victory over those forces which had closely collaborated with and abetted the enemy of the Namibian people.

4. H.E. Dr. Ahmed Sidqi Dajani, Member of the Executive Committee, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

117. Mr. Dajani conveyed the greetings of Mr. Yassar Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of PLO, on the occasion of Africa Liberation Day.

118. The Zionist State of Israel and South Africa, he said, developed close co-operation in all fields, including military, nuclear and economic, as well as in exchange of experience in techniques of discrimination, oppression and torture.

119. The will of the people, however, was stronger than the military power of the racist régimes. Despite the aid provided by the United States of America to its client States of Israel and South Africa, the liberation movements inspired by

their noble cause would defeat the remnants of the colonialist age and create new democratic societies where all the people can live in dignity and freedom.

120. PLO called upon the international community to implement all United Nations resolutions for sanctions against South Africa. Action should be taken against violators of the resolutions, particularly the major trading partners of South Africa such as the United States of America and Israel.

#### B. United Nations organs\*

1. H.E. Mr. Frank Owen Abdulah, Chairman, Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

120a. The Chairman of the Special Committee of 24 said that the Special Committee attached great significance to the International Conference because of the powerful weapon provided by world public opinion in the struggle against racism and oppression. The decision to hold the Conference clearly underscored the firm determination of the international community to eradicate the twin evils of colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

121. Emphasizing the dual aspect of the problem, he said that the Special Committee attached greatest importance and urgency to the success of the Conference not only because of the evil practice of apartheid but also, in particular, because of the Pretoria régime's policy over Namibia.

122. Referring to the failure of the recent efforts by the international community to bring about a just solution for Namibia, he said that the International Conference was a demonstration of the serious concern shared by the international community as a whole. He added that the situation was steadily deteriorating, that in Namibia there was open conflict and repression, that the South African régime had repeatedly committed acts of aggression against neighbouring African States, and that the serious threat to international peace and security in the region as well as so much injustice and human suffering could not be ignored.

123. Because of the above-mentioned reasons, he said, it had been the consistent position of the Special Committee that the full and effective application of measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter was the key to the speedy restoration of peace, justice and freedom. The true intent of the Government of South Africa to gain time and consolidate its domination over Namibia had been unmasked.

124. Mr. Abdulah commended the fine sense of leadership demonstrated by SWAPO in its sincere willingness to co-operate fully in the implementation of the United Nations plan in conformity with Security Council resolution 435. He also paid a special tribute to the leaders of the front-line States for the crucial role that they had played in support of the Namibian people.

---

\* The Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the General Assembly, the representative of the President of the Security Council and the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid made statements at the special meeting in observance of Africa Liberation Day. See chap. VIII below.

125. He concluded that the international community had no alternative but to adopt a comprehensive programme of economic sanctions designed to exert pressure on South Africa, to discourage the complicity of foreign economic interests, and to provide all possible assistance to the people of Namibia. The Conference could work out concrete measures which would enhance the capacity of the international community to deal a decisive blow at South Africa's attempts to maintain its domination over Namibia. The Special Committee, he continued, attached particular importance to the supportive role which non-governmental organizations could and ought to play in mobilizing public opinion and enforcing the application of any measures which might be decided upon.

2. H.E. Mr. Paul J. F. Lusaka, President, United Nations Council for Namibia

126. The President of the United Nations Council for Namibia stated that he was confident that the new Administration of President François Mitterrand would respond to the yearnings of the peoples of southern Africa for freedom and national independence.

127. It was not a secret that multinational corporations of the countries which had exercised a triple veto in the Security Council had been operating in South Africa, thereby propping up the obnoxious régime and providing sustenance to it. Unless the activities of such corporations were halted by national legislation and unless the apartheid régime was made to crumble, there was very little hope for the majority populations of South Africa and Namibia.

128. The time had come for the international community to invigorate its efforts to isolate South Africa in order to force it to comply with the decisions of the United Nations. The Conference, which had brought together a large number of Governments, international organizations, national liberation movements, anti-apartheid movements, trade unions, church groups and other non-governmental organizations and individuals, should be able to formulate a programme of action to that end. Its programme of action should be aimed, among other things, at galvanizing the most important and potent weapon available to it which was world public opinion.

129. A well-educated public could and would accomplish what the traditional allies of South Africa had so far refused to do. It could tie up the ports from where South African arms of destruction often originated; it could refuse to deal with industries which helped produce South African armaments; it could refuse to handle whatever commodity and cargo which that racist régime's ships carried to and from foreign lands. It could refuse to deal with those transnationals and bank consortia which accorded collateral security, credits and loans to South Africa.

130. It was necessary to intensify the world campaign of dissemination of information on the responsibilities of the public arising from United Nations decisions in order to transform spontaneous and sporadic actions into a mass movement. It was also important to increase and intensify contacts with academic institutions, student associations, church groups, civic organizations, leading opinion makers, non-governmental and governmental organizations as well as corporate organizations, and all types of employees and workers' associations and unions.



3. Mr. B. Maycock, Chairman, Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports

131. Mr. Maycock expressed appreciation for the participants who had voiced their support for the early adoption of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. The Ad Hoc Committee had reached agreement on all the draft articles except article 10 concerning the third party principle, and it appealed to all Governments to communicate their views and concrete proposals.

132. The Ad Hoc Committee, he said, was determined to finalize soon the strongest possible draft convention that could receive the widest possible acceptance in the international community.

133. He paid tribute to non-governmental organizations, anti-apartheid movements and individuals for their enthusiastic, energetic and effective efforts towards the elimination of apartheid in sports.

4. H.E. Mr. Victor Gauci, Rapporteur, Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People

134. Mr. Gauci said that the Conference's invitation to his Committee symbolized the close relationship that existed between the question of the racial practices in South Africa, and the exclusivist administration in illegally-occupied Palestine. It also symbolized the close ties that existed between the liberation movements of the black people of southern Africa and the Arab people of Palestine. On both apartheid and Palestinian rights, the inalienable rights of an oppressed people had gained recognition and an understanding by international public opinion. The tide of public opinion had most certainly turned. If tangible progress could not be attained on the just foundation of those two causes, then there was no other option but to propose action under Chapter VII of the Charter. In both cases that action had become an element necessary for the restoration of justice and the achievement of the inalienable rights of the people concerned.

5. H.E. Mr. Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, Chairman, Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa

135. H.E. Mr. Porfirio Muñoz Ledo delivered a message from the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa.

136. The Committee, it said, had engaged in a wide range of activities in carrying out the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council in resolutions 418 (1977) and 421 (1977). It had adopted procedures for the investigation of allegations of violation of the arms embargo and considered cases of alleged violations. It had also considered the question of contractual arrangements with and licences granted to South Africa relating to the manufacture and maintenance of arms, ammunition and military equipment and vehicles, as well as the export of arms and related matériel to South Africa prior to resolution 418. It had devoted considerable attention to the question of nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

137. The Committee had also heard experts and witnesses on the subject of the arms embargo and considered proposals made by them. In the preceding year, the Committee was requested by Security Council resolution 473 (1980) to "redouble" its efforts to secure full implementation of the arms embargo, in response to which the Committee prepared a substantive report which was before the Security Council.

138. In that report, the Committee concluded, inter alia, that there were strong indications that illicit clandestine transfers of arms and related matériel of all types to South Africa continued to take place. It had therefore made recommendations to the Security Council for closing existing loop-holes, reinforcing the embargo and making it more comprehensive and fully effective. The Committee, he continued, had also sought to promote co-operation with Member States, the Organization of African Unity, and the Special Committee against Apartheid, and to acquire reliable information from anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations. Faced with grave dangers created by South Africa's acquisition of arms, the Committee welcomed contributions and support of all organizations aimed at identifying and investigating the violations of the embargo.

6. Mr. Antoine Noel, representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

139. Mr. Noel said that the capacity for internal repression and external aggression of the apartheid régime must be reduced and the international community must express solidarity with the front-line States as well as with the victims of apartheid.

140. UNHCR attempted to help host countries to set up the infrastructure to deal with refugees from South Africa and Namibia. It had provided fellowships to some 560 students from southern Africa in 1980. The programme was being continued this year.

141. UNHCR's humanitarian mission could be desperate and endless unless all political, diplomatic, economic, legal and other measures were taken, in accordance with the Charter, to promote the development of situations which could permit the return of refugees to their countries, with full respect for their rights and dignity.

C. Organs of the Organization of African Unity

H.E. Professor L. K. H. Goma, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zambia and Chairman, the OAU Sanctions Committee

142. The Chairman of the OAU Sanctions Committee recalled that since 1963, OAU had strongly advocated the imposition of sanctions against South Africa. Since its establishment, the OAU Sanctions Committee had held meetings on matters related to sanctions and undertaken missions to the front-line States in southern Africa to assess their needs, should sanctions be imposed against South Africa. The Committee had welcomed the work of other organizations, groups and individuals outside the ambit of OAU.

143. The situation which confronted the world in southern Africa was a very serious one, and conflict in that region was escalating dangerously. Repression within South Africa itself was mounting day by day as was the militarization of Namibia, where South Africa sought to impose a so-called international settlement on the Namibian people by financing and encouraging the growth of so-called political parties whose primary interest was that of opposing SWAPO rather than that of liberating Namibia. Against the reality of the increasing militancy and combat capacity of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia, the racist régime had been committing wanton acts of aggression against neighbouring States because of their support for the liberation struggles in the region. Moreover, South Africa continued to engage in subversive activities aimed at destabilizing the front-line States.

144. The situation was thus one that directly endangered the peace, security and independence of African countries, especially the front-line countries. With the support that South Africa received from certain prominent Western countries, the racist régime had been enabled to build up its growing military power and machinery of subjugation; to defy international public opinion; and to increase its intransigence. Such an unacceptable situation could not be allowed to continue indefinitely.

145. Peaceful change in South Africa and a resolution of the Namibian problem were possible. It was the conviction of OAU that sanctions, if applied effectively, constituted a powerful peaceful means of eliminating apartheid and bringing about desired change in South Africa and freedom and independence in Namibia. At the same time the peace, security and independence of the front-line States would cease to be threatened. The only viable alternative course open to Africa and progressive countries elsewhere was the intensification of the armed struggle.

#### D. Intergovernmental organizations

1. H.E. Mr. Yaya Diarra, Representative of the Committee of Ambassadors, African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP)

146. Mr. Diarra, representative of the Committee of Ambassadors of the 61-nation African, Caribbean and Pacific group of States (ACP), hoped that the Conference would act to end the affront to humanity posed by the apartheid régime. South Africa, he said, not only insulted the human race but seriously delayed the development of many of the ACP States - six of which were front-line States.

147. ACP endorsed the call for an oil embargo of South Africa. Some of ACP's partners in the European Economic Community (EEC), however, refused to play their role in the dismantling of the apartheid régime. They must adopt a policy aimed at the urgent solution of the problem. Speedy action must be taken to bring about change in the odious structure of apartheid.

2. Mr. E. C. Anyaoku, Deputy Secretary-General, Commonwealth Secretariat

148. Mr. Anyaoku conveyed best wishes from the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr. Shridath Ramphal, and said that the year 1981 should be the year of action over South Africa, for the sake of those who care about the future of our multiracial world.

149. Referring to recent meetings and decisions of international organizations, he said that the struggle for the elimination of apartheid had gathered momentum and that comprehensive mandatory sanctions remained the only effective instrument with the greatest chance of bringing about any meaningful change within South Africa.

150. To isolate South Africa would be a practical expression of the civilized world's abhorrence of apartheid. South Africa responded to pressures from both within and outside the country, while contacts with South Africa served to give the impression that all was normal with the illegitimate apartheid system.

151. Commonwealth leaders had affirmed that the "policies and actions of the South African régime, both at home and abroad, constitute a grave threat to the security and stability of the whole area" and urged the international community to take effective measures to compel South Africa to bring about majority rule.

152. The arms embargo, faithfully and fully implemented, he said, could still have made a considerable impact on the armour of apartheid. The continued survival of apartheid depended on the lack of political will on the part of some countries who bolster South Africa's military capacity and economy. But for sanctions to be effective, they should be binding on all Member States of the United Nations and should command the support of all. To impose sanctions on a selected target would not prove effective.

153. Neither economic nor strategic considerations could justify collaboration with the apartheid régime, he continued. To avoid a military confrontation, it was necessary to resort to sanctions. A racial conflagration in South Africa would have serious consequences in other multiracial societies.

3. H.E. Mr. Adnane Omrane, Assistant Secretary-General, League of Arab States

154. Mr. Omrane said that humanity had witnessed no greater horror than settler colonialism which had befallen the peoples of Africa and the Arab world. But South Africa and Namibia would undoubtedly achieve liberation as Zimbabwe had.

155. The Conference should not only condemn apartheid, but must chart a course of action for victory over it. It should not be deterred by the support of some major Powers to the racist régimes. These Powers had misused the privilege of veto granted to them to guarantee international peace and security.

156. The imperialist Powers provided apartheid with military, technological, economic and other support. There was an organic relationship between the racist régime in South Africa and the racist Zionist régime in Palestine. The Zionist régime provided support to South Africa in all fields including nuclear expertise and methods of repression.

157. The League of Arab States maintained close co-operation with OAU and had adopted many decisions committing Arab States to boycott the racist régime of South Africa. The Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries had decided on a total boycott of South Africa and on effective measures to enforce the boycott.

158. He reiterated the commitment of the League of Arab States in the common struggle for a better tomorrow for the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

4. Dr. Wahbi El Bouri, representative of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC)

159. Dr. Wahbi El Bouri said that the big Western Powers, which claimed to respect human dignity and to be custodians of civilizations as well as defenders of human rights, had continued to form a stumbling block against taking effective measures against the racist régime of South Africa. This attitude of the big Powers was dictated by the interest of big corporations in exploiting the country's cheap labour and was contrary to international law.

160. He recalled the 1973 Arab summit Conference decision to impose an oil embargo on Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa and said that ever since the Arab League was created its members had repeatedly condemned colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa. He stressed that the members of OAPEC had adhered fully to the United Nations resolutions and of regional organizations to impose an oil embargo on the racist régime of South Africa and had included in all contracts for the sale of

petroleum products provisions prohibiting direct or indirect resale to South Africa. To ensure compliance, the buyers had to present discharge certificates showing deliveries to specified end-users, if sanctions and penalties were to be avoided.

161. Despite all efforts to enforce the embargo, he said, South Africa could still import enough oil through the spot markets and through unscrupulous traders, companies or Governments. To close all loop-holes for a successful oil embargo, he said, the OAPEC Council of Ministers, in June 1980, had asked the OAPEC general secretariat to prepare a study and submit recommendations on the subject. The General secretariat had concluded contacts with the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Sanctions Working Group, the Shipping Research Bureau of the Holland Committee on Southern Africa and with OAPEC members. Its recommendations were recently endorsed by the Council of Ministers.

162. However, action by OAPEC alone could not stop oil supplies to the racist régime. OAPEC believed that a mandatory decision of the Security Council, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, would be the first step in the right direction.

5. H.E. Mr. Arshad Uz Zaman, Assistant Secretary-General, Organization of the Islamic Conference

163. Mr. Arshad Uz Zaman read a message from H.E. Mr. Habib Chatty, Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, offering the unconditional support of the organization to the just cause of the people of South Africa.

164. Namibia, he said, had been on the agenda of the United Nations since 1946 and it constituted a continuing defiance by South Africa of the authority of the United Nations. The industrialized countries of the West had helped South Africa to continue its racist policies. They had stopped the Security Council by their veto from imposing sanctions against South Africa.

165. Islam stood for freedom and justice and the Mecca Declaration and, after the Third Islamic Summit at Taif, committed the Islamic world to fight against all forms of injustice including racial discrimination. Freedom was indivisible and there was no doubt that the people who were now in chains such as those of South Africa and Palestine would break their bonds. The collusion between South Africa and Israel, which he characterized as diabolical, would not succeed in stopping the march of history.

166. The campaign to impose sanctions should, therefore, be the legitimate concern not only of Governments but also of public opinion. The Western media particularly left much to be desired in telling the public the truth about South Africa, as evidenced in its coverage of the recent so-called general elections in that country.

#### IV. MESSAGES RECEIVED AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

167. The International Conference received messages from the following Heads of State and Government:

H.E. Mr. Chadli Benjedid, President, Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria

H.E. Mr. Ziaur Rahman, President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh

H.E. Mr. Todor Jivkov, President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

H.E. Mr. Zhao Ziyang, Premier, State Council of China

H.E. Mr. Fidel Castro Ruz, President of the Republic of Cuba and current Chairman of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries

H.E. Mr. Gustav Husak, President of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia

H.E. Mr. Ali Nasser Mohammed, Head of Presidential Council of the Supreme People's Council of the Democratic Republic of Yemen

H.E. Mr. Hassan Gouled Aptidon, President of the Republic of Djibouti

H.E. Mr. Anwar Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt

H.E. Mr. Mengistu Haile-Mariam, President of Ethiopia

H.E. Mr. Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic

H.E. Dr. Hilla Limann, President of the Republic of Ghana

H.E. Mr. Jean-Claude Duvalier, President of the Republic of Haiti

H.E. Mr. Pal Losonczi, President, Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic

H.E. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India

H.E. Mr. Soeharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia

H.E. Mr. Mohammed Ali Radjai, Prime Minister, Islamic Republic of Iran

H.E. Mr. Saddam Hussein, President of the Republic of Iraq

H.E. Mr. Datuk Hussein Onn, Prime Minister of Malaysia

H.E. General Moussa Traore, President of the Republic of Mali

H.E. Mr. Yu Tsedenbal, Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic

H.E. Mr. Daniel Ortega Saavendra, H. E. Mr. Sergio Ramírez and  
H.E. Mr. Rafael Córdoba Rivas, members, Junta of Government of National  
Reconstruction of Nicaragua

H.E. Colonel Seyni Kountche, President of Supreme Military Council, Head of State  
of Niger

H.E. Mr. M. Zia-ul-Haq, President of Pakistan

H.E. Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal

H.E. Mr. Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone and current  
Chairman of OAU

H.E. Mr. Mohamed Siad Barre, President, Somali Democratic Republic

H.E. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, President of Sri Lanka

H.E. Mr. Habib Bourguiba, President of the Republic of Tunisia

H.E. Dr. A. Milton Obote, President of the Republic of Uganda

H.E. Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al-Nahayan, President, United Arab Emirates

H.E. Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, President of the Praesidium of the USSR Supreme  
Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

H.E. Colonel Saye Zerbo, President of Military Committee, Head of State of Upper  
Volta

H.E. Mr. Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam

H.E. Mr. Ali Abdallah Saleh, President of the Arab Republic of Yemen

H.E. Mr. Serghej Kraigher, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal  
Republic of Yugoslavia

H.E. Mr. Sese Seko Mobutu, President of the Republic of Zaire

168. The texts of the messages from Heads of State and Governments are reproduced  
in annex VIII below.

169. Messages from the following were read at plenary meetings of the Conference  
by the representatives of the respective organizations:

(a) President of the United Nations Security Council

(b) Secretary-General of the Organization of Islamic Countries

170. A message was received from the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States.

171. Messages were also received from the following:

(a) Mr. Dan Dicko, Secretary-General, Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique, Paris

(b) Mr. Giovanni Bersani, European Co-Chairman, Joint Committee of the ACP-CEE Consultative Assembly

(c) Mr. Sandor Harmati, President, Hungarian Solidarity Committee

(d) Chairman, Ghana National Committee against Apartheid, Accra

(e) H.E. Mrs. Vilma Espin, President of the "Conferencia sobre el Papel de la Mujer en el Desarrollo (Havana, Cuba, 25 to 27 May 1981)

(f) African Association of Egypt, Cairo

(g) Mr. Abraham Ordia, President of the Supreme Council on Sport in Africa, Yaounde

(h) The General Secretariat of the Pan-African Women's Organization, Algiers.

(i) Confédération Générale du Travail, Paris.



## V. PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE IN PLENARY MEETINGS

### A. Statements in the general debate

172. After the opening session, the Conference devoted eight plenary meetings of general debate. During these meetings, statements were made by 83 representatives of Governments. Statements were also made, pursuant to decisions of the Steering Committee, by nine members of Parliaments, and two individuals specially invited.

173. All the speakers emphasized the grave situation in southern Africa and the urgent need for effective international action to secure the independence of Namibia and the eradication of apartheid in South Africa, particularly of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa.

174. They recognized the need for assistance to independent African States which may be adversely affected by sanctions against South Africa. Many of the speakers called for action by individual States in advance of mandatory sanctions by the United Nations Security Council, and stressed the importance of activities by trade unions, non-governmental organizations and the public in general. 1/

175. The Steering Committee took account of views expressed in these statements in its preparation of draft declarations of the Conference.

### B. Message to the President of the French Republic, H.E. Mr. François Mitterrand

176. On 21 May 1981, pursuant to a decision of the International Conference, its President addressed the following telegramme to H.E. Mr. François Mitterrand on his accession to the Presidency of the French Republic:

"It is my honour and great pleasure, on behalf of all those participating in the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa now being held in Paris, to address to your Excellency our hearty and respectful congratulations and our sincere wishes for success on your accession to the Presidency of the French Republic.

"Accept the expression of our highest consideration."

### C. Messages to Bishop Desmond Tutu and Mr. M. N. Pather

177. On 22 May 1981, the Conference took note of messages from the Right Reverend Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches,

---

1/ The statements made at these meetings will be published by the United Nations Centre against Apartheid.

and Mr. M. N. Pather, Honorary Secretary of the South African Council on Sport, expressing regret that they could not attend the Conference since their passports had been impounded by the South African régime.

178. On behalf of the Conference, the President sent the following identical telegrammes to Bishop Tutu and Mr. M. N. Pather:

"The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, organized by the United Nations in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity at UNESCO House in Paris from 20-27 May 1981, denounced the action of the South African régime in seizing your passport thereby preventing you from attending the Conference and from acquainting the world with the truth about the situation in South Africa. Participants in the Conference extend their solidarity to you and reaffirm their determination to support effectively the struggle for freedom and justice in South Africa and Namibia."

## VI. WORK OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION

179. The Commission elected the following officers, in addition to the Chairman, H.E. Mr. Paolo Teixeira Jorge, elected by the Conference:

Vice-Chairmen: H.E. Mr. Victor Gbeho, Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Kamanda Wa Kamanda, Permanent Representative of Zaire to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt, Permanent Representative of Nepal to the United Nations

Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Director, World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa

Mr. Mats Hellstrom, Member of Parliament, Sweden

Mr. Ernest Pignon-Ernest, artist

Rapporteur: Lord Gifford, Chairman, British Campaign to Stop the War on Angola and Mozambique

180. The Commission adopted the following agenda:

1. Threat to the peace and security in Southern Africa - aggression, terrorism and destabilization, etc.
2. Military and nuclear co-operation and alliance with South Africa
3. Assistance to national liberation movements and southern African States.
4. Mobilization for sanctions:
  - (a) Governments
  - (b) Non-governmental organizations
  - (c) Trade unions
  - (d) General public

181. The Commission met from 21 to 26 May, and adopted a report. 1/

---

1/ For text see annex X below.

