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**27th
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 11 October 1983,
at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. MARTYNENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): I warmly congratulate Mr. Illueca on his election to the important post of President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I wish him and the Secretary-General every success in their work.
2. We are extremely grateful to the President of the thirty-seventh session, Mr. Hollai, for the work he did.
3. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes to congratulate Saint Christopher and Nevis on its admission to membership in the United Nations.
4. The current session of the General Assembly is taking place at a difficult and troubled time, a time crucial to the future of mankind. In an international situation of acute tension what is needed is a sober and objective analysis of current alarming trends in international relations and sensible conclusions consistent with the ultimate interests of mankind.
5. Nevertheless, this approach is being rejected by the aggressive imperialist circles of the United States. They have openly embarked on a policy based on a position of strength and on interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States. The arms race they have unleashed, an unprecedented military buildup, large-scale programmes for manufacturing all kinds of weapons—nuclear, chemical and conventional—and plans to extend the arms race to outer space are, in effect, incontrovertible proof that the United States is creating the material basis for war. Vast sums already running into trillions of dollars are being allocated to finance the United States military buildup.
6. The plans to deploy new United States medium-range missiles on the continent of Europe are extremely dangerous. In practice, their implementation would mean the creation of a first-strike capability in the immediate vicinity of vital centres of the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries. It would appear that those who intend to do this—and they are the very ones promoting the idea that nuclear war is possible or even admissible—are prey to the illusion that if these missiles are launched against Soviet targets from Western European countries rather than from United States territory, then it would be those countries that would be the targets of retaliation. In acting in this way, Washington is making the countries and peoples of Western Europe its nuclear hostages.
7. The programmes for developing and manufacturing the very latest weapons systems, which are being formulated and implemented in the United States, are aimed

at disrupting the existing parity of forces between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and the Warsaw Treaty countries and at securing a dominant world position for the United States. Such an open militaristic course poses a serious threat to peace, heightens international tension and is edging the world towards a nuclear conflict and increasing the risk of nuclear war.

8. In order to justify its militaristic course and its further escalation of tension, the United States Administration has invented the myth of a Soviet military threat, has proclaimed a crusade against socialism as a social system and is trying by its actions to transfer ideological differences onto the plane of relations among States. Mr. Yuri Andropov, General-Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, said on 28 September that such actions are absurd and inadmissible, especially now in the nuclear age [see A/38/459].

9. The realities of the existing international situation call for particular restraint in all spheres of relations among States, above all when the interests of countries with differing social systems are involved.

10. In the present extremely acute and tense international situation, no task is more urgent or important than that of preserving peace and preventing nuclear war. The very survival of life on earth depends on accomplishing that task. There is no doubt but that the United Nations has an important part to play in this noble undertaking.

11. The thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly must make its own contribution to curbing the arms race and normalizing the international situation. It would be entirely logical if this session were to focus its attention on such central issues as the prevention of nuclear war, an early halt to the arms race, the prevention of the spread of that arms race to new areas, and movement towards disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. There is no other reasonable or reliable way of solving these urgent priority problems than to hold honest negotiations and to explore and find mutually acceptable solutions.

12. Numerous foreign-policy initiatives of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries have created a concrete and practical basis for taking urgent action to prevent nuclear war, curb the arms race, bring about disarmament, eliminate hotbeds of tensions and improve the international political climate.

13. Of undying historic importance is the unilateral obligation assumed by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and its appeal to the other nuclear Powers to follow suit—something to which, most regretably, the United States and its nuclear partners have not yet responded, although the renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons by all the nuclear Powers would in effect mean that the possibility of nuclear war could be ruled out altogether.

14. The new Soviet proposal to include in the agenda of the thirty-eighth session an important and urgent item entitled "Condemnation of nuclear war" [A/38/243] has been dictated by the same profound concern for the

destinies of the world and for the prevention of nuclear war. Nuclear war must be condemned resolutely, unconditionally and for all time. Any ideas involving the admissibility of nuclear war are criminal and should be subject to the severest condemnation. We strongly advocate the adoption of a United Nations declaration specifically devoted to the condemnation of nuclear war.

15. The Ukrainian SSR believes that proposals to freeze nuclear arms and to reduce them substantially on the basis of equality and equal security are important for the limitation of arms. A simultaneous quantitative and qualitative nuclear arms freeze by either all the nuclear Powers or, initially, by the United States and the Soviet Union as an example to the other nuclear States would undoubtedly increase the degree of trust among nations and would help in practical terms to move towards breaking the vicious circle of the arms race. This noble goal is pursued by the Soviet Union proposal that the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly adopt a resolution entitled "Nuclear-arms freeze" [see A/38/244]. We hope it will win wide support from States Members of the Organization.

16. Strategic programmes for militarizing outer space, being developed and implemented in the United States, are causing grave concern. A programme for developing outer-space attack systems designed to destroy targets in outer space and on earth is being carried out. Outer-space combat systems are seen as a key element of a first-strike capability.

17. The Ukrainian SSR fully shares the conclusion that the development of various kinds of outer-space arms and weapons systems will make international arms control, limitation and reduction agreements much more difficult to achieve. The stationing of arms in outer space will constitute yet another broad channel of the arms race. That is why any plans to turn outer space into a source of mortal danger to mankind must be securely blocked. The draft international treaty on the prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space, proposed in 1981 by the Soviet Union,¹ serves that very purpose. In order to prevent the militarization of outer space, the USSR has submitted to the current session a proposal entitled "Conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from outer space against the Earth" [A/38/194].

18. Outer space must not be allowed to become a source of danger of war and an arena for conflict and confrontation. It must remain free from any weapons. We believe that the current session of the General Assembly must bring to bear the weight of its authority in favour of finding a solution to this extremely urgent problem as soon as possible.

19. A well-founded comprehensive programme of measures to limit and reduce arms, particularly nuclear arms, has been proposed by the Warsaw Treaty countries in their Prague Political Declaration [see A/38/67 and Corr. 1]. Of particular significance is the proposal contained in that document that the NATO countries should conclude a treaty with the Warsaw Treaty countries on the mutual non-use of military force and on the maintenance of relations of peace between these two groupings. In essence, this proposal means the renunciation of the first use of both nuclear and conventional weapons and, hence, the renunciation of the use of military force against each other in general. Unfortunately, not everyone has yet realized that such a treaty, if signed, would considerably improve the situation in Europe and in the world as a whole and would have a substantial positive impact upon the ongoing negotiations on the limitation

of arms and, equally important, would be conducive to the creation of a climate of trust.

20. The task of eliminating the threat of nuclear war calls for urgent efforts in all areas. This applies above all to the most acute problem of the limitation and reduction of strategic arms and the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe. The United States Administration has taken an obstructionist stand on these major issues and is seeking to acquire military superiority while attempting to use negotiations as a cover for its moves aimed at a military buildup to the detriment of the security of other States.

21. In recent weeks the United States has been giving wide publicity to its so-called more flexible stand in the Geneva disarmament negotiations. On 26 September this was referred to from this very rostrum [5th meeting]. Ill-informed people might get the impression that the United States position has changed for the better and that it is now up to the Soviet side to respond. But is that really the case? Unfortunately not. The United States still has no intention of renouncing the deployment of its new nuclear missiles in Europe. It continues to propose to negotiate only on the number of Soviet medium-range missiles to be reduced and on the number of United States missiles to be deployed in Europe over and above the nuclear arsenal already possessed by NATO. The United States remains categorically opposed to counting British and French missiles and nuclear-capable aircraft and is reluctant to admit that the Soviet Union is compelled to maintain in its possession an equivalent counterpart of these weapons.

22. Clearly there has been no change in the United States position on these two central issues. What, then, is the meaning of these American pronouncements?

23. First, as we know, Washington claims to possess the right to deploy in Europe as many new United States missiles as the Soviet Union has not only in its European but also in its Asian area. The reply to Washington has been that this is not logical. Now the United States of America is proposing another approach, the entire "novelty" and "flexibility" of which boil down to its promise not to deploy all its missiles in Europe but rather a certain number of them, the rest being deployed "elsewhere", which would nevertheless be close to Soviet territory. Does this really change anything of substance?

24. Secondly, the United States and NATO are known to have plans to deploy 572 medium-range nuclear missiles—108 Pershing 2 missiles and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles—in Europe. Now the United States has declared that if the Soviet side were to agree, for example, to the deployment of 450 rather than 572 United States missiles in Europe and in other areas adjacent to the Soviet Union and to an equivalent reduction of its own missiles, the United States would consider the question of mixing those two types of United States missiles to be deployed. It is obvious that there is nothing new here either, just vague formulas. What is in fact being proposed is that the Soviet Union should reduce missiles while the United States is to deploy them.

25. Thirdly, the United States has expressed its willingness to consider the inclusion, in an agreement on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe, of nuclear-capacity aircraft of medium range, with the following reservations: that the Soviet Union would agree to the deployment of new United States missiles in Europe and elsewhere; and that the agreement should cover all types of Soviet aircraft of medium range while leaving out hundreds of United States aircraft of equivalent range that are either stationed in Western Europe or based on aircraft carriers close to its shores, as well as all aircraft

systems of the NATO allies of the United States. Here is another transparent attempt to project a false image of a change in the United States position. In fact, however, nothing new, no constructive spirit or true flexibility has emerged. This is a propaganda manoeuvre designed to mislead public opinion and make it easier to go ahead with the missile deployment plan.

26. The same kind of misleading manoeuvring is being used by the United States with regard to the limitation and reduction of strategic arms. The modernization and buildup of qualitatively new strategic nuclear weapons systems, and the ensuring of a unilateral advantage for the United States in this category of weapons too, is cynically portrayed as a genuine contribution to the reduction of nuclear arsenals.

27. If genuine progress is to be achieved in the negotiations, a different approach must be adopted, one which would ensure mutually acceptable solutions which would not prejudice the legitimate interests of any party. What is needed is the political will to reach a just and honest agreement which would result in the effective reduction of the level of nuclear confrontation in strict accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. It is precisely that kind of approach that the Soviet Union has been following in the Geneva negotiations.

28. Efforts are also needed in other areas. One of those areas would be the cessation and prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests by all States. To achieve progress in this important area the Soviet Union submitted the basic provisions of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests at the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly² and proposed that for the duration of the negotiations a moratorium be declared on tests of all nuclear weapons and of new kinds and types of nuclear-weapon delivery vehicles. Naturally, progress in this field, too, is contingent on the willingness of all the nuclear Powers to show common sense and a constructive approach and to recognize their responsibility for the fate of mankind. A complete and general ban on nuclear-weapon tests would be of considerable help in preventing the possibility of developing new kinds of such weapons and in consolidating the non-proliferation régime.

29. The goal of preventing further dangerous developments in the world and a drift towards disaster is also being pursued through other specific Soviet proposals concerning arms limitation, proposals which if implemented would in our opinion be conducive to the creation of a favourable atmosphere for measures of a more radical nature. Such measures would include, in particular, the actual working out by the Committee on Disarmament of a convention on the prohibition of the production, stockpiling, deployment and use of neutron weapons, and the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the world, including the European continent. The strengthening of the security of non-nuclear States, too, is quite important.

30. The solution to the problem of the earliest possible banning of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons—one of the most barbaric means of annihilating people—has been long overdue. The draft basic provisions of a convention on this subject put forward by the Soviet Union provide a constructive platform for banning these weapons. It provides for the total cessation of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, a gradual destruction of stockpiles and the elimination of manufacturing facilities. This draft is before the Committee on Disarmament.³ The General Assembly has repeatedly indicated its strong

support for an agreement on the comprehensive prohibition of chemical weapons. Any further delay in solving the problem of the prohibition of chemical weapons carries with it not only a threat that the stockpiles of these weapons will increase but also the threat that more countries will acquire them. It is clear that the Committee should begin as soon as possible the actual business of negotiating the text of such a convention. The socialist countries, which have been consistently advocating the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons on a global scale, have expressed their agreement and called upon other States to take parallel steps leading to the attainment of this goal within the European continent. This is precisely the goal pursued in the proposal contained in the Prague Political Declaration concerning the freeing of Europe from chemical weapons.

31. The task of limiting conventional armaments and armed forces has remained as relevant as ever. The socialist countries have put forward a series of constructive proposals aimed at breaking the deadlock in the current Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. We believe that this is a realistic programme of practical action designed to establish equal collective force ceilings at a lower level.

32. We note with satisfaction that December 1983 will see the entry into force of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed To Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects. The Ukrainian SSR was among the first to ratify this important international agreement. We are confident that the early universalization of the Convention would contribute to the attainment of wider and more significant objectives in the field of conventional arms limitation and reduction.

33. The Middle East problem has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for over 30 years now. A host of resolutions and decisions have been adopted, yet the situation still remains extremely tense and dangerous. Its root cause lies in the expansionist and aggressive policy of Israel, which enjoys comprehensive United States support and patronage. It is for precisely this reason that for decades the region has been a hotbed of constant military conflicts which are seriously aggravating the entire international situation. The situation in the Middle East has again sharply deteriorated as a result of the brutal United States interference, involving the use of military force, in the internal affairs of Lebanon. This armed intervention by the United States must be stopped and Israel must withdraw from Lebanon without any conditions that would infringe the independence and sovereignty of that country.

34. The situation of conflict in the Middle East can and must be settled not by military confrontation but by peaceful political means at the negotiating table, with due regard for the legitimate rights and just interests of all the States and peoples of the region, including the long-suffering Arab people of Palestine. The Ukrainian SSR reaffirms its unswerving solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people for national independence, and believes that the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Palestine and the liberation of all the Arab lands occupied by Israel since 1967 would create favourable conditions for just and lasting peace in the Middle East and for the security of all the States and peoples of the region.

35. Lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved through the collective efforts of all the parties concerned, with the mandatory participation, on an equal footing, of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This

is precisely the objective of the Soviet Union's proposal to convene an international conference on the Middle East.

36. The world public is gravely concerned about the exacerbation of the situation in Central America, where the United States has launched a campaign of military threats and brutal pressure against sovereign States and national liberation movements that it finds objectionable, and where it is trying to keep anti-people puppet régimes in power and carrying out military intervention against Nicaragua.

37. The Ukrainian SSR is strongly opposed to United States interference in the sovereign affairs of the States of Central America. We are sympathetic to the efforts of the Contadora Group to bring about political settlement in that region. The discussion at the thirty-eighth session of an item proposed by Nicaragua on the situation in Central America [A/38/242] should contribute to such a settlement.

38. Among the efforts being made in the United Nations in the interest of peace, high priority undoubtedly belongs to actions designed to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. The United Nations has done a great deal in this respect, as is clearly evidenced by the successes in implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, vestiges of colonialism still persist, and they constitute a source of international crises and conflicts. This is vividly demonstrated by Britain's desire to maintain its colonial domination over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

39. The situation prevailing in southern Africa gives the world cause for profound concern. The Ukrainian SSR strongly supports the demand of the overwhelming majority of States that the Security Council impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Only concerted efforts by all States and total international isolation and boycott can force the racists to end the abominable practice of *apartheid*, to halt their aggression against neighbouring independent African States—primarily Angola—and to grant independence to Namibia.

40. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR draws attention to the mounting tension in the Korean peninsula. We consider it our duty to express our solidarity with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its struggle for the democratic reunification of the country, without outside interference, and for the withdrawal of United States forces from South Korea.

41. The implementation of a proposal by the Mongolian People's Republic to conclude a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific would make a significant contribution to the strengthening of confidence, understanding and good-neighbourliness between Asian States.

42. We are strongly opposed to attempts by the representatives of some States to involve this session in a discussion of the so-called Afghan question, which could only impede efforts to achieve a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan constitute a good basis for such a settlement.

43. The General Assembly has been forced to discuss the so-called Kampuchean question, against the will of the Kampuchean people and its Government. We support the proposals in the documents of the conference of the leaders of Viet Nam, Laos, and the People's Republic

of Kampuchea for normalizing the situation in South-East Asia. The countries of Indo-China have reaffirmed their desire to develop a dialogue with the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and to establish a zone of peace, stability and co-operation in the region. These proposals provide a genuine basis for improving the political climate in South-East Asia and throughout the world.

44. The solution of global problems, such as those of the provision of enough food for all the people on earth, supplies of energy resources to rapidly developing industry, protection of the environment, control of dangerous diseases, and management of the resources of the world oceans, calls for extensive and stable international co-operation. These problems undoubtedly include the elimination of the underdevelopment, inherited from the colonial era, of many States of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

45. We cannot fail to see that the deterioration of the international situation seriously affects prospects for the economic growth of the developing nations and impedes the struggle to establish a new international economic order. That is why we believe that to struggle to consolidate peace and security and to end the arms race is the sacred duty of every State and every Government striving for the economic and social progress of its people.

46. Numerous initiatives by the socialist countries are aimed at utilizing the vast economic potentials inherent in disarmament. One of these important initiatives is the appeal to the NATO countries—made on 28 June this year—to start negotiations immediately on ceasing to increase and subsequently mutually reducing military expenditures, so that the funds thus released may be used for economic and social development, including that of the developing nations [see A/38/192]. This initiative reflects our understanding of the intrinsic interdependence of peace, disarmament and development. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will be guided by this approach with regard to the entire range of problems of development and international economic co-operation before the current session. We shall play our part in making its decisions adequately reflect the desire of the peoples of the world for active peaceful coexistence and for the development of mutually beneficial ties, in peace and stability.