## VII. WORK OF THE TECHNICAL COMMISSION

182. The Commission elected the following officers, in addition to the Chairman, H.E. Mr. Noel Sinclair, elected by the Conference:

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Laszlo Hadas, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of Hungary to the United Nations

Mr. Luis Sandiga, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of Peru to the United Nations

Mrs. P. Pierson-Mathy, Secretary, Comité contre le Colonialisme et l'apartheid, Belgium

Rev. Dr. M. Moran Weston, Tricontinental Association, New York

Rapporteur: H.E. Mr. Abdul G. Koroma, Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations

183. The Commission adopted the following agenda:

1. Arms and nuclear embargo
2. Oil embargo
3. Loans, investments, etc.
4. Sports, cultural boycott, etc.
5. Transfer of technology
6. Other measures

184. The Commission met from 21 to 26 May, and adopted a report. 1/

---

1/ For the text, see annex XI below.

# VIII. OBSERVANCE OF AFRICA LIBERATION DAY

185. The International Conference held a special meeting on 25 May 1981 in observance of Africa Liberation Day. 1/

186. The meeting began with a minute of silence in memory of martyrs in the struggle for African liberation.

187. Statements were made at the special meeting by the President of the International Conference; H.E. Mr. Claude Cheysson, Minister for External Relations of France; the Secretary-General of the United Nations, H.E. Dr. Kurt Waldheim; the President of the United Nations General Assembly, H.E. Baron Rudiger von Wechmar; the Director-General of UNESCO; H.E. Mr. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow; the representative of the President of the United Nations Security Council, H.E. Mr. Wataru Miyakawa; the representative of the current Chairman of OAU, H.E. Mr. Sahir R. Fillie-Faboe, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone; the Assistant Secretary-General of OAU, H.E. Mr. Peter Onu; H.E. Mr. Raul Roa Kouri, Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations, on behalf of the Chairman of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries; H.E. Mr. Frank Owen Abdullah, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; H.E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid; H.E. Mr. Paul J. F. Lusaka, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia; Mr. Romesh Chandra, Chairman of the Non-governmental Organizations Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization; Mr. Ernest Pignon-Ernest on behalf of the anti-apartheid and solidarity movements; and Mr. Oliver R. Tambo, President of the African National Congress of South Africa, on behalf of the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia.

188. Messages were received on the occasion from the following Heads of State and Government:

H.E. Teniente General Roberto E. Viola, President of Argentina

H.E. Mr. Joao Baptista De Oliveira Figueiredo, President of the Federative Republic of Brazil

H.E. Mr. Khieu Samphan, President of the Presidium of State, Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea

H.E. Mr. Elhaj Omar Bongo, President of the Gabonese Republic

Mr. Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic

---

1/ The proceedings of the meeting will be issued in a publication of the United Nations.

H.E. Mr. Edward Seaga, Prime Minister of Jamaica

H.E. Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed K. O. Haidalla, President of the Military Committee of National Salvation, Head of State of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania

H.E. Dr. Henk R. Chin A. Sen, President of the Republic of Suriname

H.E. Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

189. Messages were received also from the Governments of Pakistan and Spain, and from:

H.E. Mr. Victor Massuh, President of Executive Board of UNESCO, on behalf of the Bureau of the Executive Board; and

Mr. Yasser Arafat, President of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization

190. A message was received from H.E. Mr. Rene Rojas Galdames, Ambassador of Chile.

191. A message was received from the Czechoslovak Association for the United Nations and the Africa Committee of the Czechoslovak Association for International Relations.

192. Several other messages received at the conference made reference to Africa Liberation Day. 2/

---

2/ See chap. IV and annex VIII.

## IX. CLOSING MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

193. At the closing session on 27 May, the International Conference considered the draft declaration and the special declaration on Namibia prepared by its Steering Committee.

194. The President indicated that certain delegations had submitted explanatory notes amplifying their understanding of some formulations in the draft declarations. 1/

195. The declarations were then adopted by acclamation.

196. On the proposal of the President, the Conference decided that the main declaration would be entitled the "Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa".

197. The President informed the Conference that the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Assistant Secretary-General of the OAU had assured him that they would take steps to publicize the reports of the Political and Technical Commissions and refer their recommendations to the United Nations General Assembly and the OAU Council of Ministers respectively.

198. The Conference then approved the outline of its report and authorized the Rapporteur-General to prepare it.

199. The Conference then concluded with closing statements by the Secretary-General of the Conference, Mr. Issafou Djermakoye; H.E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Conference, H.E. Mr. John Jørgen Holst, State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway; H.E. Mr. Yuri N. Kochubey, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; H.E. Mr. Raul Roa-Kouri, Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations; H.E. Mr. Abdul Mcmin, Ambassador of Bangladesh to France; H.E. Professor L. K. H. Goma, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zambia; and the President of the Conference.

---

1/ For texts of the explanatory notes, see annex IX.

## X. TEXTS OF DECLARATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

### A. Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa

200. The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, organized by the United Nations in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, was held at Unesco House, Paris, from 20-27 May 1981.

201. The Conference was attended by representatives of 122 Governments, the United Nations organs, Organization of African Unity, Movement of Non-aligned Countries, specialized agencies of the United Nations, intergovernmental organizations, national liberation movements, international and national non-governmental organizations as well as a number of experts and leading statesmen. The national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia - the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the South West Africa People's Organization - were represented by high-level delegations led by their respective Presidents.

202. The Conference reviewed the situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole. There was also an extensive exchange of views on the feasibility of sanctions and other means as credible measures not involving force, which the world community can employ to exert diplomatic, economic and other pressures against the racist régime of South Africa. Such measures could avert the grave danger to international peace and security arising from the policy and action of the racist régime of South Africa. The International Conference, then adopted the following declaration which it commends for the earnest and urgent attention of all Governments, organizations and peoples for appropriate action to secure the expeditious eradication of apartheid and the liberation of Namibia from illegal occupation by South Africa's racist régime.

#### Grave situation

203. The Conference expresses its profound concern over the situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, resulting from the policies and actions of the South African régime of racism, repression and terrorism.

204. The stubborn efforts of that régime to perpetuate racist domination by an ever-increasing dependence on violence and repression and to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, in defiance of repeated appeals by the international community and in flagrant contravention of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, have created an explosive situation in southern Africa and constitute no longer a threat to, but a manifest breach of international peace and security.

205. The Pretoria régime is, moreover, continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of the United Nations and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, thereby undermining the authority of the



United Nations and violating the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It has resorted to the militarization of the Territory, for which the United Nations has assumed direct responsibility, and to brutal repression of the Namibian people. It has frustrated the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections. To this end, the South African racist régime deliberately caused the collapse of the pre-implementation meeting held at Geneva from 7 to 19 January 1981. The result has been a continuing and escalating armed conflict against the people of Namibia and its sole and authentic representative - the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

206. In pursuance of its policies of seeking to perpetuate racist domination in South Africa and to maintain illegal occupation of Namibia, as well as expand its imperialist influence beyond its borders, the Pretoria régime has resorted to constant acts of aggression, subversion, destabilization and terrorism against neighbouring independent African States, thereby aggravating existing international tensions.

207. It has built up a massive military machine and repressive apparatus and has embarked on acquisition of nuclear weapon capability in an attempt to suppress resistance by the oppressed people and terrorize neighbouring States into effective subservience.

208. Acquisition of military equipment and nuclear weapons capability by the racist régime of South Africa, with its record of violence and aggression, poses a grave menace to humanity.

209. The situation in southern Africa is, therefore, characterized by repeated breaches of the peace and acts of aggression and an ever-growing threat of a wider conflict with grave repercussions in Africa and the world.

210. The continuing political, economic and military collaboration of certain Western States and their transnational corporations with the racist régime of South Africa encourages its persistent intransigence and defiance of international community and constitutes a major obstacle to the elimination of the inhuman and criminal system of apartheid in South Africa and the attainment of self-determination, freedom and national independence by the people of Namibia.

#### Action by the international community

211. The United Nations and the international community must take energetic and concerted action because the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia deserve full support in their legitimate struggle for self-determination, freedom and national independence. The independent sovereign States of southern Africa have a right to protection from the repeated armed attacks, acts of aggression and depredations by a racist régime which acts as an international outlaw.

212. The United Nations and the international community must take action to stop the continuing breaches of the peace, and to avert a wider conflict. Such action is urgent and indispensable for the maintenance of international peace and security; for the elimination of apartheid and illegal occupation; for the discharge of the solemn obligations to the people of Namibia; for ensuring the emancipation of Africa after centuries of oppression, exploitation and humiliation; and for promoting genuine international co-operation.

213. The Conference strongly condemns the minority racist régime of South Africa for its criminal policies and actions.

214. The Conference declares that the racist régime of South Africa - by its repression of the great majority of the people of the country and their national liberation movements, by its illegal occupation of Namibia, and by its acts of aggression against neighbouring States - bears full responsibility for the present conflict and for its inevitable escalation.

215. The Conference further stresses that this responsibility of South Africa is shared by those States whose assistance and multifaceted support encourage the aggressive policy of the Pretoria racist régime.

216. It expresses its deep conviction that the situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, is of deep concern to all Governments and organizations and to humanity as a whole.

217. It declares that the United Nations and its family of organizations, as well as other intergovernmental organizations, have a vital interest in the elimination of apartheid and the achievement of genuine independence by Namibia. It recognizes that Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as men and women of conscience can and must play a role in the international effort to support the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia.

218. It emphasizes the importance of close co-operation between the United Nations and OAU, as well as of co-operation between Governments and public organizations to contribute to the elimination of apartheid and the independence of Namibia.

#### Consensus achieved

219. During the many years that the United Nations and the international community have considered the problem of apartheid in South Africa and its international repercussions, a consensus has emerged on the fact that apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, incompatible with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There is also consensus that reliance on violence and repression by the South African racist régime and its continuing denial of human and political rights to the great majority of the South African people will certainly lead to escalation of a violent conflict and to a racial conflagration, in South Africa with serious international repercussions. The international community recognizes that the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid and for the establishment of a democratic society, in which all the people of South Africa as a whole, irrespective of race, colour or creed, will participate freely in the determination of their destiny, is legitimate.

220. There is also an international consensus on the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence. Namibia, being a direct responsibility of the United Nations, the international community has repeatedly condemned the continued illegal occupation of the territory by South Africa in defiance of United Nations decisions and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971. South Africa's brutal repression of the Namibian people and its ruthless exploitation of the resources of their territory is a matter of profound concern to the international community.

221. It is on the basis of the foregoing consensus and in response to the aspirations of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia that the Conference has made its recommendations.

222. It recalls that the United Nations and the international community have adopted a number of measures, including a mandatory arms embargo, aimed at forcing South Africa to abrogate all its racist and oppressive laws, to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia, and to put an end forthwith to its repeated and flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring African States. It is a source of the deepest regret and concern that these measures have been circumvented or not fully implemented, particularly by some of the very Security Council members who are essential parties to them. The Conference, therefore, considers that action taken so far by the international community has proved inadequate.

#### Need for further action

223. The Conference considers it imperative that the Security Council should recognize that the situation in southern Africa, arising from the policies and actions of the racist régime of South Africa, is characterized by constant breaches of the peace and therefore, measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter must be taken.

224. The Conference expresses its concern that the Security Council of the United Nations has yet been unable to effectively perform its solemn responsibilities in this connexion due to the opposition of the Western permanent members of the Council. It draws the particular attention of those permanent members of the Security Council to their responsibilities under the Charter. It urges all Governments and organizations to exert their influence to facilitate action by the Security Council.

225. The Conference expresses grave concern and dismay that the Security Council, convened in April 1981 at the instance of the member States of the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned States to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, failed to adopt the necessary decisions. The Conference supports the report of the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for an early meeting of the Security Council to adopt comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa for its policies of apartheid.

#### The need for sanctions

226. The Conference affirms that the sanctions provided under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, universally applied, are the most appropriate and effective means to ensure South Africa's compliance with the decisions of the United Nations. The choice is between an escalation of conflict and the imposition of international sanctions, if all other attempts to reach a peaceful settlement have failed.

227. The Conference notes that an overwhelming majority of States - as well as most governmental and non-governmental organizations, including trade unions and religious organizations - share this view. It notes with appreciation the sacrifices made by many States, especially the developing States, in accordance with the decisions of United Nations, OAU, and the Movement of Non-Aligned

Countries to promote freedom and peace in southern Africa. It urges those Powers which have so far opposed sanctions, to heed the views of the rest of the international community and harmonize their policies in order to facilitate concerted action.

Purpose of sanctions being recommended

228. The purpose of sanctions is:

(a) to force South Africa to abandon its racist policy of apartheid and to put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia;

(b) to demonstrate, by action, the universal abhorrence of apartheid and solidarity with the legitimate aspirations and struggles of the people of South Africa and Namibia;

(c) to deny the benefits of international co-operation to the South African régime so as to oblige it and its supporters to heed world opinion, to abandon the policy of racist domination and to seek a solution by consultation with the genuine leaders of the oppressed people;

(d) to undermine the ability of the South African régime to repress its people, commit acts of aggression against independent States and pose a threat to international peace and security;

(e) to remove economic support from apartheid so as to mitigate suffering in the course of the struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia for freedom, and thereby promote as peaceful a transition as possible.

A programme of sanctions

229. In the light of the above, the Conference urgently calls for a programme of sanctions and related measures against South Africa. The mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, instituted by a unanimous decision of the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, must be effectively implemented and reinforced, so as to serve its purposes fully and should be the first step in the programme of sanctions.

230. The Conference attaches great importance and urgency: (1) to the cessation of all collaboration with South Africa in the military and nuclear fields; (2) to an effective oil embargo against South Africa; (3) to the cessation of investments in and loans to South Africa; (4) to the cessation of purchase and marketing of South African gold and other minerals as well as co-operation with South African marketing organizations for such minerals; and (5) to the denial to South Africa of certain essential supplies such as electronic and communications equipment, machinery and chemicals, as well as technology.

231. The Conference expresses its conviction that South Africa is vulnerable to sanctions and that sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter are feasible and will be effective. South Africa is more dependent on world trade than the rest of the world is on trade with South Africa.

232. The Conference recognizes that sanctions against South Africa will involve adjustments and sacrifices by other States, as well as hardships for the oppressed

people of South Africa. It takes into account the possibility that the South African régime may, in its desperation, retaliate against the oppressed majority of the population of South Africa as well as against neighbouring States.

233. Nevertheless, the Conference affirms that the cost of sanctions is very small compared to the cost of the existing human suffering and degradation in South Africa and to the dangerous consequences of a widening conflict in southern Africa, both to the people of southern Africa and to the international community.

234. The Conference considers that the international community can and should devise ways and means to enable the independent states of southern Africa to withstand the effects on them of sanctions against South Africa, rather than use their presumed plight as a pretext to avoid applying swift and effective sanctions against South Africa.

235. The Conference recognizes that for sanctions to be decisive, they must be effectively applied so as to remove their "immunization potentials" which prolong unnecessary suffering to innocent persons. Above all, they must be implemented by all members of the international community, particularly the major trading partners of South Africa. Financial and economic relations with the South Africa racist régime, based on cheap labour and exploitation of resources which should be used to improve the quality of life of the majority of the population of South Africa, buttress and sustain the nefarious system of apartheid.

236. It urges all States to take note of the fact that their trade with the independent States of Africa along - not to count their trade with all countries committed to sanctions against South Africa - is already far greater than trade with South Africa.

237. While stressing the importance of action by the major trading partners of South Africa, the Conference recognizes the importance of action by the entire international community, and of measures by the public.

238. The Conference considers that concerted action by all States and organizations committed to sanctions has not merely a moral value but can have a significant political, economic and material impact. Such action can also exert a positive influence on the attitudes of Governments opposing sanctions and facilitate mandatory action by the United Nations Security Council.

239. The Conference expresses appreciation of the measures taken by many States - members of the OAU and Non-Aligned Movement, the socialist countries, the Nordic and some other west European States and hopes that other countries will take similar measures.

240. The Conference urges all States, while vigorously campaigning for action by the Security Council, to take immediate unilateral and collective action to impose comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa.

#### Arms embargo

241. The Conference attaches utmost importance to the effective implementation and reinforcement of the existing mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

242. The Conference endorses the recommendations submitted in September 1980 by the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 421 (1977) on the Question of South Africa for the implementation and reinforcement of the embargo and urges that the Security Council adopt them without delay. It expresses the hope that the Committee will be provided with all necessary means to accomplish fully the task which has been entrusted to it.

243. The embargo, as so far implemented, has not succeeded in reducing the danger of aggression and repression by the South African régime. To this end it calls upon all States to enact effective legislation or issue appropriate policy directives on the arms embargo, covering all forms of military collaboration, direct or indirect, transfers through third parties and involvement in arms production in South Africa, and including end-user clauses designed to monitor and enforce the embargo scrupulously. Such legislation should also cover the existing loop-holes with regard to "dual purpose" items and related materials including computers, electronic equipments and related technology.

244. The Conference further emphasizes the need for strengthening the relevant provision of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) in order to ensure the immediate cessation of all nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

245. The Conference expresses concern at reports regarding the efforts by the South African régime to force military alliances and arrangements involving certain Western Powers and certain régimes in other regions, and to convene a conference to that end.

246. It considers that any military alliances or arrangements with the South African régime would be an act of hostility against the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia and would greatly aggravate the situation in southern Africa. It commends those States which have firmly opposed any links by existing military alliances with the South African régime and calls for vigilance by the international community to prevent any military arrangements with that régime.

#### Oil embargo

247. The Conference considers that an effective oil embargo against South Africa is an indispensable complement to the embargo on arms and nuclear co-operation. The racist régime of South Africa, having no oil of its own, is vulnerable to an oil embargo and will remain so notwithstanding the expansion of its oil-from-coal plants (SASOL).

248. Supplies of oil and petroleum products facilitate the acts of aggression and repression by the racist régime of South Africa. The need for an oil embargo is therefore urgent and complements the embargo on arms and nuclear collaboration.

249. The Conference notes with satisfaction that major oil-exporting States have imposed an embargo on the supply of their oil to South Africa. It further welcomes with appreciation their intention to consider establishing a mechanism, including a monitoring agency, to ensure that their oil embargo is effectively and scrupulously respected. It calls on other countries which supply oil or refined oil products to South Africa to join in implementing the oil embargo against South Africa through legislative enforcement measures or appropriate policy directives.

250. The Conference calls upon the Security Council of the United Nations to take action to support the measures by the oil-exporting countries, and to institute a mandatory embargo on the supply of oil and oil products to South Africa and on the provision of any assistance to the oil industry in South Africa.

#### Economic sanctions

251. Pending action by the Security Council to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions, the Conference urges all States to unilaterally and collectively impose economic sanctions against the apartheid régime of South Africa.

252. It recommends, as a first step, that all Governments end any promotion of trade with South Africa, including the exchange of trade missions, overnment guarantees and insurance for trade with South Africa or investment in South Africa.

253. The Conference calls for a freeze on all new investments in, and financial loans to, South Africa. It is a well-established fact that foreign capital, loans and other financial facilities sustain the apartheid economy, provide it with resources to expand its repressive apparatus, as well as to acquire and increase its military and nuclear capability, to the detriment of peace and security in the entire southern African region.

254. It notes with satisfaction that the United Nations General Assembly has, repeatedly and by overwhelming majorities, recognized that "a cessation of all new foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa would constitute an important step in international action for the elimination of apartheid, as such investments and loans abet and encourage the apartheid policies in that country".

255. It welcomes the actions of those Governments which have taken legislative and other measures towards that end.

#### Transport

256. The Conference calls for the adoption of measures aimed at terminating airline and other connections with apartheid South Africa and Namibia while under South African occupation. It further urges all countries concerned to take action to ensure that airlines registered in their countries terminate "pool arrangements" with South African airlines.

#### Other measures

257. The Conference urges all States to take appropriate steps to prohibit sporting, cultural and scientific contacts with South Africa. Formal agreements promoting activities in these fields, except in dire humanitarian cases, should be abrogated.

258. The Conference also urges all States to take appropriate steps to prohibit or discourage emigration of their nationals to South Africa, especially of skilled personnel.

#### Public actions

259. The Conference emphasizes the importance of action by local authorities,

mass media, trade unions, religious bodies, co-operatives and other non-governmental organizations, as well as men and women of conscience, to demonstrate their abhorrence of apartheid and their solidarity with the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia.

260. It draws particular attention to the constructive value of consumer boycott, sports boycott, cultural and academic boycott, divestment from transnational corporations and financial institutions operating in South Africa. It encourages assistance to the victims of apartheid and their national liberation movements, as appropriate actions by the public, in support of international sanctions against South Africa.

#### Assistance to neighbouring States

261. The Conference draws attention to the problems encountered by the independent States in southern Africa as a result of the aggressive actions of the South African régime, and the sacrifices they have made in the cause of freedom and human rights.

262. It recognizes that these States will be adversely affected by a programme of sanctions against South Africa.

263. It considers, therefore, that the imposition of sanctions must be accompanied by a programme of assistance to those States in the southern African region which would be seriously affected, in accordance with Article 50 of the United Nations Charter. Such assistance should include the provision of supplies of food, oil and other essential commodities, and the establishment of facilities for their stockpiling, as well as necessary financial assistance.

264. It urges support by all States to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) aimed at reducing the dependency of the neighbouring States on the racist régime of South Africa.

265. States carrying out their international duty of assistance to the liberation movements of southern Africa are entitled to the protection of the international law, when confronting the violence of the racist régime and have the right to seek and obtain assistance from other States in protecting their territorial integrity and political independence.

#### Conclusion

266. The Conference declares its solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia in their legitimate struggle for freedom, to all persons imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their participation in the struggle, and to the independent States in southern Africa.

267. The Conference affirms its solidarity with Nelson Mandela, as well as all other leaders and patriots, imprisoned or restricted for their part in the struggle for freedom and demands their immediate and unconditional release.

268. It recognizes the right of the oppressed people and their national liberation movements to choose their means of struggle, including armed struggle, for liberation from the oppressive régime in South Africa.