47. The Ukrainian people is engaged in peaceful creative work to carry out the plans for social, economic and cultural development for the years 1981-1985 formulated by the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. We must have peace if these plans are to be implemented. Mr. Vladimir Shcherbitsky, Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, has pointed out that "the peaceful nature of our policy is not merely a matter of words, showmanship or reliance on temporary advantages in international affairs . . . Its peaceful nature stems from the very essence of our socialist system."

48. Together with other States Members of the United Nations, the Ukrainian SSR is ready to continue to make every effort to preserve peace, prevent nuclear catastrophe, curb the arms race and create a climate of understanding and co-operation between the peoples on our planet.

49. Mr. WOLDE (Ethiopia): At the very outset I congratulate Mr. Jorge Illueca on his well deserved election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly and wish him every success in the discharge of

the onerous responsibilities entrusted to him. I also express our sincere appreciation to his predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, for the effective manner in which he guided the work of the thirty-seventh session.

50. Our special appreciation also goes to the Secretary-General, who through his indefatigable efforts is endeavouring to enhance the effectiveness and increase the prestige of the United Nations.

51. Last but not least, on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation I extend a warm welcome to the newly independent State of Saint Christopher and Nevis as it enters this family of sovereign nations.

52. It has become a tradition for the Organization of African Unity [OAU] through its current Chairman, to address the General Assembly on the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of Africa. Accordingly, I have been instructed by my head of State, Mr. Mengistu Haile-Mariam, the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, to deliver the following message to the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

53. Peace and progress are the pressing needs and the immutable objectives of all the peoples of the world. But that these objectives could not be fully and globally achieved remains the foremost preoccupation of the world today. We in Africa are convinced that, as the sole universal forum for international deliberation and action, the United Nations has a unique and leading role to play in the attainment of the lofty objectives of peace and progress for the whole of mankind.

54. Throughout history, societies have continuously struggled for common identity, independence and peaceful development, as well as for equal and mutually beneficial relationships with one another. Whereas the universal validity of these goals is evident, the struggle to attain them was often frustrated by the forces of oppression and domination, thus causing humanity to alternate between hope and despair, and between war and peace.

55. So long as these basic and universal yearnings of mankind are not respected, it is inevitable that peace and progress will remain mere hopes and aspirations. It is in this perspective that we in Africa view the diverse problems confronting us today.

56. Ours is a demand that the universal character and validity of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations be recognized and scrupulously respected, so that the United Nations might be strengthened and world peace and security guaranteed. Ours is a demand that the identity and sovereignty of each nation be respected, in order to enrich existing civilizations and lay the foundations for a universal one. Ours is a demand that the peaceful and collective development of peoples be guaranteed, to ensure the eradication from the face of the earth of the age-old enemies of mankind and to build a more congenial environment for the full realization of human potentialities. Ours is a demand that international relations be restructured on the basis of equality and mutual respect, in order to remove tension and confrontation and replace them with détente, co-operation and mutual concern.

57. Despite the fact that Africa is the cradle of rich civilizations, at one point in time it was designated by colonial Powers as the "dark continent", which paved the way for the merciless plunder of its natural resources, for the trampling underfoot of the rights and freedom of its peoples, for the defiling of its cultures and for the sale of its sons and daughters like chattels. But the rich legacies of Africa's identity and freedom, as well as its

resilient civilizations could never be wiped out. As a result, and after a long and arduous struggle by the peoples of Africa for cultural and national identity, the preponderant majority of African countries have today attained their independence and sovereignty.

58. However, due to the exploitative and oppressive colonial experience and the prevailing iniquitous international economic order which has its origin in the era of colonialism, Africa is currently facing numerous and varied problems.

59. As is well known, throughout the long periods of cultural domination, economic activities in the parcelled African region were deliberately centred on the merciless exploitation of Africa's natural resources, which itself was a further sequel to the prior inhumane exploitation of Africa through the slave trade of the preceding centuries. Further, the subjugated African colonies were forced into an unhealthy integration of their social and economic life with that of the metropolitan countries. The African economy, as a result, is today characterized by the deep scars of colonialism and the inhuman ravages of imperialism. Indeed, the direction and content of our social and economic development were disoriented, while the momentum for growth and for an eventual take-off was retarded.

60. With this background, added to which are the constant manoeuvres of imperialism, the African economy finds itself today with all the basic structural symptoms and crises of underdevelopment: over-specialization in the production of a few export commodities, over-dependency on other growth centres of the world, chronic balance-of-payments deficits, increasing food shortages, institutional inadequacies and so forth. Indeed, such problems have become so common and serious in Africa that 26 African countries, representing more than half of all the African States, are classified among the 36 least developed countries of the world.

61. Furthermore, the present economic crisis in the world has affected all sectors of African economic activity, both national and international. The collapse of the prices of our principal exports of agricultural and mineral raw materials in spite of the efforts of UNCTAD to implement the Integrated Programme for Commodities has drastically reduced our foreign exchange earnings from these exports, which constitute the most important element of the developing countries' import and debt-servicing capacity. Coupled with the severe liquidity squeeze, these developments have forced our countries to cut down on their national programmes of social and economic development, in full awareness of the social and political consequences of doing so.

62. The average growth rate of the gross domestic product has plummeted from 4.4. per cent in 1980 to 2 per cent in 1981 and 1.1. per cent in 1982, which is considerably lower than the average population growth rate, implying that for the whole continent real per capita income has been on a continuous decline over the years and is below the level of the early 1960s. Indeed, some countries are experiencing a negative growth rate.

63. The rising import bills for food, energy and other essentials, together with the high rate of imported inflation and dwindling export earnings, has contributed to the high level of current account deficits of \$14 billion, and to a total external debt of \$75 billion, compared with only \$14.2 billion in 1973. It is now widely recognized that with the average debt-service ratio of 20 per cent projected for this year, many African countries will continue to encounter severe difficulties in servicing external debt, in financing current account deficits and, hence, in financing the projected flow of imports.

64. In addition, many of our countries are affected by devastating natural disasters, such as severe drought, desertification and floods, with serious repercussions on Africa's ability to feed its teeming population. The response of the international community to the plight of developing countries has been negative, or at best ambivalent, as typified by the recently concluded sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade. The developed and industrialized countries, in spite of the recognized interdependence of the world economy, adopted the usual negative approach, so much so that even the very few resolutions that were adopted at Belgrade were subject to frustrating reservations.

65. The developing countries themselves have taken various initiatives and made concrete proposals to advance international economic co-operation. Our efforts at the level of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77 bear testimony to this claim. Had these initiatives been acted upon and had the call for a new international economic order been fully supported by all, we would have laid a solid foundation for a better world.

66. Africa has persistently advocated the restructuring of the present inequitable international economic order as well as its own domestic economic system. Africa continues to press for the establishment of a new international economic order and the immediate launching of global negotiations. It was in this spirit that Africa took the historic step of working out a regional development strategy adopted at Lagos in April 1980 by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its second extraordinary session. This strategy, now commonly known as the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos, lays down the philosophy and strategy for change in Africa. Africa is indeed firmly convinced that there is no viable alternative to the implementation of the basic principles of the Lagos Plan of Action, namely, collective self-reliance and self-sustainment so that an African economic community may be realized by the year 2000.

67. At this point, let me hasten to emphasize that Africa's adoption of a strategy of self-reliance and self-sustainment does not in any way imply the renunciation of international support. On the contrary, it anticipates full support from the international community, as was recently restated in the Addis Ababa Declaration on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee anniversary celebration of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, which, *inter alia*, called upon the international community through the General Assembly of the United Nations

“to support [the] endeavour by providing the necessary moral, technical and financial support to the efforts of African countries in their faithful implementation of the goals and objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos in accordance with the provisions of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade.”⁴

I sincerely hope that this humble call will be heard and that there will be a response to it.

68. Africa's effort and determination will require a considerable amount of external support of all kinds, and it is with this in mind that we urge the General Assembly and other United Nations organs to play the principal role in global economic negotiations, in order that all issues be addressed in an interrelated manner, in full recognition of their interdependence as well as the interdependence of all economies of the world, and also in order to ensure a comprehensive solution and results that are beneficial to developing countries. The General Assembly and all

other United Nations organs must give full attention to all issues in the domain of North-South economic co-operation, with priority consideration to the liquidity problems facing developing countries, the chronic balance-of-payments problems, the collapse of commodity prices and the acute food situation facing developing countries, as well as the special problem of the least developed countries, among others.