269. It declares that the racist régime of South Africa, by its escalating repression and defacing of world opinion, bears full responsibility for precipitating violent conflict. It draws the attention of those States which oppose sanctions but express their fulsome abhorrence at the brutalities of apartheid, particularly during dramatic crises such as Sharpeville and Soweto, that their policies are in effect aiding and abetting the escalation of violence. Sanctions are a legitimate and appropriate instrument of coercion prescribed by the Charter of the United Nations for the resolution of conflicts.

270. The Conference considers that the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia, and their national liberation movements, deserve the support of the international community in their legitimate struggle. It considers that comprehensive sanctions against South Africa constitute appropriate and effective support to facilitate freedom for the people of South Africa and Namibia and to put an end to racist violence.

271. The Conference recognizes the urgent need for the mobilization of all Governments and peoples for comprehensive sanctions against the South African régime, as well as for all other appropriate assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements.

272. It calls on all Governments and organizations committed to freedom and human dignity, to counteract all moves to assist and encourage the apartheid régime. It appeals to them to concert their efforts in an international campaign for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, in the light of the discussions and decisions of the present conference.

273. It commends the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, the anti-apartheid and solidarity movements and other organizations for their efforts in support of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

274. It urges the United Nations, in co-operation with the OAU, and in close co-operation with the national liberation movements and other organizations, to take all necessary measures to promote, secure and monitor the programme of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

275. The Conference recognizes and pays tribute to the historic and continuing struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia to end apartheid and illegal occupation, as well as to promote justice, freedom and independence in their countries. It is their courageous and persistent struggle which have made the Conference possible and relevant. The Conference responds to the noble aspirations and efforts of the South African and Namibian patriots and issues a fervent appeal for individual and collective support to them.

#### D. Special Declaration on Namibia

276. The Conference reaffirms the solemn, direct responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia which under General Assembly resolution 2248 (1967) is exercised through the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until genuine independence is achieved in a united Namibia.

277. The Conference expresses its solemn support for the legitimate struggle of the

Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative.

278. The Conference expresses its profound concern over the situation in Namibia resulting from the continued illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa in defiance of United Nations resolutions and the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971. South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, its brutal repression of the Namibian people and its ruthless oppression of the people and exploitation of the resources of Namibia, as well as its attempts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia are acts which undermine the authority of the United Nations and violate the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

279. The Conference strongly condemns the South African racist régime which has escalated its militarization of Namibia and intensified its massive repression of the Namibian people, increasing its arrests and detentions of leaders and members of SWAPO.

280. The South African régime has furthermore:

- (a) Increased its military attacks against independent African States, particularly Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia, and its threats and acts of subversion aimed at destabilizing neighbouring States, in particular, Angola;

- (b) Taken various measures to subvert the territorial integrity of Namibia notably by attempting to separate Walvis Bay from Namibia and by claiming sovereignty over the Penguin and other islands off the coast of Namibia in acts that have been rejected and declared illegal, null and void by the General Assembly;

- (c) Persisted in the systematic plunder of Namibia's natural resources in collusion with foreign economic interests in violation of United Nations resolutions and Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia in 1974; and

- (d) Persistently frustrated the implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 and 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978 which envisage the attainment of independence by Namibia through the holding of free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

281. Concerned that the Western Contact Group of Five has so far failed to exert the necessary pressure on the Pretoria régime to force it to comply with the United Nations Security Council decisions on Namibia, particularly resolution 435 (1978), the Conference deeply deplores the obstacles placed in the way of the implementation of those decisions and calls upon the Western Contact Group of Five to exert the necessary pressure on the South African régime in order to enable Namibia to attain independence without further delay.

282. Having assessed the current situation in Namibia, the Conference considers that in view of South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, its defiance of United Nations resolutions, its brutal repression of the Namibian people, its intransigence as demonstrated most recently in its refusal at the Geneva Pre-implementation Meetings to accept the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), its military escalation, its repeated acts of armed

aggression against the people of Namibia, its use of the Territory of Namibia to launch armed attacks against African States, the situation in Namibia constitutes a threat to international peace and security. In this regard, the Conference solemnly calls upon all Member States to impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa in order to ensure South Africa's immediate compliance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations relating to Namibia.

283. The Conference strongly condemns South Africa for the recruitment of mercenaries and other agents in order to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and to carry out military attacks against African States. It calls upon all States to take effective measures to prevent the recruitment, financing, training and transit of mercenaries for service in South Africa and occupied Namibia.

284. The Conference further calls upon all States to discourage their nationals or companies of their nationality from investing or obtaining concessions in occupied Namibia.

285. The Conference, deeply concerned about the rapid depletion of the natural resources of Namibia as a result of their systematic plunder by foreign economic interests in collusion with South Africa, strongly condemns the activities of all foreign economic interests operating in Namibia and demands that they cease their illegal activities forthwith.

286. The Conference further reaffirms that South Africa and the foreign economic interests which are exploiting Namibian resources are liable to pay reparations to Namibia for the damages caused by the illegal occupation and the ruthless plundering of the Territory's resources.

287. The Conference strongly condemns the plunder of Namibian uranium by South Africa and urges the Governments of the States, whose nationals and corporations are involved in the trade and traffic of Namibian uranium, to take immediate measures to prohibit their State-owned corporations and other corporations from all dealings in Namibian uranium and all prospecting activities in Namibia.

288. The Conference condemns South Africa's inhuman exploitation of Namibian workers in detriment of the health of the Namibian population and future generations.

289. The Conference recognizes the fact that because of the intransigence and brutal repression by the illegal régime, the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, felt obliged to embark on an armed struggle as a last resort. It declares that the South African régime bears full responsibility for the armed conflict in the Territory.

290. The Conference, furthermore, emphasizes the need for increased political and diplomatic pressure reinforced by sanctions against racist South Africa to ensure the speedy independence of Namibia. It calls upon the international community to provide increased material, financial, political, diplomatic and moral assistance to the Namibian people and SWAPO to strengthen their efforts for the liberation of Namibia.

291. The Conference calls for an urgent and scrupulous implementation of the United Nations Plan for Namibia as embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).



## ANNEXES

## ANNEX I

### Agenda of the Conference

1. Review of the present situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole
2. International action against apartheid and in support of the struggle for liberation in South Africa: review of action taken by Governments and organizations and consideration of further action
3. Consideration of all aspects of sanctions against South Africa
4. Declaration of the Conference

## ANNEX II

### Guidelines for the International Conference

#### A. Conduct of the work of the Conference

1. The work of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa shall be conducted in plenary meetings and in two commissions, the Political Commission and the Technical Commission. All Governments, organizations and individuals invited to the Conference shall be entitled to participate in the plenary meetings and in the Commissions. All meetings shall be open to the press and the public unless otherwise decided.
2. The opening plenary meetings of the Conference will be held on 20 May 1981, at 10 a.m. The meeting will be devoted to:
  - (a) Formal opening of the Conference;
  - (b) Addresses by representatives of Governments, international organizations and national liberation movements;
  - (c) Election of the President and other officers of the Conference, and organization of work of the Conference.
3. Thereafter, plenary meetings and meetings of the Commissions shall be held simultaneously.
4. The plenary meetings shall be devoted to statements by representatives of Governments and intergovernmental organizations, and a limited number of special guests, representatives of non-governmental organizations and experts designated by the Preparatory Committee, and for the consideration of the reports of the Commissions and the Declaration of the Conference.
5. The draft of the Declaration shall be prepared by the Steering Committee of the Conference.
6. The Political Commission shall consider items 2 and 3 of the agenda and submit a report to the Conference.
7. The Technical Commission shall consider item 3 of the agenda, with particular reference to:
  - (a) Means for full and effective implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa;
  - (b) Means to prevent the acquisition of nuclear-weapon capability by South Africa;
  - (c) Feasibility, effectiveness and implications of other sanctions against South Africa:

- (i) Diplomatic measures;
- (ii) Oil embargo;
- (iii) Prohibition of loans and investments;
- (iv) Cessation of airline and shipping connexions;
- (v) Selective or comprehensive embargo on trade.

8. The reports of the Commission shall be presented to the plenary.

#### B. Officers of the Conference

9. The Conference shall elect a President, Vice-Presidents and a Rapporteur of the Conference. The President of the Conference shall designate the chairmen of the Commissions from among the Vice-Presidents.

10. The Commissions shall elect their vice-chairmen and rapporteurs. They may appoint drafting committees.

11. The officers of the Conference shall form a Steering Committee which shall include the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia and may invite other participants to attend its meetings. It shall be responsible for all matters relating to the Conference and for the preparation of the draft of the Declaration.

#### C. Statements

12. Statements in the plenary meetings, except by special guests, shall be limited to 10 minutes each.

13. Statements in the Commissions shall be limited to five minutes each, except in cases where the Commissions may decide otherwise.

#### D. Messages

14. Messages to the Conference by heads of State and Government and chairmen or chief executive officers of intergovernmental organizations shall be reproduced as documents of the Conference and included in the records of the Conference.

#### E. Voting

15. It is hoped that all decisions at the Conference will be reached unanimously or by consensus. In case voting is required, only representatives of State Members of the United Nations shall be entitled to vote.



F. Official languages and interpretation

16. The official languages of the Conference shall be English and French. Interpretation shall be provided from and into Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish.

G. Rules of procedure

17. All questions of procedure not governed by the present guidelines shall be decided in accordance with the rules of procedure of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

ANNEX III

Keynote address by the Vice-President of the Federal Republic  
of Nigeria, H.E. Dr. Alex I. Ekwueme

Mr. Chairman,  
Mr. Secretary-General of the United Nations,  
Mr. Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity,  
Honourable Ministers,  
Honourable Members of Parliament,  
Your Excellencies,  
Distinguished Delegates,

Three weeks ago, an anxious world waited in suspense as the countdown began in the United Nations Security Council debate on the imposition of sanctions against South Africa for its persistent violations of various United Nations resolutions on Namibia. At precisely an hour to midnight in New York, on 30 April 1981, after nearly 10 days of debate and negotiations, the hopes of the entire world were doomed and shattered under the weight of the triple veto cast by France, the United Kingdom and the United States against the cluster of sanctions resolutions for which there was an overwhelming global consensus.

The votes which so outrageously desecrated the august chambers of the Security Council, and made a travesty of the Charter of the United Nations, were cast by civilized and democratic nations. They were cast by the nations which gave the world the "Magna Carta", that gave it the cry of the Enlightenment of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" and that gave it "The Declaration of Independence". They were the same countries who emerging from the debris of World War II, which they fought to secure these rights, established the United Nations whose aim was, and remains:

"To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace ...".

And yet in New York, at the heart of the United Nations the Security Council, in defiance of an established global consensus that sanctions represented the only peaceful means for the "removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression" by South Africa these defenders of the so-called "free world", stalwart custodians of democratic principles, permanent members of the Security Council, cast their veto, not for peace or democracy, but to strengthen the hands of the aggressor and perpetuate his rape on democracy. We must ask, why?

The presence of so many distinguished participants at this international conference on sanctions against South Africa vividly demonstrates that the triple

veto did not succeed in stifling the global consensus, and that Western bureaucracy is out of step with the decent opinion of the vast majority of mankind.

This conference reaffirms the abiding commitment of the vast majority of mankind, to continue the search for a peaceful resolution of the crisis created by apartheid South Africa in the whole southern Africa region, while at the same time asserting the obligation of the international community to take enforcement measures to put an end to South Africa's intransigence and defiance.

This conference represents a repudiation of the reactionary policies of those who, as Permanent Members of the Security Council, have abused the trust placed upon them and vitiated the purposes and principles of the United Nations by acting contrarily to Article 24 (2) of the Charter.

This conference, at the end of the day, must override and render null and void, the triple veto by appealing directly over the heads of Governments to the hearts and conscience of the vast majority of those in the West, who still place personal freedoms above the lure of South African gold.

The call for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa is not an act of pique or vengeance. It is simply that South Africa's act of illegality has given rise to consequences of the gravest magnitude characterized by a serious threat to international peace, and acts of aggression, all of which fall within the purview of Article 39 of the Charter. Among others, the specific elements of breach of international peace and security created by South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia are as follows:

(a) South Africa's massive military presence in Namibia by which it ensures its continued repression of the population and forcible occupation of the territory;

(b) Continued use by South Africa, of Namibia as a springboard for armed aggression and terrorization of neighbouring African States, for example, against Zambia in 1976, Angola in 1978 and 1980, Mozambique also in 1980 and 1981;

(c) Acts of torture, repression, execution, detention and forced labour perpetrated against Namibian citizens by South Africa;

(d) South Africa's relentless exploitation of Namibia's mineral wealth, and persistent designs to dismember the territory of Namibia through the purported annexation of Walvis Bay in contravention of the Charter and various other resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly.

All the above give rise to consequences that exhaust all these categories of Article 39 of the United Nations Charter; namely threat to peace, breach of peace and act of aggression. Therefore, the Security Council was under a clear obligation to apply Article 41 of the Charter and impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Its failure to do so, in spite of the established global consensus, was an act of grave dereliction of responsibility which Member States present at this august assembly must now rectify by imposing individual and collective sanctions.

Mr. Chairman, this is of course not the first international conference on apartheid, nor is it the first time the international community, including those

who profit by the activities of the multinationals in South Africa, has been called upon to act, in concert, to bring coercive measures to bear on South Africa. The evidence suggests that all previous attempts on this score have been feeble, inconsistent and even observed more in the breach, than in the observance. Many here who were at the World Conference for Action against Apartheid which was held in Lagos, Nigeria in August 1977 will readily appreciate how unsuccessful has been the summons for action urged at that conference. The Lagos conference, while calling for an arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter stressed that:

"The conference recognizes the urgent need for economic and other measures, universally applied, to secure the elimination of apartheid. It commends all Governments which have taken such measures in accordance with the United Nations resolutions. It calls upon the United Nations and all Governments as well as economic interests, including transnational corporations, urgently to consider such measures, including the cessation of loans to, and investments in, South Africa. It requests the Special Committee against Apartheid in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and all other appropriate organizations, to promote the implementation of the above recommendations."

This conference should not only review the measures taken by the international community since the Lagos conference towards the elimination of apartheid, but it should, in the light of the failure, recently, of the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, promulgate an international Plan of Action to bring South Africa to its knees. In this connexion, I most earnestly urge this conference to give serious consideration to items 2 and 3 of the agenda of this conference dealing with this subject-matter.

Mr. Chairman, those who oppose sanctions because they claim that:

(a) It will not work;

(b) That it will have no adverse effect on South Africa itself; and

(c) That it would have a devastating effect on the economies of neighbouring African States,

urge, instead, the counsel of unlimited patience. Our efforts to end the bantustanization of South Africa and the reign of terror unleashed daily by South Africa on Namibia and independent African States bordering Namibia, by using the instrument approved by the United Nations Charter, which is the imposition of mandatory sanctions as provided for under Chapter VII, is characterized as "confrontation", and yet we are provided with no other alternative or viable solution. Again we must ask, why?

Mr. Chairman, the time has come when the international community must wake up to the gravity of the situation in southern Africa. There is no longer any time left for ambiguity and prevarications over apartheid South Africa. Everyone of us must now stand and be counted either for or against apartheid. We can no longer afford to ignore the legitimate demands of the blacks in South Africa and Namibia for their freedom. We owe it as a duty, both to them and to ourselves to

bring this pernicious system of apartheid to an ignominious end by acting collectively to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa. Mankind must once and for all dramatically and decisively repudiate this racist doctrine which seeks to undermine human civilization itself. We neglect to do so only at our eternal peril.

Mr. Chairman, often times, in the past, when we speak of the evils of apartheid, we are assured of the "sympathy" of the Western countries; but when we call for sanctions to end the shame of Western civilization which apartheid South Africa represents, suddenly the glitter of gold in the form of high dividends becomes a more convincing consideration than the lives, the liberty and the well-being of Africans. Those days are gone. We are no longer willing to permit the cheap exchange of African blood for South Africa's gold and diamond. If need be, Africa will seek and utilize whatever means is open to it to secure the final liquidation of apartheid South Africa, even if the heavens fall.

Mr. Chairman, we did not come to this conference to seek confrontation, but neither did we come here to compromise in further prevarications regarding the liberties of those to whom it has been denied for more than a hundred years. We reject the counsel of eternal resignation in order to facilitate the exploitation commerce between the Western multinationals and Namibia. Indeed in their frantic economic rape of Namibia the multinationals may well wish to pause and ponder on these words by Thomas Jefferson:

"I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that his justice cannot sleep forever. Commerce between master and slave is despotism. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free."

Mr. Chairman, we are at the high noon in Namibia's journey to independence. The shadow may lengthen into eventide but who here has the audacity to doubt that Namibia soon will be free - and that the pernicious system of apartheid will be eradicated once and for all? But Namibia will not be free, nor will apartheid be eradicated soon enough however much we will it. These things will only come about through the collective and affirmative action of the international community. Mr. Nelson Mandela, whose heroism and indefatigable fight for freedom from behind the borboden fortress of his Robbin Island prison where he has been incarcerated for 18 years should inspire us, shows us the way when he says:

"Only through hardship, sacrifice and militant action can freedom be won. The struggle is my life. I will continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days."

Mr. Chairman, it is my honour and privilege to pledge my country's best endeavours to the attainment and fulfilment of Nelson Mandela's hopes and aspirations for his beloved South Africa. I urge and beseech this international conference on sanctions against South Africa to do no less; for to do less will be an act of betrayal which will diminish us all, and place in jeopardy not only our own freedoms but the survival of liberty around the world.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

#### ANNEX IV

Address at the opening meeting of the International Conference  
by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity,  
H.E. Mr. Edem Kodjo

"On behalf of the Organization of African Unity it is a pleasure for me to welcome you and thank you for responding to our appeal. In particular I wish to pay a tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and to Mr. Issoufou Djermakoye, Secretary-General of this conference. To our host, Mr. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of UNESCO, I wish to state that it is a great pleasure for us to meet again in this building, the headquarters of education, science and culture, which are so many factors for the promotion of peace.

"I am also aware of the efforts you have made and will continue to make to ensure the success of the cause entrusted to you. We express our deep gratitude for your remarkable dedication which was already well known to us.

"The present conference is an act of faith in mankind and in civilization. Its objectives are based on the highest ideals of solidarity, justice and peace which are set forth in all our constitutions and are a source of inspiration for us.

"These ideals underlie the case I am going to present to you on behalf of Africa. They constitute the basis of our revolt and indignation. While the past 20 years in Africa have been characterized by decolonization and the struggle for human dignity, it is an astonishing fact that, contrary to all common sense, a retrograde régime of domination and blind oppression is seeking to persevere and to lose in the southern part of our continent. To prolong its reign, it has chosen the most degrading forms of human debasement: racism and apartheid. Africa and the international community have on several occasions called the masters of Pretoria to reason but in vain. The time has therefore come, in view of their diabolical stubbornness, to intensify our struggle against this citadel of shame and bastion of barbarism.

"How can our world, so proud of its scientific and technical achievements, how can our civilization, always so intent on rediscovering intrinsic human values, tolerate a situation whereby race and the colour of one's skin serve as a basis for an entire political, social and economic system? Yes.... in Africa today, in our countries, on our continent, people are scorned, killed and tortured in the name of the degrading principles of racism and apartheid. On these two bases there stands a colossus with feet of clay which tries to challenge not only Africa but also the entire international community. Our rightful cause concerns much more than political emancipation: it concerns human beings, their special nature and productive liberation, which in our view constitute the only cause worth fighting for in today's turbulent world.

"Yes, a State terrorism holds away which uses inhuman measures to maintain the total domination in South Africa of a white minority over an overwhelming black majority. Hardly 16 per cent of the population reigns over the others and holds them hostage. An entire arsenal of repressive

measures is dedicated to maintaining this tragic situation. You can judge for yourselves: 153 laws in 33 years! Two of them, which are unfortunately famous, illustrate clearly the barbarity of this régime: the Internal Security Act and the Terrorism Act. Their contents and methods of enforcement are such as to defy description. Under such a judicial system torture and brutality have reached a stage of sophistication and cruelty which leaves one aghast. Arbitrary detentions may last for years in conditions which surpass all understanding. What can one say of these coldly executed murders that are later crudely disguised as suicides? Can one speak of guarantees of justice when it is known that Act 83 of 1967 allows every police officer to arrest any person suspected of terrorism without a warrant and without a charge being made? He can even hold the person arrested in solitary confinement until he considers the replies to his questions satisfactory. You may well imagine these outrageous prerogatives that are granted to executioners who are insane with fear and the so-called confessions wrested from the victims in such conditions. Several reports by international organizations give frightening descriptions of the means used in this connexion and reveal their excesses: physical violence, electric shocks, threats of death, deprivation of sleep and, if cause, death... The statistics on the consequences of such treatment are terrifying: in September 1977 alone, 22 detainees, including Steve Biko, died. When they are not cynically murdered, the prisoners wallow in incredibly inhuman conditions. The nationalists Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu and Herman Ja Toivo are vegetating in this way in tiny cells. The numerous appeals made by African Governments and the international community on their behalf have been to no effect.

"Nevertheless, all this deterrent and repressive legislation, all these humiliations, all the military and police apparatus available to them are not sufficient reassurance for the racist régime of South Africa. Factors which are beyond their control throw them into a state of alarm and lead them to intensify their system even more. Thus the fact that the black birth rate is four times higher than the white one indicates that, in the year 2000, the population of South Africa will have only 11 per cent of whites as compared with the present 17 per cent. But it is mainly the accession of Zimbabwe to independence which has pushed back the frontiers of colonialism to the point where the underpinnings of the South African régime have been seriously cracked.

"The result has been a policy of the stick alternating with the carrot. In defiance of all common sense "bantustans" are created, in other words lands reserved for blacks for a separate civilization. They tout the story that these are independent States. But we know that the secret dream, I mean the illusion, of their creators is to surround the nucleus of Pretoria with puppet States that have no basis, no substance and no future. We hear about political liberalism, about an easing of the system, about perceptible change. But these ephemeral velleities soon disappear.

"In January 1981, however, the Pretoria Government had a unique opportunity to prove its liberalism, to reconcile itself with Africa and the international community. The negotiations on Namibia organized by the United Nations at Geneva were to enable us to explore all paths of convergence, to agree on a date for the cease-fire and on the initiation of a United Nations assistance programme.

"It is particularly painful for me to give you this exposition of the consistently negative and deliberately hostile attitude of South Africa towards these negotiations. Hiding behind subterfuges, constantly spreading a dense smokescreen of legalisms which were as untenable in substance as they were in form, thrusting its own creatures, marshalled as members of eight so-called "internal" parties, to the front of the stage, heaping insults and invective, through its spokesmen of the DTA and other parties in its pay, upon SWAPO and the United Nations, which were accused of bias, South Africa rejected outright all that it had accepted earlier and had the effrontery to ask the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Security Council to go back on their previous resolutions.

"But does this need repeating? The inevitable liberation of Namibia and South Africa are now for us only long-term objectives. All this explains the destructive malevolence with which South Africa attacks the front-line States in order to ruin their economies and destabilize their régimes. Air raids, bombings, economic sabotage - all play their part in this. Angola, Mozambique and Zambia are the favourite targets of the régime of terror and apartheid. Who can forget the murderous raid on Maputo when, on 30 January of this year, several freedom-fighters of the ANC were killed?

"These are the serious facts that we present in our case against South Africa. I would add something of which you are well aware, namely the report of the international mission of inquiry into the acts of aggression committed against the People's Republic of Angola. This document describes the crimes committed against the Angolan people and Africa. The perpetrators are known: we must condemn them. The material damage has, of course, been quantified, but who can evaluate the losses in terms of human lives, the dignity of an entire scorned people, the development efforts that have been reduced to nought? Who will guarantee us that such acts will not be repeated tomorrow? For how long will we be the victims of such affronts?

"The Organization of African Unity endorses the conclusions of that international commission. We repeat:

- 1) That the acts of large-scale aggression repeatedly committed by South Africa constitute a crime against humanity;
- 2) That these acts create a situation of undeclared war against an independent African State and constitute a crime of aggression;
- 3) That these acts constitute a serious threat to international peace and security, a crime against peace.

"Now, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, which on this matter is based on the Charter of the United Nations, imposes on us the obligation to establish and maintain conditions for peace and security in the cause of human progress, and that is why the Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted at Lagos in April 1980 by the Heads of State and Government, in its preamble, denounces 'the renewed and desperate attempts by the Pretoria régime to arrest the tide of history and to perpetuate the status quo in Namibia and South Africa'.



18 August 1981  
ENGLISH ONLY

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE  
LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Paris, 1 September 1981

Checklist of documents

Symbol

Title or description

Documents containing matters requiring action  
by the Conference

A/CONF.104/1	Annotated provisional agenda for the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries
A/CONF.104/11	Provisional rules of procedure of the Conference As approved by the Preparatory Committee at its third session
A/CONF.104/L.1	Synopsis of proposals made on the draft Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the least developed countries Prepared by the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee

Report by the Secretary-General of the Conference

A/CONF.104/2 and Add.1-3	The Least Developed Countries in the 1980s: Chapter I The least developed countries: Basic consideration Chapter II Sectoral performance, domestic policies and prospects for the 1980s Chapter III Support by the International Community for the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s Chapter IV Implementation and review of the decisions of the Conference: A new approach
--------------------------	--

Summaries of individual country presentations

A/CONF.104/SP/3	Afghanistan
A/CONF.104/SP/7	Bangladesh
A/CONF.104/SP/18	Benin
A/CONF.104/SP/1	Bhutan
A/CONF.104/SP/28	Botswana

A/CONF.104/Misc.1  
GE.81-54747

Symbol	<u>Title or description</u>
A/CONF.104/SP/10	Burundi
A/CONF.104/SP/19	Cape Verde
A/CONF.104/SP/21 and Corr.1	Central African Republic
A/CONF.104/SP/11	Comoros
A/CONF.104/SP/5	Democratic Yemen
A/CONF.104/SP/12 and Corr. 1	Ethiopia
A/CONF.104/SP/22	Gambia
A/CONF.104/SP/24	Guinea
A/CONF.104/SP/31	Guinea-Bissau
A/CONF.104/SP/27	Haiti
A/CONF.104/SP/2	Lao People's Democratic Republic
A/CONF.104/SP/29	Lesotho
A/CONF.104/SP/30	Malawi
A/CONF.104/SP/4	Maldives
A/CONF.104/SP/25 and Corr. 1 <u>a/</u>	Mali
A/CONF.104/SP/8	Nepal
A/CONF.104/SP/20	Niger
A/CONF.104/SP/14	Rwanda
A/CONF.104/SP/13	Somalia
A/CONF.104/SP/6	Samoa
A/CONF.104/SP/15	Sudan
A/CONF.104/SP/16	Uganda
A/CONF.104/SP/17	United Republic of Tanzania
A/CONF.104/SP/26	Upper Volta
A/CONF.104/SP/9 and Corr. 1	Yemen

---

a/ Arabic, English and French only.

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Title or description</u>
<u>Reports of the Review Meetings</u>	
A/CONF.104/3	Reports of the Review Meetings for the Least Developed Countries of Asia and the Pacific held at the Vienna International Centre from 30 March to 10 April 1981
A/CONF.104/4	Reports of the Review Meetings for the Least Developed Countries of Eastern Africa held at Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, from 4 to 14 May 1981
A/CONF.104/5	Reports of the Review Meetings for the Least Developed Countries of Western and Central Africa and Somalia held at the Netherlands Congress Centre, The Hague, from 25 May to 5 June 1981
A/CONF.104/6	Reports of the Review Meetings for the Least Developed Countries of Southern Africa, Guinea-Bissau and Haiti held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, from 22 to 26 June 1981
<u>Statistical data</u>	
A/CONF.104/9 and Corr. 1 <u>b/</u>	Basic data on the least developed countries: Note by the Conference secretariat
<u>Contributions by the United Nations system <u>c/</u></u>	
A/CONF.104/7	Note by the Conference secretariat
A/CONF.104/7/Add.1 (Parts I & II)	Contribution by the Economic Commission for Africa
A/CONF.104/7/Add.2	Contribution by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Pacific
A/CONF.104/7/Add.3	Contribution by the International Labour Organisation
A/CONF.104/7/Add.4 and Corr. 1 and Add.4(A), 4(B) and 4(C)	Contribution by the United Nations Development Programme with additional texts on UNCDF Special Measures Fund and UNV
A/CONF.104/7/Add.5	Contribution by the United Nations Children's Fund
A/CONF.104/7/Add.6 (Parts I & II)	Contribution by United Nations Industrial Organization

---

b/ English and French only.

c/ These documents have been reproduced as received and in the languages of submission only.

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Title or description</u>
A/CONF.104/7/Add.7	Contribution by the World Bank
A/CONF.104/7/Add.8	Contribution by the World Intellectual Property Organization
A/CONF.104/7/Add.9	Contribution by the World Meteorological Organization
A/CONF.104/7/Add.10	Contribution by the International Civil Aviation Organization
A/CONF.104/7/Add.11	Contribution by the World Health Organization
A/CONF.104/7/Add.12	Contribution by the World Food Council
A/CONF.104/7/Add.13 and Corr. 1	Contribution by the Inter-organization Board for Information Systems (IOB)
A/CONF.104/7/Add.14	Contribution by the United Nations Fund for Population Activities
A/CONF.104/7/Add.15	Contribution by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
A/CONF.104/7/Add.16	Contribution by the United Nations Department of Technical Co-operation for Development
A/CONF.104/7/Add.17	Contribution by the International Fund for Agricultural Development
A/CONF.104/7/Add.18	Contribution by the International Monetary Fund
A/CONF.104/7/Add.19 (Parts I & II)	Contribution by the International Trade Centre UNCTAD/GATT
A/CONF.104/7/Add.20	Contribution by the International Telecommunication Union
A/CONF.104/7/Add.21	Contribution by the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization
A/CONF.104/7/Add.22	Contribution by the World Food Programme
A/CONF.104/7/Add.23	Contribution by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
A/CONF.104/7/Add.24	Contribution by the United Nations Environment Programme
* * * * *	
A/CONF.104/8	The role of non-governmental organizations in aid to the least developed countries

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Title or description</u>
<u>Individual country presentations d/</u>	
LDC/CP/1	Afghanistan
LDC/CP/2	Bangladesh
LDC/CP/18 and Corr.1	Benin
LDC/CP/3	Bhutan
LDC/CP/28	Botswana
LDC/CP/10	Burundi
LDC/CP/19 and Add.1	Cape Verde
LDC/CP/20 and Corr.1	Central African Republic
LDC/CP/11	Comoros
LDC/CP/4	Democratic Yemen
LDC/CP/12 and Add.1, and Corr.1	Ethiopia
LDC/CP/22	Gambia
LDC/CP/23 and Add.1	Guinea
LDC/CP/31	Guinea-Bissau
LDC/CP/27	Haiti
LDC/CP/5	Lao People's Democratic Republic
LDC/CP/29	Lesotho
LDC/CP/30	Malawi
LDC/CP/6 and Corr.1	Maldives
LDC/CP/24 and Corr.1	Mali
LDC/CP/7 and Add.1	Nepal
LDC/CP/25 and Add.1	Niger
LDC/CP/13	Rwanda
LDC/CP/14	Somalia
LDC/CP/8	Samoa
LDC/CP/15	Sudan

---

d/ Available in very limited quantities in the original language only.

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Title or description</u>
LDC/CP/16 and Add.1, and Corr.1	Uganda
LDC/CP/17 and Add.1-2	United Republic of Tanzania
LDC/CP/26 and Add.1	Upper Volta
LDC/CP/9 and Add.1	Yemen

Aid modalities studies c/

LDC/RM.1/1	Aid modalities in Bangladesh
LDC/RM.3/2	Aid modalities in Somalia
LDC/RM.2/2	Aid modalities in Sudan
LDC/RM.2/1	Aid modalities in the United Republic of Tanzania

Background and miscellaneous documents f/

A/CONF.104/10	Reports of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries: Note by the Conference secretariat
A/35/45	Report of the Preparatory Committee (First and second sessions) to the General Assembly
A/CONF.104/PC/19 and Add.1-8	Report of the Preparatory Committee on its third session
A/CONF.104/PC.15 and Add.1 and Corr.1 and 2 g/	Summary tables for the Least Developed countries h/
A/CONF.104/INF.1	Establishment of a list of speakers
A/CONF.104/INF.2	Information for participants

---

e/ English only. Available in limited quantities.

f/ Available in limited quantities only.

g/ English and French only.

h/ Available in very limited quantities.

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Title or description</u>
TD/RES/122(V)	UNCTAD resolution on the Comprehensive New Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries
A/RES 34/203 and A/RES 35/205	General Assembly resolutions on the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries
(TD/B/775 (TD/B/AC.17/13	Report of the Group of High-Level experts on the Comprehensive New Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries (26-30 November 1979)
(TD/B/681 (TD/B/AC.21/7	Report of the Meeting of Multilateral and Bilateral Financial and Technical Assistance Institutions with Representatives of the Least Developed Countries (31 October - 8 November 1977)
A/CONF.104/PC/13	Additional information received from donor countries and from multilateral donor agencies
A/CONF.104/PC/12	Summaries of replies received from bodies of the United Nations system and from certain multilateral donor agencies





Paris, 1 September 1981

ENGLISH ONLY

Delegates' Reference Library

Bibliography

of materials available in the  
Delegates' Reference Library  
for consultation by Participants  
in the Conference. The  
Library is open from 9:00 AM  
until 6:00 PM on all working  
days of the Conference.

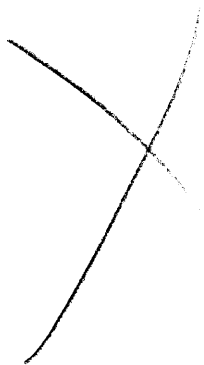
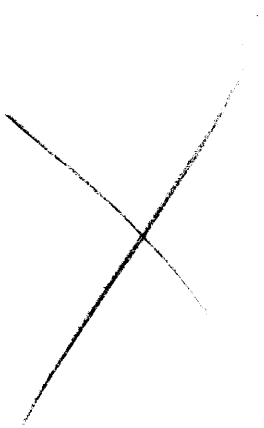


TABLE of CONTENTS

Articles . . . . . page one

Documents  
and  
Monographs . . . . . page six



A R T I C L E S

A. General

1. Ahmad, J.: "The least developed among the developing countries" Journal of world trade law: v. 8, March-April 1974, pp 201-209.
2. Ba, Boubekar: "The problem of transferring technology to the least industrialised countries" Labour and society: v. 1, July-Oct 1976, pp. 121-126.
3. "Conférence des Nations Unies sur les pays les moins avancés, Paris 1981" Marchés tropicaux et méditerranéens: v. 37, juillet-aout 1981, nos. 1862-1868.
4. Dobrska, Z.: "The least developed countries" Oeconomica polona: v. 2, no. 3, 1975, pp 349-366.
5. Dommen, E., et Monaldi, V.: "L'exportation; facteur dominant de la croissance économique des pays les moins développés ou illusion statistique?" Genève-Afrique: v. 15, no. 2, 1976, pp 64-72.
6. Freeman, Orville L.: "Multinational corporations; hope for the poorest nations" Futurist: v. 14, Dec 1980, pp 3-13.
7. Islam, Nurul: "The external debt problem of the developing countries, with special reference to the least developed" In Helleiner, G. K., editor, A world divided: the less developed countries in the international economy (Cambridge, 1976), pp 225-247.
8. MacBean, A. I.: "Identifying the least developed in the international line-up" World economy: v. 2, Jan 1979, pp 99-123.
9. Rymalov, V.: "Newly-free countries; problems of economic development" International affairs (Moscow): volume for 1978, pp 48-59.
10. Selwyn, P.: "The least-developed countries as a special case" World development: v. 2, Apr-May 1974, pp 35-42.

B. Individual Countries

11. AFGHANISTAN: Quarterly economic review of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan. Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1977.
12. "Afghanistan in the world economy. Economic bulletin for Asia and the Pacific, ESCAP: v. 29, December 1979, pp 10-27.
13. BANGLADESH: Ahmad, M.: "Bangladesh development; nature of the immediate task" Journal of management: v. 6, Jan 1980, pp 78-88.

14. BANGLADESH: Ahmad, Q. K.: "The manufacturing sector of Bangladesh; an overview" Bangladesh development studies: v. 6, autumn 1978, pp. 385-416.
15. Islam, Azizul: "Comparative advantage of Bangladesh within the manufacturing sector" Bangladesh development studies: v. 7, autumn 1978, pp 43-68.
16. Sobhan, Rehman: Bangladesh and the world economic system; the crisis of external dependence" Development and change: v. 12, July 1981, pp. 327-347.
17. BENIN: "Benin; a review at the start of the 1980s" Courier; Africa, Caribbean, Pacific-European community: v. 43, March-April 1980.
18. Cot, G.: "Bénin; édifier l'indépendance économique" Afrique-Asie: juillet-aout 1979, pp 31 ff.
19. "La révolution béninoise en 1977" Europe outremer: no. 566, mars 1977.
20. BOTSWANA: "Botswana, an economic survey" African development: v. 10, January 1976, pp 93-102.
21. BURUNDI: "République du Burundi" Europe outremer: no. 584, nov. 1978, pp 43-49.
22. CAPE VERDE: "Cap-Vert; le sahel en pleine mer" Courier; Africa, Caribbean, Pacific-European community: Jan-Feb 1981, pp. 17-31.
23. idem, in English
24. CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC: Quarterly economic review of Gabon, Congo, Cameroun, C. A. R., Chad, Madagascar. Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1976.
25. "Panorama de l'économie centreafricaine" Bulletin de l'Afrique noire: v. 20, 7 déc 1977, pp 18303-18309.
26. "Le plan de redressement économique et social 1980-1981 de la RCA" Bulletin de l'Afrique noire: v. 23, juin-juillet 1980, nos. 1051, 1053-54.
27. CHAD: Quarterly economic review of Gabon, Congo, Cameroun, C. A. R., Chad, Madagascar. The Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1976.
28. "Indicateurs économiques du Tchad" Banque des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale; études et statistiques: janvier 1979, pp 26-39.
29. "République du Tchad" Europe outremer: no. 584, nov. 1978, pp 213-220.
30. COMOROS: Gaspart, C.: "The Comoro Islands since independence; an

- economic appraisal" Civilisations: v. 29, no. 3-4, 1979, pp 293-311.
31. "République fédérale islamique des Comores" Europe outremer: no. 584, nov. 1978, pp 72-74.
32. ETHIOPIA: Quarterly economic review of Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti. Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1981.
33. Love, R. S.: "Economic change in pre-revolutionary Ethiopia" African affairs: v. 78, July 1979, pp 339-355.
34. "La situation économique et monétaire de l'Ethiopie en 1977 et dans les premiers mois de 1978" Industries et travaux d'outremer: v. 27, aout 1978, pp 468-471.
35. GAMBIA: Quarterly economic review of Ghana, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Liberia. Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1974.
36. "The Gambia's economy" West Africa: 14 July 1980, pp 1280-1281.
37. GUINEA: "Le point économique sur la Guinée au début 1980" Europe outremer: v. 56, septembre 1978, pp 23-47.
38. HAITI: Quarterly economic review of Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Puerto Rico. Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1974.
39. "Haiti, the world's first black republic" Courier; Africa, Caribbean, Pacific-European community: Sept-Oct 1980, pp 102-104.
40. LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: Quarterly economic review; Indochina ... Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1975.
41. "Laos; po puti sotsializma" Informatsionnyi biulleten, Mezhdunarodnyi bank ekonomicheskogo sotrudnichestva (Moskova): no. 5, 1980, pp 23-28.
42. LESOTHO: Hirschmann, D.: "Administration of planning in Lesotho; the second lag" Development and change: v. 9, July 1978, pp 397-414.
43. "Lesotho's struggle for economic independence" African business: February, 1979, pp 47-51.
44. Piper, I.: "Surviving on the roof of Africa" Courier; Africa, Caribbean, Pacific-European community: Sept-Oct 1979, pp 6-9, 3-5.
45. MALAWI: Quarterly economic review of Rhodesia, Malawi. Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1974.
46. "Making the most of meagre resources" Courier; Africa, Caribbean, Pacific-European Community: Jul-Aug 1981, pp. 34-47.
47. "Malawi's economy goes into reverse" African business: July, 1980, pp 15-16.

48. MALI: "L'économie du Mali et ses perspectives de développement" Marchés tropicaux et méditerranéens: v. 35, 18 mai 1979, pp 1229-1231.
49. Latrémolière, J.: "Les conditions de la croissance au Mali" Marchés tropicaux et méditerranéens: v. 36, 18 juillet 1980, pp 1779-1781.
50. Platon, P.: "Mali 1980; l'économie malienne au seuil d'une nouvelle décennie" Marchés tropicaux et méditerranéens: v. 35, 21 déc 1979, pp 3495-3595.
51. NEPAL: Upreti, B. C.: "India's Nepal policy in the seventies" Eastern economist: v. 73, Sep 21, 1979, pp 611-613.
52. NIGER: "Niger 1980" Marchés tropicaux et méditerranéens: v. 35, 1 juin 1979, pp 1363-1469.
53. "Le plan quinquennal de développement du Niger (1979-1983)" Bulletin de l'Afrique noire: v. 23, 7 mai 1980, pp 20184-20196.
54. RWANDA: "République rwandaise" Europe outremer: no. 584, nov 1978, pp 191-197.
55. "Rwanda; problèmes et politique de développement" Les Cahiers du tiers monde: mars-avril, 1980, pp 1-56.
56. "Le Rwanda; une stabilité à sauvegarder" Marchés tropicaux et méditerranéens: v. 36, 8 août 1980, pp 1953-1954.
57. SAMOA: "Western Samoa" Courier: Africa, Caribbean, Pacific-European community: Mar-Apr 1980, pp 34-39.
58. SOMALIA: Quarterly economic review for Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti. Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1981.
59. "L'Heure du bilan; 1er congrès du PSRS (Parti socialiste révolutionnaire somalien) du 20 au 25 janvier 1979" Afrique-Asie: 19 mars-1 avril 1979, pp 27-54.
60. SUDAN: Amadou, F.: "Soudan; économie surveillée" L'Economiste du tiers monde: no. 47, juin 1980, pp 12-13.
61. Kaikati, J. G.: "The economy of Sudan; a potential breadbasket of the Arab world?" International journal of Middle East studies: v. 11, February 1980, pp 99-123.
62. "Sudan" New African development: January, 1978, pp 35-82.
63. TANZANIA: Quarterly economic review for Tanzania, Mauritius. Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1975.
64. Nursey-Bray, P. F.: "Tanzania; the development debate" African affairs: v. 79, January 1980, pp 55-78.



65. TANZANIA: Silver, M. S.: "Ownership indices of industrial production for Tanzania, 1965-1972" Studies in comparative international development: v. 15, spring 1980, pp 61-78.
66. UGANDA: Quarterly economic review of Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti. Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1981.
67. Latremolière, J.: "Les chances du rétablissement économique de l'Ouganda" Marchés tropicaux et méditerranéens: v. 35, 11 mai 1979, pp 1171-1173.
68. "Ouganda; le plan triennal de restauration économique 1977/1978-1979/1980" Industrie et travaux d'outremer: v. 25, décembre 1977, pp 823-826.
69. UPPER VOLTA: "Haute-Volta; numéro special avec interview de Aboubakar Sangoulé Lamizana" Europe outremer: v. 57, janvier-février 1980, pp 1-52.
70. "Le plan quinquennal (1977-1981) de développement de la Haute-Volta" Bulletin de l'Afrique noire: v. 23, 10 septembre 1980, pp 20381-20383.
71. YEMEN (ARAB REPUBLIC): Quarterly economic review of the Arabian Peninsula; Shaikhdoms and Republics. The Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1975.
72. "North Yemen development, with interview with Ahmed Hussein al-Ghashmi" The Middle East: January, 1978, pp 28-30.
73. Yemen del Nord; situazione economica ... Informazioni per il commercio estero, 24 giugno 1981.
74. "Yemen; développement des industries de transformation" L'Economiste arabe: v. 22, novembre 1979, pp 26-27.
75. YEMEN, PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: Quarterly economic review of the Arabian Peninsula; Shaikhdoms and republics. Economist Intelligence Unit; annual supplement, 1975.

DOCUMENTS and MONOGRAPHS

1. Africa South of the Sahara, 1980/81.  
London, Europa Publications, 1980.
- 1A "Agreement on Andean subregional integration" Bogota, 26 May 1969.
- 1B "The Alta Garcia Charter" (E/CONF.46/100, 10 April 1964.
2. Annuaire du tiers monde, 1979.  
Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1979.
3. "The balance of payments adjustment process in developing countries;  
report to the Group of Twenty-Four" (UNDP/UNCTAD Project  
INT/75/015) New York, 1979.
4. Bank for International Settlements.  
Annual report. 51st, 1980/81. Basle, 1981.  
copy two in French (5)
6. Brandt Commission.  
Background papers. Prepared for the Independent Commission on  
International Development Issues, 1978-1979. Geneva, 1981.
- 6A Brandt Commission.  
North-South: a programme for survival. The report of the Inde-  
pendent Commission on International Development Issues, under the  
chairmanship of Willy Brandt. London, Pan Books, 1980.
- 6B Caribbean Free Trade Association: Protocols to CARIFTA.
7. Chichilnisky, Graciela  
A progress report on technology, domestic distribution and North-  
South relations; prepared by Graciela Chichilnisky and Sam Cole.  
New York, UNITAR, 1978.
8. Conférence des chefs d'état et de gouvernement de l'Organisation de  
l'unité africaine. 2d extraordinary session, Lagos, 1980.  
Plan d'action de Lagos en vue de la mise en oeuvre de la stratégie  
de Monrovia pour le développement économique de l'Afrique. Addis  
Ababa, 1980. (U.N. document A/S-11/14)
10. Conference on International Economic Cooperation (North-South Confer-  
ence), Paris, 1977.  
Report of the Conference. (U.N. document A/31/478/Add.1)
- 10A East-Caribbean Common Market,  
Agreement establishing the East Caribbean Common Market with  
protocol laying down arrangements for the establishment of a common  
level of duties of customs by member states.