69. In all these areas, the concrete proposals of developing countries are on the table. These include, in particular, the convening of an international conference on money and finance for development to address seriously the issues of transfer of resources to developing countries, the reform of the international monetary system and an effective framework for co-operation in the areas of money and finance for development.

70. Further, the problem of trade in raw materials should be accorded high priority with a view to securing improvement in prices, ensuring easy access to markets and allowing developing countries to maximize their benefits from all activities relating to marketing, transportation and distribution of their raw materials.

71. Unless this is done, what is being described currently as recovery in some countries will be meaningless to us in the third world, because the so-called trickle-down effect has never worked in the past and is most unlikely to work now, given the pervasive nature and the depth of the current economic crisis and the structural rigidity of the majority of our countries.

72. Negative attitudes must give way to reason and to a common resolve to save humanity from destitution, despair and an uncertain future.

73. Coupled with these severe economic problems, the challenge of the complete eradication of colonialism and racism from the face of the continent still faces Africa.

74. In their long struggle for independence, equality and justice, the peoples of Africa have always opted, wherever possible, for the peaceful attainment of their objectives. In this respect, the Lusaka Manifesto⁵ stands as a living testimony. But Africa has been compelled to resort to armed struggle because the response of the colonialists and racists to Africa's legitimate quest for freedom has been only mindless violence.

75. Faced with this situation, the United Nations also recognizes the right of all peoples to resort to armed struggle against racists and colonialists.

76. The just struggle of peoples, which has vanquished the forces of racism and colonialism and ensured the accession to independence of countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and others in our continent, is at once a cause for pride to the peace-loving international community and a significant contribution to the further strengthening of the principles of the United Nations. Nevertheless, a serious challenge awaits us, since the odious system which continues to defy flagrantly the will of the international community and reject with utter impunity the principles of the Charter of the United Nations is still entrenched in Namibia and South Africa.

77. Today, Namibia is still languishing under the illegal and colonial occupation of South Africa, despite the many decisions of the Security Council and the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly as well as the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.⁶ The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, approved in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), is yet to be implemented, owing to the deception and intransigence of the South African régime. We are fully aware that the responsibility for the delay in implementation must be shared by the members of the so-called Western

contact group, which are at once the initiators of the plan and the sole obstacle to the adoption of enforcement measures for its implementation.

78. Indeed, Africa cannot but express its extreme indignation at the attempts being made to hold Namibia's independence hostage to the realization of the strategic objectives of some of the members of the contact group. In this regard, we reaffirm our common position that the presence of Cuban forces in Angola is totally unrelated to the question of Namibia's independence. We reject any linkage or parallelism.

79. Inasmuch as the racist régime has so far refused to comply with the numerous resolutions of the United Nations, one wonders for how long the Organization can continue adopting resolutions which will invariably remain unimplemented. This, we believe, is a question of crucial importance. We are convinced, in this regard, that the United Nations has no alternative but to prove once again its commitment to human freedom, dignity and equality by shouldering its historic responsibility to the Namibian people and adopting a programme of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

80. Even though the people of Namibia will gain their freedom and independence through their own struggle and under their sole and legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], Africa believes that economic sanctions will help pressure the South African régime to opt for the peaceful and speedy renunciation of its illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia.

81. In the mean time, however, Africa is resolved to render all possible political, diplomatic and material assistance to SWAPO and the struggling people of Namibia. In this connection, I deem it my duty to call upon the international community to do likewise, inasmuch as the armed struggle being waged by the people of Namibia is part and parcel of the world-wide struggle for freedom and dignity, deserving the total support of all peoples that love freedom and justice.

82. Another just struggle that equally deserves our total support is that of the oppressed masses of South Africa, whose political freedom and human dignity have been trampled upon by the racist régime in Pretoria far too long. The inhuman and repugnant system of *apartheid* is not only a challenge to the international community, but an insult to the conscience of mankind as well. We therefore call upon the United Nations in particular and the international community in general to help put an end to this crime against humanity by isolating the racist régime in every sphere of international life and by extending at the same time to the liberation movements of South Africa all the necessary moral and material assistance. Moreover, we call upon those Western countries whose transnational corporations are engaged in the plunder of the natural resources of both South Africa and Namibia and whose Governments identify their interests with those of the racist régime, to practise in South Africa what they globally preach about human rights and fundamental freedoms.

83. Not content with this brutal oppression of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, the racist Pretoria régime has now embarked on a grand strategy of destabilization and naked aggression against the front-line African countries. Subversive and terrorist groups, organized, armed and financed by the racist régime, are currently operating in Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe, depriving the peoples of those countries of peace and stability and thereby forcing them to divert

their attention and resources from the urgent task of economic and social reconstruction.

84. Apart from committing repeated acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, the *apartheid* régime is now in illegal occupation of parts of southern Angola. Furthermore, it is attempting to strangle the land-locked Kingdom of Lesotho.

85. It is Africa's view that these acts of aggression and destabilization are designed not only to cripple the armed struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, but also to overthrow the Governments of the front-line States because of their steadfast and selfless support of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa. I submit that this evil design should not be glossed over with more condemnatory and ineffective resolutions. Instead, the international community must assist the front-line States in every way possible in order to enable them to defend better their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

86. In addition to the problems in southern Africa, Africa is also preoccupied with other predicaments, one of which is the situation in Chad. This problem, which is almost 20 years old, has caused immense loss of life and destruction of property in that troubled land. It will be recalled that this question was one of the most pressing issues before the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth session. While the objective of our organization is to find a lasting and peaceful solution to this problem, its complexity and the volatile nature of the situation, as well as the divergent views of internal and external forces, have made it difficult to arrive at a lasting solution more expeditiously.

87. Everybody, of course, believes in the need for peace; the difference arises on how to achieve it. For our part, we are trying to listen to all sides and to find a just solution to the problem. In this connection, we have called upon the external forces to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Chad so as not to exacerbate the situation. We convened the bureau of the nineteenth session of the Assembly and conducted a useful exchange of views with African leaders, thus benefiting from their advice and suggestions as to the possible future course of action. We are still doing everything possible to find a formula acceptable to all and to this end we are in constant touch with the parties directly concerned and with other African leaders. We remain confident that the United Nations and the international community will give the support necessary for the success of our efforts.

88. The other problem to which our organization is seeking a solution is the question of Western Sahara. Apart from the adverse consequences it has had on the parties concerned, this problem, as we all know, challenged and threatened the very existence of our organization. However, African leaders, inspired by their devotion to the ideals and purposes of the organization and guided by the ideals and spirit of African brotherhood, have, through serious discussions and consultations, succeeded in preserving and strengthening their indispensable continental organization.

89. Subsequent to my consultations with the parties directly involved, as well as with other African leaders, with a view to creating an atmosphere conducive to the implementation of resolution AHG/RES.104 (XIX) on the question of Western Sahara, adopted by the Assembly at its nineteenth session [see A/38/312], I convened a meeting of the Implementation Committee at Addis Ababa from 21 to 23 September 1983. It is to be regretted, however, that the Committee had to adjourn indefinitely as a result of a procedural objection raised by Morocco.

90. This temporary setback notwithstanding, we shall continue to search for a lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara on the basis of that resolution. We shall not despair. Nonetheless, it must be made clear at this juncture that the quest for a solution requires the goodwill of both parties, for the co-operation of one party alone would not produce the desired results. In this regard, we are appreciative of the assistance and support given to the OAU by the United Nations and are also looking forward to greater co-operation between the two organizations in the final disposal of the problem.

91. The OAU also seeks and hopes to receive the support and co-operation of the United Nations in the final settlement of the problems arising out of the claims of the sister African States of the Comoros over Mayotte, of Madagascar over the four Malagasy islands, as well as of Mauritius over the Chagos Archipelago.

92. Another problem in which the OAU is involved in fruitful co-operation with the United Nations is that of refugees—a problem which is closely linked with the economic, social and political development of Africa and whose solution has to be sought in this context. Although the problem is complicated and many-faceted, Africa has a clear perception of its continental scope and, as a result, is collectively endeavouring to find solutions to it. We realize that actions taken by each individual country are decisive for the final outcome of this common effort.

93. The OAU is taking various steps to co-ordinate this collective endeavour. In particular, it is engaged in co-ordinating the activities of donor agencies and in developing a strategy that would enable it to evaluate and fully appraise the problem of refugees. In this respect, I am happy to note that it has been decided to hold, in the very near future, the second international conference on assistance to refugees in Africa. I also wish to commend all Governments and organizations which have so far provided assistance to African refugees and, at the same time, would like to express the hope that these Governments and agencies would continue to assist us in dealing with this serious human problem.