11. The Europa yearbook: a world survey, 1980. London, Europa Publications, 1980.
12. European Communities.  
La convention de Yaoundé II; l'association des pays et territoires d'Outre-mer à la CEE, textes annexes. La convention d'Arusha; textes annexes. Luxembourg, 1970.
- 12A -----  
Convention d'association entre la Communauté économique européenne et les Etats africains et Malgache associés à cette Communauté. Yaoundé, 1969.  
copy two in English
- 12C -----  
Dossier Lomé: convention ACP-CEE de Lomé. Paris, 1975.
- 12CC -----  
Statistical Office.  
ACP: statistical yearbook, 1972-1978. Brussels, 1980.
- 12B European Economic Community-East African Community: agreement of association. Arusha, 1968.
13. Food and Agriculture Organization.  
Production yearbook, 1980. Rome, 1981.
- 13A -----  
The state of food and agriculture, 1979. Rome, 1980
- 14 -----  
Trade yearbook, 1980. Rome, 1981.
- 14A Germany, Federal Republic. Statistisches Bundesamt.  
Länderkurzbericht /for the following countries; German text/  
Afghanistan; 1979 Lesotho/Swasiland; 1980  
Athiopien; 1979 Malawi; 1980  
Bangladesch; 1980 Mali; 1976  
Benin; 1978 Nepal; 1980  
Botsuana; 1979 Niger; 1980  
Burundi; 1979 Obervolta; 1980  
Gambia; 1981 Ruanda; 1980  
Guinea; 1981 Seschellen/Komoren; 1980  
Haiti; 1976 Somalia; 1980  
Jemen, Arabische Republik; Sudan; 1980  
1979 Uganda; 1980  
Jemen, Demokratische Volksrepublik; Zentral-afrikanische Republik;  
1980 1981
15. Grand atlas du continent africain. Paris, Jeune Afrique, 1973.
16. Group of Seventy-Seven. Intergovernmental Group of Twenty-Four on International Monetary Affairs.  
Outline for a program of action on international monetary reform. Belgrade, 1979 (U.N. document TD/B/AC.32/L.2)

- 16A Group of Seventy-Seven. Ministerial Meeting. Algiers, 1967.  
Charter of Algiers (TD/38, 3 Nov 67; MM/77/I/20, 30 Oct 67).
17. ----- 2d, Lima, 1971.  
The declaration and principles of the action programme of Lima.  
(TD/143)
- 17A ----- Georgetown, 1972.  
Déclaration de Georgetown; programme d'action en vue d'une  
co-opération économique. 1972.
18. ----- 3d, Manila, 1976.  
Manila declaration and programme of action. 1976. (TD/195)
- 18A ----- Lima, 1975.  
Lima programme for mutual assistance and solidarity. Lima, 1975.  
(A/10217)
19. ----- 4th, Arusha, 1979.  
Arusha programme for collective self-reliance and framework for  
negotiations. Geneva, 1979. (TD/236)
- 19A Group of Thirty. Reserve Assets Study Group.  
Towards a less unstable international monetary system; reserve  
assets and a substitution account. Basel, 1980.
20. Haquani, Zalmi  
UNCTAD for a new economic order. New York, 1978.
- 20A Hawrylyshyn, Bohdan  
Road maps to the future; towards more effective societies. A  
report to the Club of Rome. Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1980.
- 20B International Monetary Fund  
Balance of payments yearbook: v. 31, December 1980. Washington,  
D. C., 1981.
21. -----  
International financial statistics, 1980. Washington, D. C., 1981.
- 21A -----  
"International financial statistics; monthly ... " Washington,  
D. C., 1981-
22. -----
23. World economic outlook; a survey ... 1980 and 1981. Washington,  
D. C., 1980 and 1981.
24. Kurian, George T.  
Encyclopedia of the third world. 2 v.  
New York, Facts on File, 1978.
25. Laidlaw, Ken  
Fund for the future: UNCTAD's common fund for commodities.  
1980.

26. Leontief, Wassily W.  
The future of the world economy: a United Nations study. New York, Oxford University Press, 1977.
27. Montevideo Treaty, 1980. Instrument establishing the Latin American Integration Association (LAIA). Montevideo, 1980.
28. OECD economic outlook; no. 29, July 1981. Paris, 1981
- 28A A new international economic order; selected documents, 1945-1975. New York, UNITAR, 1977. 2 v.
- 28B A new international economic order; selected documents, 1976. New York, UNITAR, 1980.
29. Ohlin, Goran  
Aid and indebtedness; the relationbetween aid requirements, terms assistance and indebtedness of developing countries. Paris, OECD, 1966.
30. O'Neill, Helen  
A common interest in a common fund; proposals for new structures in international commodity markets. New York, United Nations, 1977.
31. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.
32. Activities of OECD in 1980; report ... Paris, OECD, 1981
33. -----  
External indebtedness of developing countries; present situation and future prospects. Paris, OECD, 1979.
34. -----  
Geographical distribution of financial flows to developing countries; data on disbursements and commitments. volumes for 1974, 1969/75, 1971/77 and 1976/79. Paris, OECD, 1976-80.
35. -----  
OECD financial statistics: issue for August, 1980. Paris, 1981.
37. Regional seminar on UNIDO operations primarily for the least developed countries in co-operation with ESCAP. 5th, New Delhi, 1976.  
Report. Vienna, UNIDO, 1976.
38. Seminar on the "Prospects for the least-developed countries in the eighties", Paris, 1979.  
Compte rendu. Paris, OECD, 1980.
39. Report. Paris, OECD, 1980.
40. Sen, Amartya  
Levels of poverty; policy and change. Washington, World Bank, 1980.
41. Sovet ekonomicheskoi vzaimopomoshchi.  
Statistical yearbook of member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. London, IPC, 1979.

42. Statesman's yearbook, 1980. London, 1981.
- 42A The third world without superpowers: the collected documents of the non-aligned countries, edited by Jankowitsch and Sauvart. New York, Oceana, 1978. 4 v.
- 42B ----- (second series): the Group of 77. New York, Oceana, 1981. 2 v.
43. The Times atlas of the world, 1980. London, the Times, 1980.
- 43A Tinbergen, Jan, ed.  
RIO: reshaping the international order; a report to the Club of Rome. New York, Dutton, 1976.
- 43B Union monétaire ouest-africaine. Paris, 1969.
44. U. N. Administrative Committee on Co-ordination.  
Long-term development objectives ... for the New International Development Strategy. New York, 1979 (A/AC.196/11).
46. ----- Committee Established under G. A. Resolution 32/174.  
Reports. 1978, 1980, 1981. New York, 1978-81.
48. ----- Dag Hammarskjöld Library.  
Index to resolutions and other decisions of the U. N. Conference on trade and development and of the Trade and Development Board.
- 48A -----  
The new international economic order; a selective bibliography. New York, 1980.
- 48B ----- Dept of international economic and social affairs.  
Yearbook of world energy statistics, 1979. New York, 1981.
- 48C ----- Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.  
Statistical yearbook for Asia and the Pacific, 1979. Bangkok, 1980.
- 48D -----  
Annual report /to the Economic and Social Council/ 30 March 1980-20 March 1981. New York, 1981.
49. ----- Economic and Social Council.  
Report ... 1980. New York, 1981.
- 49A ----- Economic Commission for Africa.  
Annual report /to the Economic and Social Council/ 13 April 1980 to 10 April 1981. New York, 1981.
- 49B ----- Economic Commission for Europe.  
Annual report /to the Economic and Social Council/ 27 April 1980 to 8 April 1981. New York, 1981.

- 49C U. N. Economic Commission for Latin America.  
Informe bienal [to the Economic and Social Council] 27 de abril de  
1979 a 15 de mayo de 1981. New York, 1981.
- 49D -----.  
Statistical yearbook for Latin America, 1979. New York, 1980.
- 49E -----. Economic Commission for Western Asia.  
Report on the eighth session [to the Economic and Social Council]  
3-7 May 1981.
50. -----. General Assembly. 6th Special Session, New York, 1974.  
Resolutions adopted ... New York, 1974 (A/9559)
51. -----. 34th session, New York, 1979.  
Selected mimeographed documents. New York, 1979.
52. -----. 35th session, New York, 1980.  
International development strategy for the 3d United Nations  
Development Decade. New York, 1980 (A/35/464).
53. -----.
54. Resolution adopted ... on the report of the 2d Committee (A/35/592/  
Add.1) 35/56: International development strategy for the 3d United  
Nations development decade. New York, 1981 (A/RES/35/56).
55. -----. 11th special session, New York, 1980.  
Mimeographed documents. New York, 1980.
56. -----. Group of Experts on the structure of the United Nations system.
57. A new United Nations structure for global cooperation. New York, 1975.
58. -----. Intergovernmental committee on science and technology for  
59. development.  
Report. New York, 1980.
60. -----. Preparatory committee for the new international development  
61. strategy.  
Reports for the 1st, 4th, 5th and 6th sessions. New York, 1980.
62. -----. Preparatory committee for the U. N. conference on the least  
63. developed countries. 1st-2d sessions, New York, 1980.  
Report. New York, 1981.
65. U. N. Conference on technical cooperation among developing countries,  
66. Buenos Aires, 1978.  
Report. New York, 1978)
67. United Nations conference on the least developed countries, Paris, 1981.  
Country review meetings; country presentations for the following  
countries:
- |                   |              |
|-------------------|--------------|
| 67-1. Afghanistan | 67-3. Benin  |
| 67-2. Bangladesh. | 67-4. Bhutan |

67-5. Botswana	67-18. Maldives
67-6. Burundi	67-19. Mali
67-7. Cape Verde	67-20. Nepal (2 v.)
67-8. Central African Republic	67-21. Niger
67-9. Comoros	67-22. Rwanda
67-10. Ethiopia (2 v.)	67-23. Samoa
67-11. Gambia	67-24. Somalia
67-12. Guinea (2 v.)	67-25. Sudan
67-13. Guinea-Bissau	67-26. Tanzania (3 v.)
67-14. Haiti	67-27. Uganda
67-15. Lao People's Dem. Republic	67-28. Upper Volta
67-16. Lesotho	67-29. Yemen Arab Republic
67-17. Malawi	67-30. Yemen, People's Dem. Republic

67A U. N. Conference on Trade and Development.

Guide to UNCTAD publications. 1964 to date.

68. -----.

Handbook of international trade and development statistics, 1980.  
New York, 1980.

69. -----.

UNCTAD: tenth anniversary journal New York, 1974 (TAD/INF/74).

70. -----. 1st, Geneva, 1964.

Proceedings. 8 v. New York, 1964.

71. -----. 2d, New Delhi, 1968.

72. Proceedings. 4 v. New York, 1968.

73. -----. 3d, Santiago de Chile, 1972.

74. Proceedings. 8 v. New York, 1973.

75. -----. 4th, Nairobi, 1976.

76. Proceedings. 3 v. New York, 1978.

77. -----. 5th, Manila, 1979.

78. Proceedings. 3 v. New York, 1981.

-----. Committee on Commodities.

Reports and Sessions. complete file, English and French.

-----. Committee on Invisibles.

Reports and Sessions. complete file, English and French.

-----. Committee on Manufactures.

Reports and Sessions. complete file, English and French

-----. Committee on Shipping.

Reports and Sessions. complete file, English and French

-----. Committee on Transfer of Technology.

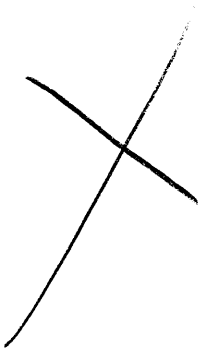
Reports and Sessions. complete file, English and French



- U. N. Conference on Trade and Development. Special Committee on Preferences.  
Reports and Sessions. complete file, English and French
- Trade and Development Board.  
Official records and Resolutions. complete file, English and French
- Intergovernmental Group on the Least Developed Countries.  
Mimeographed documents. Geneva, 1978- (TD/B/AC.17- ).
79. U. N. negotiating conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme  
80. for Commodities, Geneva, 1980.  
Agreement establishing the Common Fund for Commodities, Geneva, 1980.  
(TD/IPC/CF/CONF/24)
81. The world almanac and book of facts, 1981. New York, 1981.
82. World Bank  
Annual report, 1980. Washington, D. C., 1980.
83. -----  
Atlas: population, per capita product and growth rates. Washington,  
D. C., 1980.
84. -----  
Borrowing in international capital markets. Washington, D. C., 1980.
85. -----  
Country studies, as follows:
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 85-1. Afghanistan. 1978.                 | 85-15. Maldives. 1980.                               |
| 85-2. Bangladesh. 1980.                  | 85-16. Mali. 1978.                                   |
| 85-3. Burundi. 1978.                     | 85-17. Nepal. 1979.                                  |
| 85-4. Central African Republic.<br>1969. | 85-18. Niger. 1976                                   |
| 85-5. Chad. 1977.                        | 85-19. Somalia. 1981.                                |
| 85-6. Ethiopia. 1980.                    | 85-20. Sudan. 1976.                                  |
| 85-7. Gambia. 1980 (2 v.)                | 85-21. Tanzania. 1981.                               |
| 85-8. Guinea. 1967.                      | 85-22. Upper Volta. 1975.                            |
| 85-9. Haiti. 1981.                       | 85-23. Yemen Arab Republic. 1980.                    |
| 85-10. Lesotho. 1976.                    | 85-24. Yemen, People's Democratic<br>Republic. 1980. |
| 85-11. Malawi. 1981 (3 v.)               |  |
86. -----  
World development report, 1981. Washington, D. C., 1981.
87. Yearbook of the United Nations, 1977. New York, 1980.

\* \* \*

Nota Bene: The Delegates' Reference Library maintains a complete set of  
UNCTAD documents, English and French, on microfiche. A reader-  
printer is available.



1 September 1981

#### LISTE PROVISOIRE DES PARTICIPANTS

Les renseignements contenus dans le présent document sont fondés sur les communications que le secrétariat avait reçues, au 29 août 1981, des gouvernements des Etats membres de la CNUCED, des institutions spécialisées, des organisations intergouvernementales et des organisations non gouvernementales.

Les additions et rectifications à la présente liste devront être soumises par écrit à Mme A.-M. Boivin, Bureau R-233.

A mesure que de nouvelles communications seront reçues, des additifs à la présente liste provisoire seront publiés.

La liste définitive des participants sera publiée en temps utile.

+ + +

#### PROVISIONAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

The information contained in the document is issued following communications received by the secretariat as of 29 August 1981 from Governments of States members of UNCTAD, specialized agencies, IGOs and NGOs.

Additions and corrections to the list should be submitted in writing to Mrs. A.-M. Boivin, Room R-233.

As and when further communications are received, addenda to this provisional list will be issued.

A final list of participants will be issued in due course.

+ + +

#### LISTA PROVISIONAL DE PARTICIPANTES

La información contenida en el presente documento se basa en las comunicaciones enviadas a la secretaría hasta el 29 de agosto de 1981 por los gobiernos de los Estados miembros de la UNCTAD, los organismos especializados, las organizaciones intergubernamentales y las organizaciones no gubernamentales.

Las adiciones y correcciones a la presente lista deberán remitirse por escrito a la Sra. A.-M. Boivin, despacho No R-233.

Conforme se reciban nuevas comunicaciones, se publicarán adiciones a esta lista provisional.

En el momento oportuno se publicará una lista definitiva de participantes.

## REPRESENTATIVES

### AFGHANISTAN

- + Mr. Mehrabbuddin PAKTIAWAL, First Vice Chairman, State Planning Committee
- Mr. Mohammad Jaafar KAZIM, President, Foreign-Economic Relations Department, State Planning Committee
- Mr. Juma gul Habib NAYEBKHAIL, International Economic and Financial Relations Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Mir Hameedullah NIZAM, Second Secretary, Embassy, Paris

### ALLEMAGNE, REPUBLIQUE FEDERALE D'

- + H.E. Mr. Rainer OFFERGELD, Federal Minister for Economic Co-operation
- ++ H.E. Mr. Alwin BRUEK, Federal Minister for Economic Co-operation, Parliamentary Secretary
- Mr. Joachim GRAWE, Director-General, Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation
- Mr. Ewald MUEHLEN, Chargé d'Affaires a.i., Embassy
- +++ Mr. Werner REICHENBAUM, Minister Counsellor, Federal Foreign Office
- Mr. Wulf-Dieter ERNERT, Ministerial Counsellor, Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation
- Mr. Michael BOHNET, Ministerial Counsellor, Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation
- Mr. Wilfried KOSCHORREK, Ministerial Counsellor, Federal Ministry of Finance
- Mr. Hartmut SCHEELE, Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Mr. Hans-Dietrich PALLMANN, Counsellor, Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation
- Mr. Joachim KOCH, Counsellor, Federal Ministry of Economics
- Mr. Reiner MOECKELMANN, First Secretary, Federal Foreign Office
- Mr. Michael von HARPE, First Secretary, Federal Ministry of Finance
- Mr. Ekkehart GABELMANN, First Secretary, Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation
- Mrs. Dorothee FIEDLER, First Secretary, Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation
- Mrs. Blanca RAU-MENTZEN, Second Secretary, Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation

### ARGENTINE

- + S.E. Sr. Juan Manuel FIGUEREDO, Embajador, Subsecretario de Relaciones Económicas Internacionales
- ++ Sr. Víctor BEAUGUE, Ministro, Misión Permanente, Ginebra

- 
- + Représentants/Representatives/Representantes
  - ++ Représentants suppléants/Alternate representatives/Representantes Suplentes
  - +++ Conseillers/Advisers/Consejeros

## AUSTRALIE

- + H.E. Mr. D.M. SADLEIR, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Geneva
- Mr. J.A. PIPER, Assistant Secretary, Economic Division, Department of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. J.R. BAKER, Assistant Secretary, Australian Development Assistance Bureau
- ++ Mr. M.R. CASSON, Deputy Permanent Representative to OECD
- Mr. C.I. HIGGINS, Minister (Economic and Financial Affairs), Permanent Mission to OECD
- Mr. W.E. WEEMAES, Minister, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Mr. R. STENSHOLT, Counsellor (Development Assistance), Embassy, Rome
- Ms. V. FANNING, First Secretary (Commercial), Permanent Delegation to OECD
- Ms. G. BIRD, Third Secretary, Permanent Delegation to OECD
- +++ Mr. J. BIRCH, Australian Council for Overseas Aid

## AUTRICHE

- + H.E. Mr. Adolf NUSSBAUMER, Minister of State, Federal Chancellery
- Mr. Udo EHRLICH-ADAM, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs
- ++ H.E. Mr. Peter JANKOWITSCH, Ambassador, Special Adviser, Permanent Mission to OECD
- H.E. Mr. Anton PROHASKA, Ambassador, Special Adviser, Permanent Mission to UNESCO
- Ms. Brigitte DEKROUT, Counsellor, Federal Chancellery
- Ms. Christine RECHT, Counsellor, Permanent Mission to OECD
- Mr. Klaus DERKOWITSCH, Counsellor, Federal Chancellery
- Mr. Ralph SCHEIDE, Secretary of Embassy, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Mr. Harald SITTA, Federal Ministry for Finance

## BANGLADESH

- + H.E. Mr. M. Saifur RAHMAN, Minister of Finance
- ++ Mr. A.M.A. MUHTITH, Secretary, External Resources Division
- Mr. Syed Amir KHASRU, Secretary, Foreign Trade Division
- H.E. Mr. M. SULTAN, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Geneva
- H.E. Mr. A. MOMIN, Ambassador, Paris
- Mr. S.R. KARIM, Economic Minister, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Mr. Masud AHMED, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Anwarul Karim CHOWDHURY, Minister, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Mr. M. FARASHUDDIN, Deputy Secretary, External Resources Division
- Mr. Syed JAMALUDDIN, Deputy Chief, External Resources Division
- Mr. Jamil MAJID, First Secretary, Embassy, Paris
- Mr. Md. Suhrab HOSSAIN, Second Secretary, Embassy, Paris

## BELGIQUE

- + S.E. M.D. COENS, Ministre de la coopération au développement
- ++ M. A. SAINTRAINT, Administrateur général, Administration générale de la coopération au développement
- M. R. LENAERTS, Directeur général, Administration générale de la coopération au développement
- M. P. FRIX, Chef de cabinet adjoint au Cabinet de la coopération au développement
- M. V. HODY, Chef de la Division ONU, Administration générale de la coopération au développement
- M. J. POSWICK, Conseiller, Mission permanente, Genève

BELGIQUE (suite)

- +++ M. J. CORDY, Conseiller, Mission permanente auprès de la C.E.E.
- M. P. ROUX, Représentant permanent adjoint, Mission permanente auprès OCDE
- M. D. LALOUX, Conseiller, Ministère des affaires étrangères
- M. Pierre LEMAIRE, Conseiller adjoint, Ministère des affaires étrangères
- M. J.L. TORDEUR, Secrétaire d'administration, Ministère des affaires étrangères
- M. L. TEIRLINCK, Secrétaire, Ambassade, Paris
- M. PEETERS, Représentant du Centre national de la coopération au développement
- Mme DURY, Représentant du Centre national de coopération au développement

BENIN

- + H.E. Mr. Aboubacar Baba MOUSSA, Minister of Planning
- ++ Mr. Justin GNIDEHOU, Director, State Planning
- Mr. Jacques ADANDE, Director, Technical Co-operation
- Mr. Symihorien HOUNKANRIN, Senior Official, Direction of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

BHOUTAN

- + Mr. D.K. CHHETRI, Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- ++ Mr. Lam PENJOR, Deputy Minister, Planning Commission
- Mr. Ygyen TSHERING, Under-Secretary, Planning Commission
- Mr. Karma TENZING, Deputy Director, Ministry of Trade, Industry and Forests

BOLIVIE

- + S.E. Sr. Agustín SAAVEDRA WEISE, Embajador, Representante Permanente, Ginebra
- ++ Sr. Augusto ARGUEDAS del CARPIO, Ministro Consejero, Misión Permanente, Ginebra
- Srta. Martha LAPEYRIERE SUAREZ, Consejero, Misión Permanente, Ginebra
- Sr. Jaime APARICIO, Primer Secretario, Embajada, Paris
- Sra. Miriam Paz CERRUTO, Consejero, Embajada, Paris

BOTSWANA

- + H.E. Mr. M.P.K. NWAKO, Minister of Commerce and Industry
- ++ Mr. J.L.T. MOTHIBAMELE, Assistant Minister of Finance and Development Planning
- H.E. Mr. G.G. GAREBAMONO, Ambassador, Brussels
- Mr. L. MOTHIBATSELA, Chief Economist, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning
- Mr. J. SCHWACH, Senior Planning Officer, Ministry of Commerce and Industry
- Mr. L. LEKOA, External Affairs Officer

BRESIL

- + H.E. Mr. Carlos Augusto PROENCA ROSA
- ++ H.E. Mr. GILBERTO, Minister
- Mr. Joao Mendonca LIMA NETO, Secretary

## BULGARIE

- \* Mr. Georgui PIRINSKY, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade
- \*\* Mr. Nikolay NENOV, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Mr. Konstantin KOLEV, Chief of Section, Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Mr. Atanas PAPARIZOV, Director, Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Mrs. Anna DOYNOVA, Director, Ministry of Foreign Trade

## BURUNDI

- \* S.E. M. Serge KANANIYE, Ministre du plan
- \*\* M. Edouard KADIGIRI, Membre du comité central du parti, Directeur général du commerce et de l'industrie
- S.E. M. TERENCE SANZE, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Genève
- S.E. M. Gérard WAKARERWA, Ambassadeur, Paris
- M. Félix MAGENGE, Directeur général, Ministère des affaires étrangères
- M. Anselme MURANGO, Directeur général du plan
- M. Salvator SAHINGUVU, Directeur général de la planification agricole
- M. Pancrace NIMBONA, Directeur général de l'énergie et des minies
- M. Marcel LAUGE, Conseiller, Ministère des transports

## CANADA

- \* The Honorable Raymond J. PERRAULT, P.C., Senator, Leader of the Government in the Senate
- \*\* Mr. Louis DUCLOS, M.P. Parliamentary Secretary for External Affairs
- Mr. Glen SHORTLIFFE, Vice-President, Policy Canadian International Development Agency
- H.E. Mr. Michel DUPUY, Ambassador-Designate to France
- Mr. John WOOD, Director, Development Policy, Canadian International Development Agency
- Mr. Pierre RACICOT, Director, Bilateral Programmes Advisory Group, Canadian International Development Agency
- Mr. John NOBLE, Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- \*\*\* Mr. J.R. McQUEEN, Director-General, International Affairs, Department of Agriculture
- Mr. S. APRIL, Counsellor, Permanent Mission to the OECD, Paris
- Ms. L. EDWARDS, Development and Export Financing Policy Division, Department of External Affairs
- Ms. M. RICHARDS, International Programs Division, Department of Finance
- Mr. D. FIRTH, Member of Parliament
- Mr. Herb BREAU, Member of Parliament

## CAP VERD

- \* S.E. M. José BRITO, Secrétaire d'état de la coopération et plan
- \*\* S.E. M. Antonio LIMA, Ambassadeur itinérant
- M. Adao ROCHA, Directeur général de la coopération
- M. Alberto J. BARBOSA, Economiste à la Direction générale du Plan
- M.L. DUPRET, **Chef** de Service des Nations Unies, **Ministère des** affaires étrangères

## CHILI

- \* S.E. Sr. Jorge BERGUÑO BARNES, Embajador, Representante Permanente ante la UNESCO
- \*\* Sr. Ricardo BABUL, Segundo Secretario, Misión Permanente, Ginebra
- Sr. Hernán MENA TABOADA, Segundo Secretario, Embajada, Paris

## CHINE

- \* M. Fei CHENG, Vice-ministre des relations économiques avec les pays étrangers
- \*\* M. Jin WANG, Chargé d'affaires a.i., Ambassade, Paris  
M. Xianwu ZHANG, Directeur de département adjoint, Ministère des relations économiques avec les pays étrangers
- \*\*\* M. Chihmin LI, Représentant adjoint et conseiller, Mission permanente, Genève  
M. Yufeng TANG, Deuxième secrétaire, Mission permanente, Genève  
M. Zhenlun YANG, Chef de section adjoint, Ministère des relations économiques avec les pays étrangers  
M. Shouguan XU, Ministère des affaires étrangères  
Mme Kefen TANG, Ministère du commerce extérieur  
M. Xianzhi GUO, Ministère des relations économiques avec les pays étrangers  
M. Jiming ZHU, Ministère des relations économiques avec les pays étrangers  
Mme Wen ZHU, Ministère des relations économiques avec les pays étrangers  
M. Tao-Sheng HUANG, Troisième secrétaire, Ambassade, Paris

## CHYPRE

- \* H.E. Mr. Petros MICHAELIDES, Ambassador, Paris
- \*\* Mr. Andreas PIRISHIS, Counsellor, Embassy, Paris  
Mr. Argyros ANTONIOU, Secretary, Embassy, Paris

## COLOMBIE

- \* S.E. Sr. Enrique Gomez HURTAD, Embajador ante el Gobierno de Francia  
S.E. Sr. Antonio OVIEDO, Ministro plenipotenciario  
Sr. Hernán Tovar PUNTO

## COMORES

- \* S.E. M. Said KAFE, Ministre des finances, de l'économie, du plan et du commerce extérieur
- \*\* S.E. M. Ali MLAHAILI, Ambassadeur, Paris  
M. MIKIDACHE ABDOURAHIM, Conseiller technique, Présidence de la république  
M. Abdallah MSA, Directeur général adjoint du plan  
M. Mohamed Ali SOILIH, Directeur du Centre fédéral d'appui au développement rural  
M. Soulaïmane Mohamed AHMED, Chef du Département des relations culturelles, Ministère des affaires étrangères et de la coopération  
M. SOUFFIANE MZE, Directeur fédéral des Postes et télécommunications

## CONGO

- M. Alphonse LOULENDO, Cabinet chef de l'Etat  
M. Jean François Sylvestre SOUKA, Directeur, Organisations internationales  
M. Alphonse Kouyokila SOUMINA  
M. Georges BANTHOUD  
M. Désiré NKOUNKOU



CUBA

- \* S.E. Sr. Jorge VOLANOS, Viceministro de Relaciones Exteriores
- \*\* Sr. Luis Solá VILA, Embajador, Misión Permanente, Ginebra  
Sr. Ernesto López PAZ, Subdirector de Organismos Internacionales,  
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores
- \*\*\* Sr. Patria SAN ROMAN, Especialista de Organismos Internacionales,  
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores  
Sra. Leyla TORRAS, Especialista de Organismos Internacionales,  
Ministerio de Comercio Exterior

DANEMARK

- \* H.E. Mr. Kjeld OELSEN, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- \*\* H.E. Mr. C. Ulrik HAXTHAUSEN, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Ms. Birgitte MØLLER, Head of Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Mr. Jørgen TRASBERG, Counsellor of Embassy, Deputy Permanent Representative  
to the OECD  
Ms. Ellen Margrethe JØJ, Head of Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Ms. Sophie KISLING, Secretary of Embassy, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- \*\*\* H.E. Mr. Bent HAAKONSEN, Ambassador, Deputy Under-Secretary, International  
Development Co-operation  
Mr. Steffen SMIDT, Private Assistant to the Minister  
Mr. Knud Kjaer NIELSEN, Consultant, Danish International Development Agency

DJIBOUTI

- \* S.E. M. Aden Robleh AWALEH, Ministre du commerce, des transports et du  
tourisme  
M. Ahmed Ibrahim ABDI, Ambassadeur, Paris  
S.E. M. Saleh Hadji FARAH, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, New York  
M. Mohamed HASSAN, Chef de Service des relations multilatérales  
M. Ali SOUBANEH, Conseiller en planification

EGYPTE

- \* S.E. M. Choukry FOUAD, Ministre plénipotentiaire, Mission permanente, Genève
- \*\* M. Adel EL LABBAN, Conseiller commercial, Ambassade, Paris  
M. Mohamed Hussein Said EL SADR, Premier secrétaire, Ambassade, Paris  
M. Ahmed Chafik MOUSTAFA, Premier secrétaire commercial, Ambassade, Paris

ESPAGNE

- \* S.E. Sr. José Pedro PEREZ LLORCA, Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores
- \*\* S.E. Sr. Tomás CHAVARRI y del RIVERO, Embajador, Representante Permanente  
ante la OCDE  
S.E. Sr. Emilio CASSINELLO AUBAN, Director General de Organismos y  
Conferencias Internacionales, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores  
Sr. Fermín PRIETO CASTRO, Representante Permanente Alterno ante la OCDE  
Sr. Fernando VALENZUELA MARZO, Misión Permanente ante la OCDE  
Sr. Angel GUTIERREZ ESCUDERO, Consejero Comercial, Misión Permanente ante  
la OCDE  
Sr. Alfonso LOPEZ-IBOR ALINO, Secretario, Dirección General de Relaciones  
Económicas Internacionales, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores

ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE

- \* The Hon. M. Peter McPHERSON, Administrator, Agency for International Development
- \*\* The Hon. Joseph C. WHEELER, Deputy Administrator, Agency for International Development
  - Mr. Gordon S. BROWN, Director, Office of International Technical and Industrial Co-operation, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, Department of State
  - Mrs. Elinor G. CONSTABLE, Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Finance and Development, Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, Department of State
  - Mr. Kenneth KAUFFMAN, Minister Counsellor, Representative to the Development Assistance Committee, Paris
  - Mr. John ST. JOHN, Counsellor for International Economic Affairs, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- \*\*\* Ms. Joan BUDIK-GAYOSO, Assistant Director, Office of Development Planning, Bureau for Asia, Agency for International Development
  - Mr. R. Bruce McMULLEN, Deputy Director, Office of Development Finance, Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, Department of State
  - Ms. Linda MITCHELL, Office of Development Policy, Department of the Treasury
  - Mr. Stephen WHITMER, Office of International Economic Policy, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, Department of State

ETHIOPIE

- \* H.E. Mr. Hailu YIMENU, Senior Minister, Secretary-General, National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council and Member of Central Planning of COPWE
- \*\* H.E. Mr. Tadesse TERREFE, Ambassador, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative, Geneva
  - Mr. Shiferaw JAMMO, General Manager, Development Projects Study Agency, CPSC
  - Mr. Gebeyehu ALENMEH, Head, Research and Planning, Ministry of Finance
  - Mr. Mesfin RETTA, Counsellor, Embassy, Paris
  - Mr. Bekele GELETU, Expert, CPSC
  - Mr. Moges Tekle MIKAEL, Expert, CPSC
  - Mr. Kifle SHENKORU, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva

FINLANDE

- \* H.E. Mr. Paavo VAYRYNEN, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- \*\* Mr. Wilhelm BREITENSTEIN, Under-Secretary of State, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
  - Mr. Jukka VALTASAAARI, Minister-Counsellor, Permanent Mission, New York
  - Mr. Ilmari HELIMAKI, Advisory Committee on Economic Relations with Developing Countries
  - Ms. Birgitta STARCK, First Secretary, Permanent Mission to OECD
  - Mr. Jan STORE, Programme Officer, Ministry for Foreign Affairs
  - Mr. Asko NUMMINEN, Attaché, Permanent Mission, Geneva
  - Mr. Manu VIRTAMO, Attaché, Ministry for Foreign Affairs

FRANCE

- \* S.E. M. Claude CHEYSSON, Ministre des relations extérieures
- S.E. M. Jean-Pierre COT, Ministre délégué auprès du Ministre des relations extérieures, chargé de la coopération et du développement
- S.E. M. Jacques DELORS, Ministre de l'économie et des finances
- M. Robert PONTILLON, Sénateur, Parlementaire en mission auprès du Premier Ministre
- S.E. M. Stéphane HESSEL, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Genève
- \*\* M. Jean-Yves HABERER, Directeur, Ministère de l'économie et des finances
- M. Michel VAN GREVENYNGHE, Directeur, Ministère de la coopération et du développement
- M. Christian JOUDIOU, Directeur, Ministère de la coopération et du développement
- M. Jean-Claude PAYE, Directeur, Ministère des relations extérieures
- M. Michel FREYCHE, Directeur, Ministère de l'économie et des finances
- M. Michel CAMDESSUS, Chef de service, Ministère de l'économie et des finances
- M. André LEWIN, Directeur, Ministère des relations extérieures
- M. Michel ROUGE, Conseiller financier
- M. Jacques WARIN, Ministère des relations extérieures
- \*\*\* M. Louis ODRU, Député
- M. Maurice DOUSSET, Député
- M. Emile BIZET, Député
- M. Maurice FAURE, Député, Président de la Commission des affaires étrangères
- M. Jean GLUZEL, Sénateur
- M. Jean-Pierre FOURCADE, Sénateur
- M. Georges SPANALE, Sénateur
- M. Jean-Jacques ANDRIEU, Ministère de l'économie et des finances
- M. Erik ARNOULT, Cabinet du Ministre de la coopération et du développement
- Mme Andrée AUDIBERT, Ministère de la coopération et du développement
- M. Gérard BIRAUD, Ministère des relations extérieures
- M. Claude CAMBRAY, Cabinet du Ministre délégué chargé des questions européennes
- M. Bernard COTTIN, Ministère de l'économie et des finances
- M. Yves DOUTRIAUX, Ministère des relations extérieures
- Mme. Sylviane FRESSON, Cabinet du Ministre de la coopération et du développement
- M. Bernard GARCIA, Conseiller technique, Cabinet du Premier Ministre
- M. Philippe GUERIN, Ministère de l'agriculture
- M. Yves JACQUES, Ministre plénipotentiaire, Ministère des relations extérieures
- M. Claude JOLIF, Ministère des relations extérieures
- M. Philippe JURGENSEN, Ministère de l'économie et des finances
- M. Jacques-Henri LORENZI, Cabinet du Ministre de la coopération et du développement
- M. Jacques LOUP, Ministère de la coopération et du développement
- M. Marc FERRIN de BRICHAMBAUT, Cabinet du Ministre des relations extérieures
- M. Henri ROUILLE D'ORFEUIL, Cabinet du Ministre de la coopération et du développement
- M. Jean-François THEODOR, Ministère de l'économie et des finances
- M. Jean-Claude TRICHET, Ministère de l'économie et des finances
- M. Renaud VIGNAL, Cabinet du Ministre de la coopération et du développement

## GABON

- \* S.E. M. Pascal NZE, Ministre de la planification, du développement et des participations
- \*\* S.E. M. André MAGONGO-NZAMBI, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Genève
- S.E. M. Jean PING, Ambassadeur auprès de la délégation à l'UNESCO
- M. François MANGANGA-MAGANGA, Délégué ministériel auprès du Ministre du commerce
- M. Nkiet ENMANUEL, Conseiller du Ministre de la planification
- M. Samuel PACKA-MAKOSSO, Chef de division de l'europe occidentale, Ministère des affaires étrangères et de la coopération
- M. Maroga BERNABE, Chargé d'études, Ministère de l'économie et des finances
- Mme Marie Sylvie ANKOUBOU, Conseiller, Ambassade, Paris
- Mme Alene Sima Marie ZACHARIE, Chargé d'études, Ministère du commerce

## GRECE

- \* S.E. M. Théoharis RENTIS, Secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères
- \*\* S.E. M. Eustathios MITSOPOULOS, Ministre plénipotentiaire de première classe
- M. Alexandre LIONTAS, Ministre plénipotentiaire, Mission permanente, Genève
- M. Constantin TSILAS, Premier conseiller d'ambassade, Ambassade, Paris
- M. Andréas KAMBITIS, Expert

## GUATEMALA

- \* Sr. Arnolde IZAGUIRRE, Subsecretario General, Consejo Nacional de Planificación Económica
- \*\* S.E. Sr. Mario Enrique de la CRUZ TORRES, Embajador en Paris y Representante Permanente ante la UNESCO

## GUINEE

- \* S.E. M. Marcel CROS, Ministre de la coopération internationale
- \*\* S.E. M. Abou SOMPARE, Ambassadeur, Paris
- M. Naissirou DIALLO, Directeur général du plan
- M. Michel KAMONO, Directeur général adjoint du plan
- M. Chaikou Yaya DIALLO, Chef de la Division PNUD/CEA, Ministère de la coopération internationale

## HAITI

- \* S.E. M. Edouard FRANCISQUE, Ministre des affaires étrangères
- \*\* S.E. M. Pierre D. SAM, Ministre du plan
- S.E. M. Jean-Marie CHANOINE, Ministre de l'information et des relations publiques
- \*\*\* M. Claude WEIL, Directeur général, Département du plan
- M. Jean-Claude SANON, Directeur de la monnaie et des affaires internationales, Banque de la République
- M. Frantz MERCERON, Directeur du service de construction et de supervision, Département des travaux publics, transport et communications
- M. Jean Fortin CHERY, Directeur des institutions internationales, congrès et conférences, Département des affaires étrangères
- M. Yvon GUIRAND, Assistant principal à la Direction de la programmation économique et sociale, Département du plan
- M. Hervé DENIS, Assistant à la Direction de la programmation économique et sociale, Département du plan

HAUTE-VOLTA

- \* S.E. M. Mamadou SANFO, Ministre de l'économie et du plan
- \*\* M. Michel KAFANDO, Ambassadeur auprès des Nations Unies
- M. Alphonso ZONGO, Conseiller, Ministère de l'économie et du plan

HONGRIE

- \* Mr. Tibor MELEGA, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade
- \*\* Mr. Tibor FABIAN, Deputy Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Mr. György SZABO, Head of Section, Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Mr. Sándor HAJNAL, First Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs

INDONESIE

- \* Mr. Rusli NOOR, Deputy Foreign Minister for Economic Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs
- H.E. Mr. Irawan DARSA, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Geneva
- \*\* H.E. Mr. Barli HALIM, Ambassador, Advisor, Embassy, Paris
- H.E. Mr. Abdullah KAMIL, Ambassador, Advisor, Permanent Representative, New York
- Mr. Poedji KOENTARSO, Director of Multilateral Economic Cooperation, Department of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Suripto DJAJUSMAN, Minister Counsellor, Embassy, Paris
- Mr. Adian SILALAH, Senior Official, Department of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Burchazwir JAMIL, Senior Official, Bureau of Foreign Technical Cooperation, Cabinet Secretariat
- Mr. Susanto MARTOKUSUMO, Third Secretary, Embassy, Paris
- Mr. Abdurrahman MATTALITTI, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva

IRAQ

- \* H.E. Mr. Hassan ALI, Minister of Trade
- \*\* Mr. Mahdi MOHSEN ODA, Deputy Minister of Trade
- H.E. Mr. Nourri AL-WAISS, Ambassador, Paris
- Mr. Mohamed Sadik AL-MAHDI, Head, Committee of the Developing Countries, Committee of Foreign Economic Relations, Council of Ministers
- Mr. Hassan Ali OMRAN, Expert, African Department, Ministry of Trade
- Mr. Waled Abdul Razak AL-KHOJAH, Director, Asian Countries Department
- Mr. Shwan Qader AGHA, Economic Counsellor, Embassy, Paris
- Mr. Talal Hashim Al-KHEDHAIRI, Second Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Trade

IRLANDE

- H.E.
- \* Mr. James O'KEEFFE T.D., Minister of State, Department of Foreign Affairs
- \*\* Mr. Patriok POWER, Assistant Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs
- Miss Marian O'LEARY, First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Miss Philomena MURNAGHAN, First Secretary, Embassy, Paris
- Mrs. Kay COLL, First Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs

ISLANDE

- \* H.E. Mr. Olafur JOHANNESSEN, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- \*\* H.E. Mr. Einar BENEDIKTSSON, Ambassador

## ISRAEL

- \* S.E. M. Méir ROSENNE, Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire, Ambassade, Paris
- \*\* S.E. Mme Yael VERED, Ambassadeur plénipotentiaire auprès de l'UNESCO
- M. Ephraïm P. HARAN, Directeur de la division pour la CEE, Ministère des affaires étrangères
- M. Israël ELIASHIV, Ministre conseiller, Représentant permanent auprès de la CNUCED
- M. Chalom SCHIRMAN, Conseiller, Ambassade, Paris

## ITALIE

- \* S.E. M. Emilio COLOMBO, Ministre des affaires étrangères
- \*\* M. Roberto PALLIESCHI, Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères
- M. Carlo FRACANZANI, Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat au trésor
- M. Sergio CATTANI, Ministre plénipotentiaire, Chargé des relations nord-sud, Ministère des affaires étrangères
- M. Salvatore ZOTTA, Chef, Bureau de la coopération multilatérale au développement, Ministère des affaires étrangères
- M. Sergio VENTO, Chef adjoint, Mission permanente auprès de l'OCDE
- M. Arnaldo Vittorio de MOHR, Conseiller, Mission permanente, Genève
- M. Enrico DE MAIO, Vondrillrt, Chef du Cabinet du sous-secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères
- M. Antonio TARELLI, Conseiller, Mission permanente auprès de l'OCDE
- Mlle Maria Letizia PUGLISI, Mission permanent, Genève
- M. mario COSTANTINO, Ministère du commerce extérieur
- M. Giuseppe MORONI, Ministère du trésor
- Mme GALLI, Ministère du trésor
- Mme SARCINA, Ministère du budget
- M. Marco RAGNO, Expert, Département pour la coopération au développement, Ministère des affaires étrangères

## JAMAÏQUE

- \* H.E. Mr. K.G.A. HILL, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Geneva
- \*\* Miss V.E. BETTON, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva

## JAPON

- \* H.E. Mr. Hideo KITAHARA, Ambassador, Special Adviser to the Minister for Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Junichi NAKAMURA, Deputy Director-General, Economic Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Takayuki KIMURA, Counsellor, Permanent Delegation to OECD
- Mr. Tomio UCHIDA, Director, Economic Affairs Division, United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- \*\* Mr. Shinya NAGAI, Deputy Director, Economic Affairs Division, United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Yoshiaki MINE, First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Mr. Naoto AMAKI, First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Japan
- Mr. Yoshitaka MURATA, Deputy Director, Overseas Investment Division, International Finance Bureau, Ministry of Finance

## JAPON (suite)

- \*\*\* Mr. Junnosuke SATO, International Economic Affairs Division, International Economic Affairs Department, International Trade Policy Bureau, Ministry of International Trade and Industry
- Mr. Mizuho MORITA, Second Secretary, Embassy, Paris
- Mr. Keiji YANO, International Economic Affairs Division, International Affairs Department, Economic Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
- Mr. Yasuo NISHIMURA, Second Economic Cooperation Division, Coordination Bureau, Economic Planning Agency
- Mr. Tetsu MUTO, Economic Affairs Division, United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Norio MITSUYA, Planning Division, Economic Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Takanori SAKURAI, Multilateral Cooperation Division, Economic Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