94. Apart from those I have already mentioned, there are numerous situations and problems which are a source of serious concern to Africa. High among these is the ever-escalating and threatening arms race. In the past, mankind had sought its security through the acquisition of armaments. But with the advent of nuclear weapons, the vast majority of the people of the world has realized that it is only through disarmament that the security and well-being of humanity can be enhanced.

95. This realization notwithstanding, new weapons, both nuclear and chemical, with greater accuracy and massive destructive power, are being produced and deployed. Furthermore, the rapid development of science and technology has created the awesome possibility of the militarization of outer space. As has already been repeatedly stated from this and other forums, the arms race is consuming human and material resources which could otherwise have been used to advance the material well-being of humanity at large.

96. Africa believes that security can be achieved only through the peaceful resolution of international problems and the realization of the goal of general and complete disarmament. As a consequence, Africa cannot subscribe to the dangerous policy of nuclear deterrence and, indeed, expresses its utter indignation at the squandering on the arms race of much of the world's resources, when millions are still languishing under the yoke of poverty, disease and ignorance. We, therefore, call for a halt to the arms race so that this dangerous process can be reversed and

the security of nations sought at lower levels of armament. Africa also extends its solidarity to all those forces struggling for peace and disarmament in all parts of the world.

97. In this connection, I have to mention Africa's support for the establishment of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones in the different regions of the world. In reaffirming our decision in favour of the denuclearization of Africa, I have to warn the international community of the dangers posed to international peace and security by the nuclear programme of the racist régime of South Africa, which is assisted by certain western States in this perilous venture.

98. In the same vein, I have to state that the further militarization of the Indian Ocean, in contravention of the decisions and declarations by the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and, above all, the United Nations, is threatening not only the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the littoral and hinterland States of the Ocean, but also the peace and security of the world at large. The expansion of existing military bases and the search for new ones do not augur well for the security of the region. We, therefore, call for the early convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean and the speedy implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)].

99. Africa's concern for the strengthening of international peace and security, as well as the progress of mankind, forces it to take concrete positions on various regional problems facing the international community. One such problem on which the OAU has taken an unequivocal stance is the question of Palestine and the Middle East. In order for the States and peoples of that region to achieve a just and lasting peace, it is Africa's conviction that the suffering Palestinian people must attain its legitimate and inalienable rights to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state in its territory. Furthermore, the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must participate on an equal footing in all negotiations affecting the fate of the people of Palestine. Israel must also withdraw from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied by it since 1967. The right of every State in the region to live in peace within internationally recognized boundaries must also be respected by all.

Mr. Illueca (Panama) took the Chair.

100. Furthermore, Africa believes that Lebanon must be left alone to regain its social peace and political stability through scrupulous respect for its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as its national unity.

101. The other problem of concern to Africa is the war that has been raging for the last three years between Iran and Iraq. Over and above the great loss of life, the immense destruction of property and the displacement of persons that it has entailed, the war between the two countries has become a source of instability and insecurity for the Gulf region. On behalf of Africa, I would like once again to call on both Governments, mindful of their responsibilities and in response to the appeals previously made by the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the OAU, to cease hostilities and to try to resolve the problem peacefully.

102. As regards the tension and conflict that prevail in Central America, the South Atlantic, Cyprus, the various sub-regions of Asia, including South-East Asia, and the Korean peninsula, I wish to express the hope that peaceful solutions will be found to all these problems and that

all those concerned will make a determined effort towards that end.

103. I would be remiss in my duty if, at this juncture, I were not to say a few words in the name of the people and Government of socialist Ethiopia regarding the Ethiopian revolution.

104. Throughout its long history Ethiopia has successfully preserved its independence and territorial integrity against repeated attempts by foreign Powers. However, the archaic feudal system and the capitalist production relations which were, at a later stage, grafted on this system, had kept the country in a backward state, depriving it of any meaningful social and economic development. During those years of bitter existence, a handful of feudal lords, having appropriated to themselves almost all the resources of the country, had subjected the broad masses of Ethiopia to cruel and barbaric exploitation, forcing them to live in utter misery and wretchedness, denied of their human dignity and fundamental freedoms. It is to this inhuman system that the social revolution of the Ethiopian people has dealt a mortal blow, and it is today striving to build in its stead an order based on freedom, equality and social justice.

105. This social revolution, and the subsequent fundamental changes it has brought about, is part and parcel of the global demand for peace and progress, and as such it is not directed against any country. If anything, it should have been taken as a contribution to the building of an international system based on peace, justice and equality. Regrettably, however, it is this revolution that remains a target of external threats and aggression. In this connection, particular reference must be made to the provocative military exercises repeatedly conducted in our region by the United States of America, creating a sense of danger and alarm in many countries of the area, including my own. The people and Government of socialist Ethiopia vehemently oppose such provocative acts aimed at undermining the peace and stability of Ethiopia and the region as a whole.

106. I have so far attempted to outline briefly the existing problems pertaining to peace and development in Africa as well as Africa's position on the issues of the day. It is quite evident that these problems in large measure emanate from the gap that exists between the objective reality obtaining in the world, on the one hand, and the lofty ideals of the United Nations, on the other.

107. We believe that the Organization, which serves as the rallying point for the peoples of the world, should be a forum where collective struggle can be waged to bridge that gap and bring about better understanding among peoples and countries wherein the human aspect of civilization shall characterize the relations between peoples and nations everywhere. Hence, in order to alter the course of events in the world and reorient them, change is imperative. However, this is not to advocate a change in the purposes and principles of the Organization, which we believe are noble and sound, but to propose a change in attitude and perception as well as a change in orientation and priorities in action. In essence this is but a call for international relations to be guided by the paramount goals of peace and progress for entire mankind and for their conduct to be based on the principles and norms of international law and the precepts of justice.

108. The growing demand for such a change, echoed in the Organization, must be met with a positive response in order to reassure the peoples of the world which have reposed confidence in the United Nations and whose destiny, in large measure, depends on the nature of that response. Certainly, we are all aware that the issue is a

complex and difficult one. Nevertheless, it is a challenge that must be met individually and collectively. There is no more gratifying task than that of facing this epochal challenge and meeting the obligations dictated by our time.

109. Africa, for its part, stands for change and for the building of a better world. We cannot stand by as helpless observers. On behalf of Africa, I should like to reassure this august Assembly that we are resolved to make concrete and effective contributions in support of any move of the Organization that would help realize the noble purposes of the United Nations.

110. We know that the Organization has so far made significant and historic contributions in preserving world peace and in advancing the peaceful search for new and just economic, political and social as well as information orders. In this regard, Africa is indebted to the Organization. Indeed, it is a well-known fact that Africa's long and arduous struggle for independence and development has been fully supported by the United Nations. We are certain that the Organization will continue to render us moral, political and material support in the remaining phases of our struggle. Long live African unity. Long live the United Nations.

111. Mr. PICHOWINY (Uganda): I extend to you, Sir, warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We know that with your wide diplomatic experience and your intimate knowledge of the United Nations you will guide our deliberations with wisdom and success.

112. I take this opportunity also to pay a special tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, who displayed remarkable statesmanship and skill in his leadership of the thirty-seventh session. It was a pleasure for my delegation to serve as one of his Vice-Presidents.

113. May I express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in the service of the Organization and in trying to ensure that it fulfils its ideals and objectives. I assure him that in these efforts, he can count on the full support and encouragement of Uganda. We recall with pleasure the Secretary-General's visit to Uganda in February of this year.

114. I congratulate most warmly the Government and people of Saint Christopher and Nevis on their attainment of independence. We welcome this new nation to the United Nations and look forward to a relationship of friendship and co-operation.

115. Since I addressed the Assembly at the last session [25th meeting], the general international situation has continued to deteriorate. Of particular concern to my country is the situation in southern Africa, which has become ever more grave and dangerous.

116. Although there exists a global consensus on the urgent need for independence for Namibia, the attainment of this goal has continued to elude us. Last August, in accordance with the mandate given to him by Security Council resolution 532 (1983), the Secretary-General held consultations with the front-line States and South Africa. His report shows that almost all outstanding issues envisaged in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and in the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia have been resolved, yet the prospects for the early implementation of resolution 435 (1978) remain as bleak as ever.

117. South Africa, with the encouragement of the United States, insists on the extraneous and irrelevant issue of linkage between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. As we

have had occasion to state before, the question of independence for Namibia is a clear-cut colonial issue, whereas the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is a bilateral arrangement between two sovereign States.

118. Uganda rejects all attempts to cast the struggle for liberation and the decolonization process in the mould of East-West rivalry. We are disturbed that the United States, which is a member of the Western contact group and which should be using its full weight to press for South African withdrawal from Namibia, has instead invested its efforts in forging a linkage never contemplated by the United Nations plan.

119. Meanwhile, South Africa has taken advantage of the lull in the process of negotiations to intensify repression in Namibia and stifle the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people. It has continued to hatch fraudulent schemes and impose puppet leaders for the sole purpose of preventing the inevitable victory of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO.

120. We reiterate our view that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. We call on the Security Council to resume its responsibility fully in connection with the implementation of that resolution. We reject all concepts of linkage, by whatever name they may be called.

121. In South Africa itself the *apartheid* régime continues the ruthless oppression and exploitation of the vast majority of people of that country. State-sanctioned violence, arbitrary arrests, intimidation and assassination of opponents of *apartheid* and the policy of creating bantustans are all aspects of the machinery of oppression that thrives in South Africa. Last June we were horrified that in spite of the appeals of the Security Council, the General Assembly and many Governments around the world, the South African authorities proceeded with the execution of three freedom fighters, members of the African National Congress [ANC].

122. We have always warned that the South African racist régime was sitting on an active volcano. That volcano is now showing signs everywhere of erupting. Mere cosmetic changes such as the so-called constitutional reforms will not prevent that eruption. The only preventive measure against total eruption and a consequent blood bath is the complete eradication of the evil system of *apartheid*. Those who continue to collaborate with the racist régime must share responsibility for the violence that is escalating in South Africa.

123. Recently my delegation learned with great concern about reports that the United States Department of State had approved a request from seven United States companies to provide technical and maintenance services for a South African nuclear-power installation near Cape Town. We can neither understand nor accept this development. We call on the United States Government to respond positively to the appeals already issued by the Group of African States and the Chairman of the Special Committee Against *Apartheid* calling for the revocation of this approval.

124. There is need to ensure full and effective implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on an arms embargo against the racist *apartheid* régime.

125. South Africa has continued unabated its campaign of destabilization against the front-line States. Last May South Africa launched a major air raid into Mozambique. South Africa continues to occupy the southern territory of Angola and recently a massive air and ground attack was carried out further inside Angola. Lesotho is being

subjected to great pressures from South Africa. The other front-line States all continue to feel the impact of South Africa's campaign of destabilization. We appeal to the international community to give all assistance to the front-line States, which are paying a high price for their commitment to the liberation of southern Africa.

126. It is clear to Uganda that the illegal occupation of Namibia, the policy of *apartheid* and South Africa's acts of aggression against the front-line States all constitute a serious threat to international peace and security, for which the Security Council should impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

127. The Government and people of Uganda remain unequivocally committed to the total liberation of southern Africa. We salute the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, and the liberation movements of South Africa, for their courage and determination in the struggle against the racist *apartheid* régime.

128. Uganda remains deeply concerned about the dangerous situation in the Middle East. Recent developments in Lebanon underline the need to address urgently all aspects of the Middle East problem. Since its inception, the United Nations has sought a negotiated and peaceful settlement to the Middle East conflict, yet the conflict continues to escalate in all its manifold dimensions. The failure to achieve a settlement has not arisen because the international community has been oblivious to the primary causes of the conflict. In numerous resolutions the Assembly has reaffirmed that the full realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people is a prerequisite for the attainment of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution and, consequently, a durable peace in the region.

129. Failure to reach a settlement stems from the fact that Israel has repeatedly spurned and rejected the resolutions of the United Nations. Israel has chosen instead the dangerous option of aggression, conquest, annexation and the denial of the political, economic and social rights of the Palestinian people. The time has come for the United Nations to take affirmative action aimed at restoring the rights of the Palestinian people. In this connection Uganda fully endorses the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, which was adopted recently at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.⁷ The Declaration provides a good basis for beginning the process of a negotiated settlement in the Middle East.

130. Developments in Central America give us cause for great concern. We cannot remain indifferent to the suffering of the peoples of that region. We maintain the view that the peoples of Central America should be left to determine their own destinies freely without any outside interference. In this connection we commend and support fully the efforts of the Contadora Group.

131. On the question of Cyprus, we note with deep regret that, in spite of the commendable efforts of the Secretary-General, a solution seems far away. We believe that any settlement of the question of Cyprus must ensure the unity, sovereignty, independence and non-aligned status of that country.

132. Uganda continues to support the aspiration of the Korean people to the peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula. The division of the Korean peninsula is an injustice that must be rectified through early reunification, freely achieved and without any external interference. We welcome the special efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea towards the achievement of this goal.

133. We are saddened by the continuing conflict between Iran and Iraq. We once again appeal to the two countries to bring this tragedy to an end.

134. My delegation reaffirms its support for the struggle of the Saharan people for genuine self-determination in accordance with the framework formulated by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth session, held at Addis Ababa last June. We appeal to the parties to the conflict to abide by the OAU consensus.

135. The arms race continues at a very dangerous pace. The level of resources devoted to it has now reached the astronomical figure of \$800 billion. This figure contrasts sharply with the steep decline in the resources being allocated for economic and social development. The production, stockpiling and deployment of weapons of all types have increased dramatically.

136. It is clear that the escalating tension between the two super-Powers is most dangerous to international peace and security. We appeal to the super-Powers to exercise maximum restraint for the sake of peace in the world, the peace on which everything else depends.

137. We recognize the peculiar and vital position of the major Powers in any negotiations concerning disarmament. We call upon them to respond to the calls for the rapid conclusion of arms reduction agreements. We also call upon them not to extend the arms race from the earth to outer space.

138. At the last session of the General Assembly we expressed our deep concern at the alarming dimensions of the global economic crisis. One year later, I very much regret to say that the world economic situation has continued to deteriorate. The spirit of international co-operation in the economic and social sectors has waned. Today the crisis in international economic relations is a major source of instability in many countries and a real threat to world peace and security. Although the crisis has to varying degrees affected all countries, it has hit the developing countries hardest, particularly the least developed among them. The recession which continues to grip the world economy has worsened the living conditions of millions of people in the developing countries.

139. The efforts which the developing countries have made to find meaningful solutions to the structural crisis facing the world economy have been met with lukewarm or negative responses by the major industrialized countries. The initiative of the developing countries concerning the launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development has not yet, after four years, yielded the desired results, precisely because some developed countries have been reluctant, for short-term gains, to generate the necessary political will.

140. My delegation shares the firm conviction expressed by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi, with regard to these negotiations, namely, that they remain the most important and comprehensive endeavour of the international community to restructure international economic relations, accelerate development of the economies of the developing countries and strengthen multilateral economic co-operation on the basis of mutual benefit.

141. It is, therefore, regrettable that the flexibility shown by the developing countries in the negotiations has not been matched by a positive and concrete response from the major industrialized countries, which have remained silent on the latest proposals of the developing countries. We hope that this session will witness the launching of the global negotiations, in accordance with

the two-phase approach proposed at New Delhi by the Conference of non-aligned countries.

142. The dismal outcome of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has been a source of deep disappointment to my delegation. The failure of the Conference to reach agreement on all the major issues on its agenda, in spite of the far-reaching concessions made by the Group of 77, is a bad omen for the future of international economic co-operation. The sixth session provided a golden opportunity to find meaningful solutions to current global economic problems, but the opportunity has, tragically, been lost because of intransigence on the part of a few delegations. The results of the session have certainly placed in jeopardy the future of UNCTAD and the negotiations on trade, development and related issues. This session must salvage what is clearly a desperate and untenable situation and take the necessary corrective measures to redress the situation. My delegation is ready and willing to play a positive role in such efforts, and urges all countries to adopt a constructive spirit in this regard.

143. The specific problems of the least developed countries, the land-locked and island developing countries, have continued to worsen and escape solution. Whereas the economic outlook of the developing countries in general is bleak, that of the least developed countries is calamitous. Many of the least developed countries are today on the verge of collapse owing to the disastrous effects of the global crisis on their small and weak economies. While Uganda welcomes the commitment which all countries reaffirmed at Belgrade to the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries,⁸ we make an urgent appeal for the speedy implementation of the Programme, so that the economic deterioration of the least developed countries is arrested before the situation becomes completely hopeless.

144. As a net energy importer, Uganda attaches great importance to new and renewable sources of energy. We find it regrettable that not only has the enthusiasm which greeted the 1981 United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy dissipated, but practically no progress has been made in implementing the major decisions of the Conference and in reaching agreement on the outstanding issues. We therefore hope for an early decision on these matters.

145. Uganda remains committed to economic co-operation among developing countries as a vital means of achieving collective self-reliance. We consider it to be a key component of the new international economic order as well as a means of enhancing economic and political stability in the developing world. Against the background of current economic problems and the deadlock in North-South negotiations, economic co-operation among developing countries provides a most important avenue for the development of developing countries. We shall continue to exert every effort to promote the achievement of the objectives and goals of economic co-operation among developing countries.