## JORDANIE

- \* H.E. Mr. Taher MASRI, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Paris
- \*\* Mr. Nahib SHEQUEM, First Secretary, Embassy Paris

## KAMPUCHEA DEMOCRATIQUE

- \* S.E. M. OK SAKUN, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent auprès de l'UNESCO
- \*\* S.E. M. M. SUONG SIKOEUN, Ambassadeur, Ministère des affaires étrangères
- M. TE SUN HOA, Représentant permanent, Genève
- M. IM SAROEUN, Représentant permanent adjoint, Genève
- M. NGO HAC TEAM, Premier secrétaire, Mission permanente, auprès de l'UNESCO
- Mme HUA KANIKA, Premier secrétaire, Mission permanente, auprès de l'UNESCO

## KOWEIT

- \* H.E. Mr. Hassan Ali DABBAGH, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Geneva
- \*\* Mr. Abdulaziz AL-DUAIJ, First Secretary
- Mr. Mustafa BUSHAHRI, Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development

## LESHOTO

- \* H.E. Mr. SEKHONYANA, Minister of Planning
- \*\* H.E. Mr. MONYAKE, Ambassadeur auprès de la CEE et des pays du Benelux
- Ms. RAMAHLASI, Secretary to the Minister
- Mr. SEJANAMANE, Acting Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Planning
- Ms. MOJI, Director, Ministry of Planning
- Mr. KAO, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture

## LIBERIA

- \* The Hon. Paul JEFFY, Deputy Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs
- \*\* The Hon. Sylvester M. GRIGSBY, Assistant Foreign Minister for International Co-operation and Economic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Yenatee TUAN, First Secretary, Permanent Mission, New York

LUXEMBOURG

- \* S.E. M. Paul HELMINGER, Secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères
- \*\* M. Jean FALTZ, Secrétaire
- M. Marc THILL, Secrétaire
- Mlle Arlette CONZEMIUS, Attachée

MALAWI

- \* H.E. Mr. CHAZIYA, Minister of Finance
- \*\* Mr. KALINGA, Senior Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Finance
- H.E. Mr. KACHIKUWO, Ambassador, Bonn
- Mr. CHIWEWE, Chief Development Officer, Office of the President
- Mr. NYIRONGO, Senior Economist, Office of the President

MALDIVES

- \* H.E. Mr. Fathulla JAMEEL, Minister of External Affairs
- \*\* Mr. A.R. HUSSAIN, Director, National Planning Agency
- Mr. M. SHAREEF, Senior Under-Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs

MALTE

- \* Mr. Saviour F. BORG
- \*\* Mr. Adrian E. CAMILLERI

NEPAL

- \* The Hon. Mr. Yadav Prasad PANT, Minister for Finance, Commerce and Supplies
- \*\* The Hon. Mr. Bijaya Bahadur PRADHAN, National Planning Commission
- H.E. Mr. Krishna Raj ARYAL, Ambassador, Embassy, Paris
- H.E. Mr. Uddhav Deo BHATT, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, New York
- Mr. Heet Singh SHRESTHA, Joint-Secretary, Ministry of Finance
- Mr. Yadav Kant SILWAL, Deputy Permanent Representative
- Mr. Shanta Ram BHANDARI, Executive Chairman, Trade Promotion Centre
- Mr. Satyendra Pyara SHRESTHA, Assistant to Minister for Finance, Commerce and Supplies
- Mr. Narayan Das SHRESTHA, Counsellor, Embassy, Paris
- Mr. Prem Raj GAUTAM, Under-Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Supplies

NIGERIA

- \* Mr. I. MAKU, Deputy Secretary
- \*\* Mr. M.N. DUNKWU, Principal Assistant Secretary



#### NORVEGE

- + Mr. Johan Jørgen HOLST, State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- ++ Mr. Paal BOG, Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Niels DIETZ, Head of Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Bjørnar UTHEIM, Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Mrs. Mette KONGSHEM, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Per TOBIESEN, Head of Division, Norwegian Agency for International Development
- Mr. W. HANSEN, Second Secretary, Embassy, Paris
- Mrs. Anne NESMOEN, Attaché, Embassy, Paris

#### NOUVELLE-ZELANDE

- + Mr. M.J.C. TEMPLETON, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- ++ H.E. Mr. J.V. SCOTT, Ambassador, Embassy, Paris and Permanent Representative to the OECD
- Ms. P.M. CAUGHLEY, Counsellor, Permanent Delegation to the OECD
- Mr. J.N. GOODMAN, First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva

#### OMAN

- + Mr. Hussain Mohamed ALI, Second Secretary, Embassy, Paris

#### UGANDA

- + H.E. Mr. S. ODAKA, Minister of Planning
- ++ H.E. Mr. P. RUBAIHAYO, Minister of State for Agriculture
- H.E. Mr. E.K. WAPENYI, Ambassador, Paris
- Mr. G.W. LUTAYA-KAMYA, Chief, Government Development Economist
- Mr. G.W. OKUNE, Chief, Government Planning Economist
- Mr. J. KAHANGIRWE, Chief, Agricultural Economist, Ministry of Agriculture
- Mr. J. KAHOZA, Acting Commissioner for Aid Co-ordination, Ministry of Finance
- Mr. KAKIMA-NTAMBI, Counsellor, Permanent Mission, New York
- Mr. W.G. NAGAGGA, First Secretary, Embassy, Addis-Ababa
- Mrs. H.N. GAVA, Economist, Ministry of Planning
- Mr. John H. OMARA, Education Attaché, Embassy, Paris
- Ms. Irene Omositson NAMBOKA, Second Secretary, Embassy, Paris

#### PEROU

- + S.E. Felipe VALDIVIESO, Ambassadeur Représentant permanent, Geneve
- ++ M. Fernando GUILLEN, Ministre-conseiller, Ambassade, Paris
- M. Manuel RODRIGUEZ, Premier secrétaire, Ambassade, Paris
- +++ M. Alberto MASSA, troisième secrétaire, Mission permanente, Geneve

#### PHILIPPINES

- + H.E. Mr. Hortencio J. BRILLANTES, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Geneva
- ++ H.E. Mr. Pablo R. SUAREZ, Ambassador, Director-General for Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- H.E. Mr. Felipe MABILANGAN, Ambassador, Paris
- The Hon. Manuel GARCIA, Member, National Assembly
- Mr. Francisco F. SANTOS, First Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Mrs. Phoebe A. GOMEZ, Principal Assistant, Office of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- +++ Miss Erlinda Q. GAVINO, Third Secretary, Embassy, Paris

POLOGNE

- + M. Jerzy KAPUSCINSKI, Directeur général, Ministère du commerce extérieur
- ++ M. Czeslaw MUSZALSKI, Conseiller du Ministre des Affaires étrangères
- M. Marian PASZYNSKI, Chef de Service, Institut des conjonctures et des prix due commerce extérieur
- M. Miecz yslaw NOGAJ, Chargé de mission au Ministère du commerce extérieur

QATAR

- + S.E. M. Mohamed Salem AL KAWARI, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Geneva
- ++ M. Ibrahim Mohamed Abdulrahman AL ABDULLAH, Deuxième secrétaire, Département politique, Ministère des affaires étrangères
- M. Hamad Abdulrahman AL THANI, Troisième secrétaire, Département des organisations, Ministère des affaires étrangères
- M. Abdulrahman AL KHOLEIFI, Troisième secrétaire, Ambassade, Paris

REPUBLIQUE ARABE SYRIENNE

- + S.E. M. Youssef CHAKKOUR, Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire, Délégué permanent auprès de l'UNESCO
- ++ M. Rassem RASLAN, Ministre plénipotentiaire, Délégué permanent adjoint auprès de l'UNESCO
- +++ Mlle Siba NASSER, Conseiller
- M. Zakaria CHEHABI, Conseiller commercial

REPUBLIQUE CENTRAFRICAINE

- + S.E. M. Eugène Celestin MBEDO, Ministre du plan
- ++ S.E. M. Firmin FRISAT, Ambassadeur, Paris
- S.E. M. Michel GBEZERA-BRIA, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Genève
- M. Dam van HOANG, Conseiller, Ministère du plan
- M. Pierre GBIANZA, Ministère de l'agriculture
- M. Etienne KEZZA, Ministère des travaux publics
- M. Cyriaque SAMBA-PANZA, Ministère du plan et de la coopération
- M. Philippe KETTE, Ministère de l'éducation nationale

REPUBLIQUE DE COREE

- + H.E. Mr. Byong-Ki MIN, Ambassador, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Paris
- ++ Mr. Young-Soon KWON, Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Mr. Kyung-Dong PARK, Economic Counsellor, Embassy, Paris
- Mr. Chul-Jin KIM, Financial Attaché, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Mr. Chang-Il PARK, Director, Economic Organization Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Dong-Chil YANG, First Secretary, Embassy, Paris

REPUBLIQUE DEMOCRATIQUE ALLEMANDE

- + Mr. Friedmar CLAUSNITZER, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade
- ++ Mr. Willi SCHILD, Head, Department for International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Mr. Guenter SCHUMANN, Counsellor, Chief of Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Prof. Helmut FAULWETTER, Head of Department, Institute for the Economies of Developing Countries, College for Economy "Bruno Leuschner"
- +++ Ms. Karla KILGER, Interpreter, Ministry of Foreign Trade

REPUBLIQUE DEMOCRATIQUE POPULAIRE LAO

- + M. Soulivong PHRASITTHIDET, Délégué du Vice-Premier Ministre, Ministre des affaires étrangères
- ++ M. Somchit PHILATHIVONG, Directeur, Département des organisations internationales, Ministère des affaires étrangères
- M. Boun Omme SOUTHICHACK, Directeur adjoint, Département des organisations internationales, Ministère des affaires étrangères
- M. Tane MUANGCHANH, Directeur adjoint, Direction de la planification et des relations économiques extérieures, Comité national du plan

REPUBLIQUE POPULAIRE DEMOCRATIQUE DE COREE

- + M. Dong-Hyok RI, Ministre plénipotentiaire, Délégué permanent auprès de l'UNESCO
- ++ M. Sou-Ik KIM, Premier secrétaire, Délégation permanente auprès de l'UNESCO
- M. Tchang-Sik PAK, Deuxième secrétaire, Délégation permanente auprès de l'UNESCO

REPUBLIQUE SOCIALISTE SOVIETIQUE D'UKRAINE

- + Mr. I. KRIJANOVSKI, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

REPUBLIQUE-UNIE DE TANZANIE

- + S.E. M. K.A. MALIMA, Ministre du plan et des affaires économiques
- ++ S.E. M. W.K. CHAGULA, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Genève
- S.E. M. E.A. MULOKOZI, Ambassadeur, Bruxelles
- S.E. M. E.W. MWASAKAFYUKA, Ambassadeur, Paris
- M. N.M. KITOMARI, Directeur de la coopération économique internationale, Ministère du plan et des affaires économiques
- M. M. NAMFUA, Conseiller, Mission permanente, Genève
- M. M. DEDES, Représentant du Gouvernement de Zanzibar à Dar-es-Salaam
- M. A. MAOULIDI, Conseiller, Ambassade, Paris

ROYAUME-UNI DE GRANDE-BRETAGNE ET D'IRELANDE DU NORD

- + The Rt. Hon. Neil MARTEN, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and Minister for Overseas Development
- ++ Mr. R.A. BROWNING, Overseas Development Administration, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- +++ Mr. A.J. COLLINS, Permanent Delegation to the OECD
- Mr. P.G. BRODERICK, Overseas Development Administration, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- Miss R.J. SPENCER, Embassy, Paris
- Mr. M.J. WILLIAMS, Overseas Development Administration, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- Mr. A.D. HARRIS, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Miss S. UNSWORTH, Overseas Development Administration, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- Mr. M.H. PENNINGTON, Overseas Development Administration, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- Miss J. ALMOND, Embassy, Paris

RWANDA

- \* S.E. M. Ambroise MULINDANGABO, Ministre du plan
- \*\* S.E. M. Tharcisse NYANDWI, Ambassadeur, Paris
- M. Léopold GAHAMANYI, Chef de service à la Présidence de la République
- M. Apollinaire RUGARAVU, Directeur général, Ministère du plan
- M. Aloys UWIMANA, Directeur général de la Coopération économique, financière et technique, Ministère des affaires étrangères et de la coopération
- M. Jean Marie Vianney MBAGUTA, Directeur, Ministère de l'économie et du commerce
- M. Viateur MVUYEKURE, Secrétaire d'administration, Présidence de la République

SAINT-SIEGE

- \* Mgr William F. MURPHY, Sous-secrétaire, Commission Pontificale "Justice et Paix"
- \*\* Mgr. Luigi BRESSAN
- Mgr. Kevin MULLEN
- R. Père Philippe LAURENT, s. j.

SAMOA

- \* H.E. Mr. Maiava Iulai TOMA, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, New York
- \*\* Mr. Hans KRUSE, Director of Economic Development

SEYCHELLES

- \* H.E. Mr. Jacques HODOUL, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- \*\* Mr. Jeremie BONNELAME, Principal Secretary of Foreign Affairs

SIERRA LEONE

- \* The Hon. Mr. A. AKIBO-BETTS, Minister of State, Ministry of Finance
- \*\* H.E. Mr. E.E. M'BAYO, Ambassador, Paris, Permanent Delegate to UNESCO
- Mr. M.B. SALLU, Counsellor, Embassy, Rome
- Miss C.A. CARPENTER, Senior Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Development and Economic Planning
- Mr. H.L. TUCKER, Deputy Permanent Delegate to UNESCO
- Mr. I.S. CONTEH, First Secretary, Embassy, Paris
- Mr. R.B. JARRETT-COKER, Second Secretary, Embassy, Paris

SINGAPOUR

- \* H.E. Mr. David MARSHALL, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Embassy, Paris
- \*\* Mr. Newlyn ROZARIO, First Secretary, Embassy, Paris

SOMALIE

- \* H.E. Mr. ABDURAHMAN JAMA BARRE, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- \*\* H.E. Mr. MOHAMED SHARIF MOHAMED, Ambassador, Embassy, Paris
- Mr. HUSSEIN ELABE FAHIYE, Director-General, Ministry of Planning
- Mr. MOHAMED SHEIKH HASSAN, Director, Economic Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

SOMALIE (continued)

Mr. ABDI HASHI ELMI, Director of Planning  
Mr. FADUMO MOHAMED ENOW, Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva  
Mr. OMER SHEIKH OSMAN, Counsellor, Embassy, Paris  
Mr. AHMED GURE ALI, Cultural Attaché, Embassy, Paris  
Mr. ADAN HERSI ESSA, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Mr. ADAN ALI MOHAMED, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

SOUDAN

\* H.E. Mr. Nasr Eldin MUSTAFA, Minister of National Planning  
\*\* H.E. Mr. Bashir ELBAKRI, Ambassador, Paris  
Mr. Ibrahim Ahmed HAMRA, Deputy Permanent Representative, Geneva  
Mr. Hassan Ali SALIM, Commercial Attaché, Embassy, Paris  
Mr. Victor Saba WAHBA, Assistant Under-Secretary, Ministry of National Planning  
Mr. Mustafa Mohamed ABDALLA, Assistant Under-Secretary, Ministry of Finance and National Economy  
Mr. Mahmoud TANIM ELDAR, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

SRI LANKA

\* H.E. Mr. N. BALASUBRAMANIAM, Ambassador, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Embassy, Paris  
\*\* Mr. D.M. JAYASEKERA, Commercial Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva

SUEDE

\* H.E. Mr. Ola ULLSTEN, Minister for Foreign Affairs  
\*\* H.E. Mr. Hans BLIX, Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
H.E. Mr. Hans V. EWERLÖF, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Geneva  
Mr. Mats GULLERS, Information Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Mr. Erik BACKMAN, Head of Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Mr. Bo JERLSTRÖM, Head of Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Mr. Hans AHLBERG, Head of Section, Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Commerce  
Mrs. Ruth JACOBY, First Secretary, Delegation, Paris  
Mr. Harald SANDBERG, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva

SUISSE

\* S.E. M. Marcel HEIMO, Ambassadeur, Directeur de la coopération au développement et de l'aide humanitaire, Département fédéral des affaires étrangères  
\*\* M. Jean-François GIOVANNINI, Sous-directeur, Direction de la coopération au développement et de l'aide humanitaire, Département fédéral des affaires étrangères  
M. Jean-Pierre MAETZLER, Office fédéral des affaires économiques extérieures, Département fédéral de l'économie publique  
Mme. Jeanne BARRAS, Direction de la coopération au développement et de l'aide humanitaire, Département fédéral des affaires étrangères

SURINAME

\* Mr. Ferdinand C. VAN DIJK, Counsellor, Embassy, Brussels

TCHAD

- \* S.E. M. Tahir SOULEYMAN, Ministre du plan et de la reconstruction
- \*\* M. Gatta GOULOU
- M. Mahamat SENOUSSEI
- M. Mahamat Abdelkerim ADDEI

TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE

- \* Mr. Ján STRACAR, Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade
- \*\* Mr. Miroslav PRAVDA, Deputy Director General, Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Mr. Josef CIZEK, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Mr. Petr BAMBAS, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Miroslav SOMOL, Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Mrs. Vlasta POLACKOVA, State Planning Commission

THAÏLANDE

- \* H.E. Mr. Arun PANUPONG, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- \*\* H.E. Mr. Owart SUTHIWART-NARUEPUT, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Embassy, France
- H.E. Mr. Pracha GUNA-KASEM, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Geneva
- Mr. Montri JALICHANDRA, Deputy Director-General, International Organizations Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Prachya Davi TAVEDIKUL, Assistant Secretary to the Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Sompol KIATPHAIBOOL, Director, Trade Policy Division, Department of Business Economics, Ministry of Commerce
- Mr. Somkiati ARIYAPRUCHYA, Alternate Permanent Representative to ESCAP, International Organizations Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Sunai BUNYASIRIPHANT, First Secretary, Embassy, Paris
- Mr. Krisda PIAMPONGSANT, Acting Chief, TCDC Programme, Department of Technical and Economic Co-operation, Office of the Prime Minister

TOGO

- \* S.E. M. Ayivi Mawuko AJAVON, Ambassadeur, Londres
- \*\* M. Latevi-Atcho LAWSON, Directeur de la coopération économique, Ministère des affaires étrangères et de la coopération
- M. Kwassi KLUSTE, Administrateur civil, Adjoint au chef de la division de coordination et synthèse, Direction générale du plan

TRINITÉ-ET-TOBAGO

- \* H.E. Mr. Wilfred S. NAIMOOL, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Geneva
- \*\* Mr. Ousman ALI, Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva

## TUNISIE

- + S.E. M. Mahmoud MESTIRI, Secrétaire d'état auprès du Ministre des affaires étrangères
- ++ M. Ali HACHANI, Sous-directeur de la coopération multilatérale
- +++ M. Abdelhamid ZARRAD, Chef de la division de la coopération avec les conférences et organisations internationales
- M. Youssef MOKADDEN, Secrétaire d'Ambassade, Mission permanente, Genève
- M. Hachmi BEN AMMAR, Attaché, Mission permanente auprès de l'UNESCO

## TURQUIE

- + H.E. Mr. Ilter TURKMEN, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Head of Delegation
- H.E. Mr. Kâmrân İNAN, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Geneva, Deputy Head of delegation
- ++ Mr. İsmet BİRSEL, Director General of International Economic Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- +++ Mr. Özdem SANBERK, Counsellor, Permanent Mission to UNESCO, Paris
- Mr. Özcan DAVAZ, Counsellor, Permanent Mission to the OECD, Paris
- Mr. Ataman YALGIN, Counsellor, Permanent Mission, Geneva
- Mr. Ramih CANKUR, Chief of Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

## UNION DES REPUBLIQUES SOCIALISTES SOVIETIQUES

- + Mr. I.T. GRISHIN, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade
- ++ Mr. G.A. KRASNOV, Deputy Head, Department of International Economic Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Trade
- +++ Mr. M. BOGDANCHIKOV, Deputy Head of Department, State Committee for the International Economic Relations
- Mr. V.L. BORISSOV, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. V.V. VOLKOV, Deputy Head, Department of Trade with African Countries, Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Mr. E.A. GRIAZNOV, Head of Division, State Planning Commission
- Mr. A.S. LAVRENTIEV, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Mr. Y.P. MIKHAILOV, Deputy Head, Department of Trade with Asian Countries, Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Mr. Y.F. BOCHKARJOV, Expert, Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Mr. V.I. PANKRATOV, Consultant, Ministry of Foreign Trade
- Ms. G.F. PLOTNIKOVA, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade

## VENEZUELA

- + S.E. Sr. Alfredo TARRE MURZI, Embajador, Representante Permanente ante la UNESCO
- ++ Sr. Manuel PEREZ GUERRERO, Asesor de la Presidencia de la República para Asuntos Económicos Internacionales
- Sr. Freddy HOYOS, Ministro Consejero, Misión Permanente, Ginebra
- Sr. Pedro Raúl VILLASMIL, Ministro Consejero, Misión Permanente ante la UNESCO
- Sr. Enrique TERSHORST, Ministro Consejero para Asuntos Económicos, Misión Permanente, Nueva York
- Sra. Rosa LISBOA, Segundo Secretario, Dirección de Política Exterior, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores

VIET NAM

- \* S.E. M. MAI VAN BO
- \*\* M. BUI XUAN NHAT
- \*\*\* M. DOAN HUNG KE
- M. VU VAN TUNG

YEMEN

- \* H.E. Mr. Fuad Kaid MOHAMMED, Minister of Development, Chairman CPO
- \*\* Mr. Mohammed Abdallah ALWAZIR, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International and Economic Relations
- Mr. Mohamed KHAFLA, Director CPO
- H.E. Mr. Yahya ALMUTWAKEL, Ambassador, Paris
- Mr. Mohamed GAMAL JAMIL, Embassy, Brussels

YEMEN DEMOCRATIQUE

- \* S.E. M. Earaj Ben GHANEM, Ministre du planning
- \*\* S.E. M. Ahmed Saleh HAJEB, Ambassadeur, Paris
- S.E. M. Mohamed Saleh AL-QUTAISH, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Genève
- M. Salem AL-ASHWALI, Vice-président, Banque du Yemen Démocratique
- M. Jalal MAWLA, Assistant-député-Ministre du planning
- M. Hossein Saleh FADLI, Directeur, Département des organisations et des conférences internationales
- M. Ali Muthana HASSON, Conseiller, Mission permanente, Genève
- M. Ali KASSEM, Premier secrétaire, Ambassade, Paris