146. The economic development and progress of the developing countries is part and parcel of the search for lasting world peace and security. The role which the United Nations has played in the past in this regard is commendable. We hope that Member States, individually and collectively, will enable the Organization to continue to play this role as we pass through this most difficult period the world economy has experienced in the last 50 years.

147. In this connection, the call made by the heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at their

seventh summit conference for the convening of an international conference on money and finance for development is a timely one and deserves the full support of the General Assembly. The need for a thorough restructuring of the international monetary and financial system in order to correct existing imbalances and inequalities in that system has long been recognized. The time has now come for concrete action to be taken.

148. I wish on behalf of the Government and people of Uganda to reaffirm our full support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations and for the efforts which the Organization is making to maintain world peace and security and to promote international co-operation in the economic and social fields.

149. Mr. JORGE (Angola) (*interpretation from French*): It is a particular pleasure for me to express to you, Sir, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a high tribute to your country, Panama, but it is also a reflection of your acknowledged remarkable diplomatic skill. We wish you the greatest success in carrying out your great responsibilities.

150. Allow us to take this opportunity to convey to Mr. Imre Hollai our great appreciation for the far-sighted and dignified way in which he carried out his mandate from the very beginning of the thirty-seventh session.

151. We should like also to reiterate our keen appreciation of the devotion of the Secretary-General to the fundamental principles of the United Nations and of his important contribution to the search for just solutions commensurate with the serious problems confronting the international community.

152. The delegation of the People's Republic of Angola would like at this point to congratulate Saint Christopher and Nevis on its admission to membership of the United Nations.

153. Each year, when a new session of the General Assembly is convened, we all come here to reaffirm our commitment to the noble purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to reiterate our devotion to the cause of freedom, peace, justice, democracy, solidarity, development and co-operation.

154. At the beginning of their statements, the speakers—almost invariably—stress that the General Assembly session is taking place at a very critical moment, for the international situation has badly deteriorated, to the point of seriously threatening the survival of mankind.

155. But it is undeniable that there is an ever-widening gap between fine words or good intentions and action. All of us merely repeat ourselves annually, thus putting to the test the tolerance, or resistance, of our auditors and the credibility of those who speak before this Assembly.

156. On several occasions, from this very rostrum, we have made no secret of the deep concern of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola over the impotence or resignation of competent international bodies or their abdication of their responsibility to face up to the proliferation of hotbeds of tension, which are kindled, directly or indirectly, by the imperialist Powers.

157. No one here can be unaware of the causes of and the agents responsible for this grim international picture. We repeat the question: how long will the peoples and Governments that cherish peace and justice have to wait before the existing United Nations bodies—which are adequate to the task—truly shoulder their responsibilities

and firmly take the most effective measures, which they do indeed have at their disposal, against those who violate the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations; against those who carry on colonial wars and foment all sorts of acts of aggression, direct or indirect, the victims being States that take independent, progressive positions; against those who engage in the economic plunder of underdeveloped countries and who persist in preventing the gradual reduction of the gap which exists between the rich or developed countries and the poor or underdeveloped countries; against those who deliberately hinder the serious efforts of the socialist countries and the progressive, democratic forces to achieve détente, general and complete disarmament, and a comprehensive prohibition of the manufacture and use of weapons of mass destruction, in particular nuclear weapons; against those who stimulate the arms race, thus ensuring fabulous profits for their military industries and leading to faster increases in military budgets and expenditures; against those who engage in an ever-increasing number of gigantic military manoeuvres which are intended to intimidate certain peoples or States, or even to carry out acts of aggression against them; against those who do not respect relevant resolutions or decisions of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Non-Aligned Movement and the OAU; against those who undermine the authority of the Secretary-General and his efforts to carry out his great responsibilities by failing to provide him with all the means of which he has need; and against those who threaten international peace and security through military intervention and illegal occupation of territories, through interference in the internal affairs of other States and through a lack of respect for the principles of non-use of force and the settlement of disputes by means of negotiations?

158. All these things, but especially the unbridled arms race and the threat of a nuclear war, involve huge expenditures, thus accelerating inflation, causing large budget deficits and further reducing the already decreasing volume of economic assistance to the underdeveloped countries. This has greatly contributed to the present economic crisis, which can be solved only by taking effective measures to establish the new international economic order advocated several years ago by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

159. Given this alarming situation, which clearly threatens the future of the peoples, and given the growing tragedy of the millions of human beings still deprived of their freedom and the right to choose their own destiny and without any means of resisting servitude, humiliation, tyranny, poverty, famine, ignorance and disease, it is imperative that at this session the General Assembly dedicate itself to the search for effective solutions to the problems afflicting mankind.

160. We feel that the situation in southern Africa deserves the very special attention of this session of the General Assembly, in that we are witnessing a dangerous escalation of aggression by the racist, fascist Pretoria régime against the front-line countries, and especially against the People's Republic of Angola.

161. The persistent efforts of the *apartheid* régime to increase its military potential and even to acquire an arsenal of nuclear weapons is one further proof of its sinister projects, which are designed to perpetuate colonialism in South Africa and deprive the overwhelming majority of the South African people of their freedom and their political, economic and social rights, so as to keep them subjected to the white minority; to maintain the illegal occupation of Namibia and to destabilize the front-line countries, employing for that purpose armed

puppets. The complicity of certain Western countries and Israel with the South African régime in these areas, as well as the investments and economic assistance with which those countries provide South Africa, cannot help but encourage the Pretoria régime in its stubbornness and in its role of the policeman of imperialism.

162. Everybody here knows that South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola goes back to August 1975. Everybody knows too that South African troops invaded Angola several weeks before the proclamation of independence, which was scheduled for 11 November 1975. Everybody knows also that the racist and fascist Pretoria régime, encouraged by the militarist, warlike policy of the present United States Administration, put into operation a mysterious plan entitled "Operation Proteus", which resulted in a new invasion and the occupation since 23 August 1981 of a considerable area of the province of Cunene.

163. To this day, reconnaissance flights, aerial bombardments, helicopter troop operations, land bombardments and attacks, mining operations and acts of sabotage against the Angolan economic infrastructure are gradually increasing. A certain number of villages are today either in ruins or are mere remnants of what they were in the past.

164. The disturbing dimension of the escalation of South African acts of aggression has become even more clear through the attack on the village of Cangamba in the province of Moxico, 500 kilometres from the frontier with Namibia. Between 2 and 8 August, six battalions, made up of UNITA⁹ bands of South African commandos and of mercenaries, supported by heavy artillery, carried out several attacks against Cangamba, which is an important crossroads. None the less, the heroic resistance of our armed forces inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy forces, who left behind 1,100 dead and much South African and NATO equipment.

165. Following this defeat the Pretoria régime launched an air attack against the village of Cangamba, using a squadron of Mirage fighters and Canberra bombers, and completely destroyed the village.

166. Faced with the escalation of the acts of aggression by the racist and fascist Pretoria régime against the People's Republic of Angola, the Angolan Government has alerted the competent international bodies to the seriousness of the situation and the unpredictable consequences. It is becoming clear to the Angolan Government that such acts of aggression constitute an integral part of collusion or a plot between certain Western Powers and the South African régime, closely associated with the puppet UNITA bandits, aimed at the destabilization of the Angolan revolutionary process and the overthrow of the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Angola. This would lead to the establishment of a neo-colonial régime in Angola, the annihilation of SWAPO and, consequently, the inevitable destruction of the Namibian independence process.

167. Those plans are thus both serious and dangerous, and all this is largely due to the fact that the Angolan people, their Party and their Government have shown firm and unconditional solidarity with SWAPO and ANC in their struggle for national independence.

168. It is appropriate to recall here that the General Assembly, in its resolution 36/121 A of 10 December 1981, declared that "the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa continues to constitute an act of aggression against the Namibian people and against the United Nations, which has direct responsibility for the Territory until independence". We should also recall that the

Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in its Political Declaration

"strongly condemned the continued military occupation of part of Angolan territory by the South African racist troops in violation of the national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola. The Conference considered the occupation of Angolan territory as an act of aggression against the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory and decided to increase support for and solidarity with the people and Government of Angola in order to consolidate Angola's national independence, and safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity."

[See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex I, para. 62.]

To the extent that these two international bodies consider aggression to have been committed against them by South Africa, an adequate retort is called for. None the less, and in all honesty, it must be agreed that in spite of the legitimacy, the firmness and the scope of such positions, they have remained a dead letter as far as the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations are concerned.

169. And so it seems to us unjust and a bitter irony that because of the selfish interests of some and the passivity or unjustified indifference of others, the heroic Angolan people are being left almost alone to bear the high cost of solidarity with the Namibian people, reflected in the loss of more than 10,000 lives, thousands of mutilated and handicapped, and hundreds of thousands of people displaced from their homes. It is also reflected in \$10 billion in material damages caused by the criminal aggressions carried out by the racist and Fascist Pretoria régime since 1975.

170. None the less, the Angolan Government ventures once again to express the hope at this critical time for the People's Republic of Angola that each Member State of the United Nations will assume its responsibilities and meet its commitments, if only to maintain the credibility of this international body. Therefore, we appeal to each Member of the Organization to lend, as an emergency measure, either individually or collectively, all the material and financial assistance the People's Republic of Angola needs. We also request an intensive and permanent national and international campaign for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory. We would also ask for all forms of pressure to be exerted on the Pretoria régime as well as on its "friends and allies", including mandatory global sanctions, which have often been recommended but never enforced due to the opposition, of the Western Powers, so that its illegal occupation of Namibia may be ended. We also request that resolution 435 (1978) of the Security Council be enforced without further delay.

171. Five years have elapsed since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978). In its resolution 532 (1983), the Council decided "to mandate the Secretary-General to undertake consultations with the parties to the proposed cease-fire, with a view to securing the speedy implementation of [Security Council] resolution 435 (1978)".

172. In discharging his mandate, the Secretary-General made known to all of us his further report concerning the implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) concerning the question of Namibia,¹⁰ which will certainly be submitted to the Security Council for its assessment in a meeting to be held shortly.

173. However, is it not surprising and perhaps significant that during this session of the General Assembly only one of the members of the so-called contact group—Canada—has taken a stand on the Namibian question, especially when this was the subject of a detailed report by the Secretary-General? In this context, we take the liberty of making known to all Members an excerpt from an important statement made by President José Eduardo dos Santos, during a public meeting on the occasion of the arrival in Angola of the Secretary-General, in which he firmly reiterated, without any ambiguity whatsoever, the official position of MPLA,¹¹ the party of the workers and of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola:

“We do not agree with the idea that there should be a demand for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. They are there because their presence was requested by the sovereign Government of Angola. What is needed is a demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the racist South African troops occupying part of our territory in the south of Angola.

“All those who seek to establish a link or parallelism between the independence of Namibia and the presence of Cuban forces in Angola are not our friends. They are our enemies, because they want to allow the South African troops, which are already occupying part of our territory, to march on towards Luanda and to do so without meeting the slightest resistance.

“We are prepared to continue to fight and to continue to undertake diplomatic actions for a just solution to the problems in southern Africa. And once again, I reaffirm here the position of our vanguard party and of our Government:

“The first requirement is the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops occupying our territory; secondly, resolution 435 (1978) of the Security Council must be speedily implemented in order to steer Namibia to real independence; thirdly, South Africa's attacks on Angola must cease; fourthly, all logistical and military support given to the gangs of UNITA puppets terrorizing our towns must cease.

“Only if these conditions are observed will Angola be prepared to discuss with Cuba the new timetable for the gradual withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola which are guaranteeing its security.”

In this connection, it should be emphasized that this is the official position. Therefore, there is no other position, as claimed by some.

174. We should now like to restate the position of the People's Republic of Angola on a certain number of specific political issues which are continuing to disturb international relations and to threaten world peace and security.

175. The people of Chad are today embroiled in a bloody fratricidal war. Chad must be spared from foreign intervention so that the people can decide without constraint or hindrance how best to solve their problem in keeping with the efforts of the OAU.

176. The solution to the conflict between POLISARIO¹² and the Kingdom of Morocco resides in the implementation of the resolution on the Western Sahara adopted at the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity. It is regrettable that the Kingdom of Morocco refused to follow the path of direct negotiation. It thus shows contempt for the sovereign decision of the Heads of State and Government of Africa. It is thus responsible for the failure of the meetings of the Implementation Committee

and for the consequences of the worsening of the conflict. We reiterate our militant solidarity with the heroic Saharan people and its sole and legitimate representative, POLISARIO.

177. We reaffirm our steadfast solidarity with the valiant Palestinian people and its legitimate representative, the PLO, in the continuation of its struggle to recover its usurped land and to establish an independent State. Furthermore, we reiterate our support for the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983.⁷ Once again we call for the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and we commend the efforts of the Lebanese people to secure their unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

178. After eight years of armed struggle, the people of East Timor is still continuing with determination and courage its resistance to Indonesian occupation. Given the defeats inflicted on its army as a result of the scope of the political and military action of the FRETILIN¹³ fighters, the Indonesian Government was forced to seek a meeting with the leaders of FRETILIN. That meeting took place from 20 to 23 March 1983, in the free territory of East Timor. During those talks a cease-fire was arranged in order to create a climate favourable for formal negotiations, which were to be held subsequently under the auspices of the Secretary-General and with the participation of representatives of Portugal, the former administering Power.

179. On that occasion, the delegation of FRETILIN presented to the Indonesian delegation the following conditions: first, the unconditional withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor; secondly, the presence of a United Nations multinational force to replace Indonesian troops during the period of transition; thirdly, the forces of FRETILIN to remain in the regions which they controlled in order to keep the people free from any pressure; fourthly, a referendum supervised by the United Nations in order to determine the wishes of the people of East Timor.

180. Unfortunately, it must be noted that the Indonesian Government did not respect its undertakings following the cease-fire, because it did not wish to inform the Secretary-General of the results of the talks. Instead it chose to try to go back on those talks and to reduce them to an offer of amnesty to FRETILIN. Furthermore, starting on 17 August, it launched a major military offensive in order to try to crush the heroic resistance of the people of East Timor.

181. It is difficult to imagine that a certain number of States members of the Non-Aligned Movement, States that should be identified with the struggle of that valiant people if only out of respect for the fundamental principles of non-alignment, are in fact remaining indifferent to the genocide which is being carried out against the people of East Timor. And the United Nations cannot shirk its responsibilities with respect to that serious problem. Our solidarity is a vital duty.

182. The central region of Latin America has experienced extremely disturbing developments as a result of threats and military intervention by the United States Government, particularly in Nicaragua and El Salvador. It is necessary to seek peace in the region through a negotiated political solution. To that end, we support the six-point position of the Government of Nicaragua as well as the efforts of the Contadora Group. In order to have peace in Central America, there must be peace

in El Salvador and aggression against Nicaragua and El Salvador must end. We reaffirm our militant solidarity with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front, the sole, legitimate representatives of the Salvadoran people.

183. We renew our steadfast support for the Cuban revolution and we denounce acts of aggression and threats perpetrated against the Cuban people. We reiterate our feelings of solidarity with the peoples of Panama, Grenada, Chile, Uruguay, Suriname and Puerto Rico in their just struggles for their national interests, independence and territorial integrity.

184. We reaffirm our support for finding a solution to the border dispute between Guyana and Venezuela through bilateral negotiations. Furthermore, and in keeping with resolutions of the General Assembly, we express the hope that there can be an immediate beginning of negotiations between the United Kingdom and Argentina for the return to Argentina of the Malvinas, South Georgia and Sandwich islands. At the same time, we must express our deep concern at the decision taken by the British Government to establish a military base in the Malvinas Islands, since such action would constitute a further obstacle to negotiations and a new source of tension.

185. We also reaffirm our support for the efforts of the Indo-Chinese countries to secure peace and stability in South-East Asia, without foreign intervention, and for a continuation of constructive dialogue between the parties to the conflict. However, we consider it deplorable and almost inconceivable that the Kampuchean people should not yet be represented at the United Nations by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This is an injustice, which must be corrected.

186. We reiterate our solidarity with the just cause of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in their aims of bringing about a peaceful reunification of the country without outside interference and of securing the withdrawal of United States troops from the southern part of the Korean territory.

187. Furthermore, we reaffirm our support for the position taken and the efforts made by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the search for a normalization, through negotiation, of the situation prevailing in and around that country.

188. We also reiterate our complete solidarity with the people and Government of Cyprus and we support their

efforts to preserve their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment.

189. Once again we urgently appeal to the Governments of Iraq and Iran to end their war and to find a negotiated solution to the dispute between them.

190. It is deplorable that the Angolan Government finds itself still compelled to devote the bulk of its human and material resources to the defence of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The undeclared war imposed on us by the racist and fascist South African régime must cease.

191. The Angolan people longs for peace. It has never attacked anyone in the past and it never will. It merely wishes to live in peace and to work to build a future of progress and happiness within a just society of its own free choosing. The struggle continues, and victory is certain.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 128, document A/36/192.

² *Ibid.*, *Thirty-seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 138, document A/37/243.

³ CD/335, Appendix II/Vol. III, document CD/294.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1983, Supplement No. 13*, chap. V., para. 15.

⁵ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

⁶ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports, 1971*, p. 16.

⁷ *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I.

⁸ *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

⁹ União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

¹⁰ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15943.

¹¹ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

¹² Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

¹³ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.