YUGOSLAVIE

- \* M. Vuko DRAGASEVIĆ, Membre du conseil exécutif fédéral
- \*\* S.E. M. Rikard STAJNER, Ambassadeur, Secrétariat fédéral aux affaires étrangères
- M. Josip KULISIC, Conseiller
- M. Petronije STANOJEVIĆ, Conseiller
- Mile Ljiljana TABAS, Premier secrétaire
- M. Borisa VUKOVIC, Troisième secrétaire

ZAIRE

- \* S.E. M. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent, Genève
- \*\* M. KATANGA WA BANZA, Premier secrétaire, Mission permanente, Genève



REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES  
AND RELATED AGENCIES

ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE DU TRAVAIL (OIT)

Mr. Francis BLANCHARD, Director-General  
Mr. E. MPYISI, Bureau of Technical Co-operation  
Mr. J. ESCALLIER, Deputy Director, Paris Office

ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'ALIMENTATION ET L'AGRICULTURE (FAO)

Mr. Edouard SAOUMA, Director-General  
Mr. J. de MEREDIEU, Assistant Director-General, Development Department  
Mr. J.P. BHATTACHARJEE, Director, Policy Analysis Division  
Mr. A. REGNIER, Director, Office for Interagency Affairs  
Mr. H.A. ISMET-HAKIM, Co-ordinator, Interregional and Global Programmes, Field Programme Development Division  
Mr. M. DIA, Senior Field Programme Officer, Field Programme Development Division

ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'EDUCATION, LA SCIENCE ET LA CULTURE (UNESCO)

Mr. A.M. M'BOW, Director-General  
Mr. D. NAJMAN, Assistant Director-General, Co-operation for Development and External Relations Sector  
Mr. J. KNAPP, Assistant Director-General for Studies and Programming  
Mr. H. LOPES, Advisor, Bureau of Studies and Programming  
Mr. Y. LIJADU, Director, African Division, Co-operation for Development and External Relations Sector  
Mr. M. PREVOST, Programme Specialist, Co-ordination and Evaluation Unit, Co-operation for Development and External Relations Sector  
Mr. N. KODMANI, Programme Specialist, Co-operation with International Organizations Section, Co-operation for Development and External Relations Sector  
Mrs. J. WYNTER, UNESCO Liaison Officer, Geneva  
Mrs. O. JANKOWITSCH, Programme Specialist, Bureau of Studies and Programming  
Mr. C. HUYNH, Programme Specialist, Sector of Social Sciences and their Applications

ORGANISATION DE L'AVIATION CIVILE INTERNATIONALE (OACI)

Mr. Yves LAMBERT, Secretary General

ORGANISATION MONDIALE DE LA SANTE (OMS)

Dr. H. MAHLAER, Director-General  
Dr. J.L. KILGOUR, Director, Division of Coordination  
Mr. N.I. DAHLQVIST, External Relations Officer, Cooperative Programme for Development  
Mr. R.J. ANDERSON, External Relations Officer, Coordination with other Organizations

BANQUE MONDIALE

Mr. Munir BENJENK, Vice President, External Relations  
Mr. Mahbub UL HAQ, Director, Policy Planning and Program Review Department,  
Development Policy Staff  
Mr. L. Peter CHATENAY, External Relations Adviser, International Relations  
Department  
Mr. Mahmud A. BURNEY, Representative to UN Organizations, Geneva  
Ms Dale HILL, Economist, Policy Planning and Program Review Department

FONDS MONETAIRE INTERNATIONAL (FMI/FONDS)

Mr. A.F. MOHAMMED, Director, External Relations Department  
Mr. S. MOOKERJEE, Deputy Director, Exchange and Trade Relations Department  
Mr. I. KAPUR, Economist, Geneva Office

UNION POSTALE UNIVERSELLE (UPU)

M. F. CICERON, Sous-Directeur général, Chef, Division de la coopération  
technique et des études postales

UNION INTERNATIONALE DES TELECOMMUNICATIONS (UIT)

Mr. Terreffe RAS-WORK, Head, Africa Division  
Mr. Joseph ELOTU, Project Officer, Technical Cooperation Department

ORGANISATION METEOROLOGIQUE MONDIALE (OMM)

Mr. J. RASMUSSEN, Director, Technical Co-operation Department

ORGANISATION MONDIALE DE LA PROPRIETE INTELLECTUELLE (OMPI)

M. Arpad BOGSCH, Directeur général  
M. I. THIAM, Directeur, Division des relations extérieures

FONDS INTERNATIONAL DE DEVELOPPEMENT AGRICOLE (FIDA)

Mr. Abdelmuhsin M. AL-SUDEARY, President  
Mr. Moise MENSAH, Assistant President, Project Management Department  
Miss Naima AL-SHAYJI, Director, External Relations Division

AGENCE INTERNATIONALE DE L'ENERGIE ATOMIQUE (AIEA)

Mr. Edward POLANSKY, Deputy Director, Division of Technical Assistance  
Mr. Christopher HERZIG, Director, External Relations, INATOM, Vienna

ACCORD GENERAL SUR LES TARIFS DOUANIERS ET LE COMMERCE (GATT)

Mr. Arthur DUNKEL, Director-General  
Mr. M.G. MATHUR, Deputy Director-General  
Mr. T. KONATE, Senior Adviser  
Mr. S. DIXON-FYLE, Counsellor, Development Division

UNITED NATIONS ORGANS AND PROGRAMMES

DEPARTEMENT DES AFFAIRES ECONOMIQUES ET SOCIALES INTERNATIONALES

Mr. Jean RIPERT, Under-Secretary-General, International Economic and Social Affairs

Mr. A.H.M. RAHMAN, Chief, Socio-Economic Policies and Institutions Section, Office for Development Research and Policy Analysis

Mrs. Mamai KUBOTA, Chief, Branch for the Advancement of Women, Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs

DEPARTEMENT DE LA COOPERATION TECHNIQUE POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT

Miss Margaret J. Anstee, Assistant Secretary-General

Mr. Faqir MUHAMMAD, Director, Policies and Resources Planning Division

Mr. Luis Maria GOMEZ, Director, Programming and Implementation Division

Mrs. Sylvie A. BRYANT, Programme Co-ordinator, Policies and Resources Planning Division

BUREAU DU DIRECTEUR-GENERAL AU DEVELOPPEMENT ET A LA COOPERATION ECONOMIQUE INTERNATIONALE

Mr. K.K.S. DADZIE, Director-General

Mr. P. GOPINATH

Mr. Zengzhuang WANG, Principal Officer

CENTRE DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LA SCIENCE ET LA TECHNIQUE AU SERVICE DU DEVELOPPEMENT

Mr. A. FERRARI, Executive Director

Mr. M. ANANDARISHNAN, Senior Officer

COMMISSION ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE POUR L'ASIE ET LE PACIFIQUE (CESAP)

M. S. KIBRIA, Secrétaire exécutif

M. S. ARZADON, Chef, Division du commerce international

M. I.A. McDOUGALL, Chef, Division de la planification

M. S.P. UPADHAY, Chargé des affaires économiques

COMMISSION ECONOMIQUE POUR L'AMERIQUE LATINE (CEPAL)

M. Adolfo GURRIERI

COMMISSION ECONOMIQUE POUR L'ASIE OCCIDENTALE (CEAO)

Mr. S. AL ATTAR, Executive Secretary

Mr. Basim A. HANNUSH, Chief, Development Planning Division

Mr. Shamsuzzakir KAZEMI, Senior Economic Affairs Officer

Mr. Ahmed RADJAI, Regional Adviser in Development Planning

ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT INDUSTRIEL (ONUDI)

Mr. A. KHANE, Executive Director  
Mr. M.A. SIDDIQUI, Director, Division of Policy Co-ordination  
Mr. S. HABLE-SELASSIE, Deputy Director, Division of Industrial Operations  
Mr. M. EGGOUGH, Chief, Least Developed Countries Section  
Mr. N. IONESCU, Industrial Development Officer, Least Developed Countries Section  
Mr. M.A. MANSUR, Industrial Development Officer Programme, Development and Evaluation Branch  
Mr. J.L. JEANROY, Head, UNIDO Investment Promotion Service, Paris

PROGRAMME DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'ENVIRONNEMENT (PNUE)

Mr. Mostaf K. TOLBA  
Mr. Yusuf J. AHMAD  
Mr. Attam DABHOLKAR

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE L'ALIMENTATION (CMA)

Mr. Maurice J. WILLIAMS, Executive Director  
Mr. Salahuddin AHMED, Deputy Executive Director  
Mr. Alain VIDA-NAQUET, Chef de Cabinet  
Ms Robin SOKAL, Information Officer

FONDS DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'ENFANCE (FISE)

Mr. James P. GRANT, Executive Director  
Ms. Aida GINDY, Director, Office for Europe  
Mr. Strahinja BACIC, Director, Programme Funding Office  
Mr. Nyi NYI, Director, Programme Development and Planning Division  
Mr. Wilmar BERGER, Principal Officer, Office for Europe

PROGRAMME DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT (PNUD)

Mr. G. Arthur BROWN, Deputy Administrator  
Mr. Michel DOO KINGUE, Assistant Administrator and Regional Director for Africa  
Mr. Horst WIESEBACH, Assistant Administrator and Director, Bureau for Programme Policy and Evaluation  
Mr. Galal MAGDI, Executive Secretary, United Nations Capital Development Fund  
Mr. Hikmat NABULSI, Executive Co-ordinator United Nations Volunteers  
Mr. Abebe AMBATCHEW, Chief, Division for Programme Analysis and Evaluation, Regional Bureau for Africa

HAUT COMMISSARIAT DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LES REFUGIES (HCR)

Mr. Poul HARTLING, The High Commissioner  
Mr. M.L. ZOLLNER, Director of Assistance  
Mr. J. ANVAR, Deputy Director of External Affairs  
Mr. S. BODEMAR, Interagency Co-ordination Officer  
Mrs. Henriette TAVIANI, Representative in France

CENTRE DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LES ETABLISSEMENTS HUMAINS (HABITAT)

Mr. Arcot RAMACHANDRAN, Under-Secretary-General, Executive Director  
Mr. O. SLAMA, Human Settlement Adviser

FONDS DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LES ACTIVITES EN MATIERE DE POPULATION (FNUAP)

Mr. Nafis SADIK, Assistant Executive Director and Chief, Programme Division  
Mr. Stafford MOUSKY, Chief, Office of the Executive Director  
Mr. Lamine N'DIAYE, Chief Africa Branch

PROGRAMME ALIMENTAIRE MONDIAL (PAM)

Mr. D.J. SHAW, Senior Economist, Policy Unit, Office of Executive Director  
Mr. J.P. NASTORG, Chief, Western Africa Branch, Project Management Division

CENTRE DU COMMERCE INTERNATIONAL CNUCED-GATT (CCI)

Mr. Göran M. ENGBLOM, Executive Director  
Mr. J.J. GRAISSE, Director, Division for Inter-regional Programmes (DIP)  
Mr. M. ISLAM, Office for Special Programmes (DIP)  
Mrs. I.I. VANORE-SPEER, Deputy Chief, Office for Africa, Division of Technical Co-operation (DTC)

REPRESENTATIVES OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE  
RECEIVED A STANDING INVITATION FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SESSIONS AND WORK OF ALL INTERNATIONAL  
CONFERENCES CONVENED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
IN THE CAPACITY OF OBSERVER

COMMUNAUTE ECONOMIQUE EUROPEENNE

Présidence du Conseil :

- + The Rt. Hon. N. MARTEN, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and Minister of Overseas Development, London
- ++ Mr. R.A. BROWNING, Deputy Secretary, Overseas Development Administration, London

Commission :

M. E. PISANI, Membre, Commission des Communautés européennes, Bruxelles  
M. K. MEYER, Directeur général du développement, Bruxelles  
M. A.K. RUSSELL, Direction générale du développement, Bruxelles

Conseil :

+++ M. J. BJORNEKAER, Directeur, Secrétariat du Conseil des Communautés européennes, Bruxelles  
M. J. BEL, Secrétariat du Conseil des Communautés européennes, Bruxelles  
M. M. GLEIZES, Bureau de liaison du Secrétariat du Conseil des Communautés européennes, Genève

Commission :

M. H. MARMULLA<sup>\*</sup>, Direction générale de l'agriculture, Bruxelles  
M. P. DELGRANDE, Direction générale des relations extérieures, Bruxelles  
M. GUGGENBUHL<sup>\*</sup>, Direction générale des relations extérieures, Bruxelles  
M. L. PACHT<sup>\*</sup>, Direction générale du développement, Bruxelles  
M. A. TINCANI, Direction générale du développement, Bruxelles  
M. M. FRANCO, Direction générale du développement, Bruxelles  
M. L. CLADES, Direction générale du développement, Bruxelles  
M. K. WHITEMAN<sup>\*</sup>, Direction générale de l'information, Bruxelles  
M. A.T. TRAORE<sup>\*</sup>, Direction générale du développement, Bruxelles  
M. NAGELMAEKERS<sup>\*</sup>, Délégation auprès de l'OCDE et de l'UNESCO  
Mme J. NONON<sup>\*</sup>, Bureau de l'information de la Commission, Paris  
M. A. GILBERT<sup>\*</sup>, Bureau de l'information de la Commission, Paris

CONSEIL D'AIDE ECONOMIQUE MUTUELLE (CAEM)

Mr. N. BOGATY, Head of Department

SECRETARIAT DU COMMONWEALTH (SC)

H.E. Mr. Shridath S. RAMPHAL, Secretary-General  
Mr. B.P. PERSAUD, Assistant Director, Economic Affairs Division  
Mr. N.A. RWEYEMAMU, Chief Economics Officer, Economic Affairs Division  
Miss J.P. SINGH, Personal Assistant to the Secretary-General

REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

BANQUE AFRICAINE DE DEVELOPPEMENT (BAD)

Mr. S.A. OGUNLEYE, Vice-Président  
Mr. A. SEBONI, Executive Director  
Mr. P. MOUSSA, Executive Director  
Mr. S. OMARI, Acting Chief  
Mr. I.B.C. JOHN, Director, Country Programmes Department

COMITE INTERGOUVERNEMENTAL POUR LES MIGRATIONS (CIM)

Mr. H. HABENICHT, Chief, Department of Planning, Liaison and Research

COMMUNAUTE ECONOMIQUE DE L'AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST (CEAO)

M. Moussa DIAKITE, Directeur général

---

\* A temps partiel.

CONSEIL AFRICAIN DE L'ARACHIDE (CAA)

M. Mour Mamadou SAMB, Executive Secretary

FONDS DE L'OPEP POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL (FONDS OPEP)

Mr. Ibrahim F.I. SHIHATA, Director-General  
Mr. Abdelkader BENAMARA

ORGANISATION DE COOPERATION ET DE DEVELOPPEMENT ECONOMIQUES (OCDE)

Mr. Tomohiko KOBAYASHI, Special Counsellor  
Mr. Louis SABOURIN, President of the Development Centre  
Mr. Hellmuth FUHRER, Director, Development Co-operation Directorate  
Mrs. Anne de LATTRE, Head of the Club du Sahel Secretariat  
Mr. Francis WELLS, Head of Division, Development Co-operation Directorate  
Mr. Jacques de MIRAMON FITZ-JAMES, Head of Division, Trade Directorate  
Mr. Jean BONVIN, Development Centre  
Mr. Stephen J. JOYCE, Secretary-General's Private Office  
Mr. Anthony KLEITZ, Trade Directorate  
Mr. Kazuo TAKAHASHI, Liaison and Co-ordination Unit  
Mr. Wolfgang BUCH, Development Co-operation Directorate

ORGANISATION DES PAYS ARABES EXPORTATEURS DE PETROLE (OPAEP)

Mr. Abdelkader MAACHOU, Senior Adviser

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

ALLIANCE COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONALE (ACI)

Miss F. BAULIER, Permanent Representative to UNESCO  
Mr. A.E. SAENGER, Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Geneva  
Mr. A. HOSSAIN, Bangladesh National Co-operative Union  
Mr. E.M. ANANGISYE, Regional Director for East and Central Africa  
Mr. B. NDIAYE, Regional Director for West Africa

ALLIANCE MONDIALE DES UNIONS CHRETIENNES FEMININES

Ms. Vicky MEJIA MARULANDA

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE L'HOTELLERIE

Mr. Raymond K. FENELON, Secretary-General  
M. Louis JOLIVET, Director of Marketing, responsible for Economic Policy and Research  
Mr. Hugues VILLARD, Secretary of the Council designate, responsible for Professional Training and Legal Affairs  
Miss Donna REITANO, Special Projects Officer

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES PARLEMENTAIRES DE LANGUE FRANCAISE

M. C. HELOU  
M. MAYI-MATIP  
M. M. CHAUTY  
Mme M.-F. NARNIO

CARITAS INTERNATIONALIS

Rev. Father Stefanos TEDLA, Secretary

CHAMBRE INTERNATIONALE DE COMMERCE (CCI)

Mr. Carl-Henrik WINQWIST, Secretary-General

CONFEDERATION MONDIALE DU TRAVAIL (CMT)

M. Blaise ROBEL  
M. Nguyen VAN TANH, Secrétaire général adjoint  
Mme Dominique AGUESSY, Secrétaire générale adjointe  
M. Gérard FONTENEAU, Secrétaire général adjoint  
M. E. MOLANO, Secrétaire général adjoint  
M. Georges FORTUNE, Président de la Confédération démocratique des travailleurs haïtiens

COMITE CONSULTATIF MONDIAL DE LA SOCIETE DES AMIS (Quakers) (FWCC)

Mr. Nicholas GILLET  
Mrs. Ruth GILLET

COMITE DE COORDINATION DU SERVICE VOLONTAIRE INTERNATIONAL

Mr. Rao CHELIKANI, President  
Mr. Francis ATTA DONKOR, Director

CONFERENCE MONDIALE DE L'ENERGIE

M. Paul AURIOL, Secrétaire général, Comité national français  
M. Jean-Romain FRISCH, Directeur, Groupe de travail sur les bilans énergétiques régionaux, Commission de préservation

CONGRES JUIF MONDIAL

Mr. Serge CWAJGENBAUM, Secretary-General, French Section

CONSEIL INTERNATIONAL DES AGENCES BENEVOLES (IVCA)

Mr. Sibusiso BENGU  
Mr. Anthony J. KOZLOWSKI  
Mr. William PRUZENSKY  
Mr. Cyril RITCHIE



CONSEIL INTERNATIONAL DES FEMMES

Dame Mariam DELL, Présidente (à temps partiel)  
Mlle Rolande GAILLARD

CONSEIL INTERNATIONAL DES MONUMENTS ET DES SITES

Mlle Rany Keo KOSAL

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Mr. Bernard BOUDOURESQUES

FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES ASSISTANTS SOCIAUX

Mrs. Hélène GUMENE, Secretary-General  
Miss E. CHOUFFIER

FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES FEMMES DE CARRIERES LIBERALES ET COMMERCIALES

Mrs. Marcelle DEVAUD, Chairman of the Federation's Standing Committee on  
Employment Conditions  
Ms. Jeanne CHATON  
Mrs. Audree BAILLY

FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES FEMMES DIPLOMEES DES UNIVERSITES

Mrs. Constance JONES  
Mrs. Denise MACE  
Mrs. Maryvonne STEPHAN

FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES PRODUCTEURS AGRICOLES (FIPA)

Mr. J.H. FEINGOLD, Assistant Secretary General  
Mr. A. PELACH-PANICKER, Program Development Officer

FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE POUR LE PLANNING FAMILIAL

Mrs. A. HUSSEIN

FEDERATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DEMOCRATIQUE

Mr. Ranajit GUHA

FEDERATION MONDIALE DES ASSOCIATIONS POUR LES NATIONS UNIES (FMANU)

Mr. Jan VRANY, UN Association of Czechoslovakia  
Mr. Terence CAVAGHAN, UN Association of Ireland  
Ms. Berith GRANATH, UN Association of Sweden  
Mr. Makkawi Awad EL MAKKAWI, UN Association of the Sudan  
Mr. Panwell MUNATAMBA, UN Association of Zambia  
Mr. MPUNDA, UN Association of Zambia  
Mr. Leonard PHIRI, UN Association of Zambia  
Mr. Jon ALEXANDER, Director of WFUNA Relations with UNESCO

FEDERATION POUR LE RESPECT DE L'HOMME ET DE L'HUMANITE

M. Joseph FORAY

INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL DE STATISTIQUE

Mr. G. WINTER, Chargé de Mission, Co-operation Service D.O.M.

LIGUE EUROPEENNE DE COOPERATION ECONOMIQUE

\* M. Luc DURAND-REVILLE, Institut de France

MOUVEMENT INTERNATIONAL POUR L'UNION FRATERNELLE ENTRE LES RACES ET LES PEUPLES (UFER) (ngo)

M. C.M. EYA NCHAMA

ORGANISATION MONDIALE POUR LA PROTECTION SOCIALE DES AVEUGLES

Mrs. Hilary GOHIER, Assistant Secretary General

ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE DES EMPLOYEURS (OIE)

M. Jean-Jacques OECHSLIN, Chairman

Mlle Marie-Françoise ROCHE, Adjoint du Directeur des questions sociales internationales

ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE JUSTICE ET DEVELOPPEMENT

Mme Rosemarie NEUPARTL, La commission des droits de l'homme

Mme Geneviève BUNEL, La commission des droits de l'homme

M. André HAIM, La commission des droits de l'homme

M. Christian PAGANO, La commission des droits de l'homme

M. ASTRUC, La commission des droits de l'homme

M. Maxime JOINVILLE ENNEZAT, La commission des droits de l'homme

PAX CHRISTI, MOUVEMENT INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIQUE POUR LA PAIX

Mr. Otto WINKLER

SOCIETE INTERNATIONALE POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT

Ms. Jacqueline GRANGER

UNION EUROPEENNE FEMININE

Ms. Erika WOLF

UNION INTERNATIONALE CHRETIENNE DES DIRIGEANTS D'ENTREPRISES (UNIAPAC)

M. Pierre de BECO

M. Emmanuel JAHAN

M. Francis LANGLOIS, Directeur du développement industriel à l'étranger

M. Xavier LESORT

UNION INTERNATIONALE DES ORGANISMES FAMILIAUX

Mme Habima NYIRASAFARI, Directeur de l'Office nationale de la population  
à Rwanda, Vice-Président de l'UIOF

M. Pran Nath LUTHRA, Président Asian Union of Family Organisations,  
Vice-Président de l'UIOF

WORLD ASSOCIATION OF FORMER UNITED NATIONS INTERNS AND FELLOWS

Mr. Ngo MAHN LAN

Mr. Jean-Philippe VERNES

ZONTA INTERNATIONAL

Ms. Janine N'DIAYE, Counsellor, Delegation of Senegal, UNESCO

+

...