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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany)

Address by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam,
Prime Minister of Mauritius

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear a statement by His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Internal Security and Minister of Reform Institutions of Mauritius. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam and inviting him to address the General Assembly.
2. Sir Seewoosagur RAMGOOLAM (Mauritius): First, permit me, Sir, to congratulate you most heartily on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.
3. The founding fathers of the United Nations reserved the presidency of the Assembly for Powers other than the big Powers, yet the Federal Republic of Germany, which is really a big Power, is using its strength and its power in the ways of peace, freedom and development. The remarkable victory for moderation in the elections of the Federal Republic of Germany is a pointer to the stable economic and social policy pursued by your Government. In fact it is in parallel with your personal initiative, in the short time you have served, of keeping your office open to contending States which seek peaceful negotiations through the channel provided by statesmanship, diplomatic skill and personal ability, which are your outstanding and recognized qualities.
4. I should also like your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, to know how greatly his contribution to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly and the recently concluded eleventh special session is appreciated.
5. I should also like to pay a tribute on behalf of my country to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who

in a difficult year of great turmoil, has maintained an almost unprecedented and sustained initiative in the art of peaceful negotiation and preventive diplomacy in a world caught up in a whirlwind of confusion, transition, violence, revolution and war. History will certainly record this one-man Herculean effort in the search for peace.

6. It is also with great joy that my country and my people greet the admission of Zimbabwe which joins the already impressive list of African States. Zimbabwe has rightly been hailed by all of us as a great achievement in the entire range of African liberation, having attained its freedom by a rare combination of armed struggle and outstanding leadership.

7. Above all, the triumph of the people of Zimbabwe has strongly asserted an indomitable will to liberation which will now move on to the complete liberation of the entire African continent. We in Mauritius can confidently state from this rostrum that it cannot and will not be otherwise. Those who are haggling over Namibia are wasting their time and losing a rare opportunity to cultivate the multiracial friendship of Africa.

8. We also warmly greet the admission to United Nations membership of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, which, like Vanuatu, although situated in another sea far from us, is a sister State in the growing community of island nations.

9. With the admission of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, the United Nations membership has attained the amazing figure of 154. This is a triumph of near-universality, which was the supreme goal of the United Nations from the very first days of its founding at San Francisco. The numerical goal we have reached is truly an astonishing figure when we recall that in 1945 the Organization was founded by only 51 nations—about the same as the membership of the League of Nations.

10. On this twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], we may recall how great empires have given place to new nations, thus enabling us to attain the supreme goal of total membership.

11. What was the objective of the historic achievement of universality of membership? Was it not the general assumption that the greater the membership, the greater would be the authority of the world Organization? Was there not the conviction that an Organization and a Charter deriving power from hundreds of millions of people liberated from the bonds of tutelage would serve to bring us much nearer to a more secure world? Was there not the unrefuted axiom that a joint effort of the totality of nations would facilitate an earlier achievement of world peace?

12. Surely those were the hopes, reflecting the deep convictions held by all, for an Organization that enjoyed recruitment from the world's total family of nations. All believed, and still believe, that our numerical strength must make for a stronger United Nations, more firmly secured by the prestige that comes from maximum possible support in the fulfilment of its high mission of dealing with conflicts and establishing a world order based on peace, security, justice, and human rights, including the right of all nations to development. In such a pyramid of nations and peoples we envisaged a world, nurtured for centuries amid interminable conflicts and endless wars, at long last approaching an era of concord, harmony and peace, all built in a spirit of unanimity.

13. We must admit that the unanimity is there; but, ironically, what a terrible and terrifying unanimity. All are agreed—East and West, North and South, big nations and small—that the past year has witnessed a world of violence, fragmentation, conflict and war. The number of refugees in flight from death and destruction threatens to exceed the number of those who fled before invading armies in the Second World War. The small beginning of a painfully achieved détente and coexistence collapsed seemingly overnight, and the big Powers, blind to the future, returned to the past with their cold war, plunging into an arms race that exceeded the furious rearming that attended the first cold war. The so-called deterrent of nuclear balance seemingly vanished with the accretion of new and more destructive weapons so sophisticated and complex as to cast doubt on the ability of Governments to control their policies. Leading scientists today bluntly predict that the forces of nuclear war may now be running beyond the control of men and Governments. The most powerful economies of the mighty industrial Powers are sliding into recession and inflation while the smaller economies are staggering under back-breaking deficits, with some on the verge of national bankruptcy.

14. To their sinking economies Governments are adding the greater and heavier load of some \$US 500 billion annually for more and more deadly armaments, while not less than 500 million people are estimated to be living in a state of malnutrition, starvation or famine.

15. Finally, in this climate of strife, came the Middle East war, with all the danger any war in the Middle East may entail.

16. If all this sounds harsh and abrasive, permit me to note that these are not my personal observations. Mauritius is not the first or the second speaker in the general debate; I only repeat and reaffirm what almost all those who preceded me have said and repeated with shuddering unanimity. The only addition I shall make is a comment on the supreme irony that this holocaust of the world peace effort has come on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, in the year when its new high membership of 154 brings it close to universality, the 35-year-old dream and aspiration of the Organization.

17. What conclusions may we draw from this analysis and diagnosis of the world situation? Are we to conclude that the United Nations has failed to fulfil its commitment to the

peoples of the world? That, I hasten to say, would not be true to the facts or to the Organization's achievements.

18. The conclusion we would draw is just the opposite: that in today's world peoples and their Governments must turn more and more to the only Organization dedicated to the attainment of a new world order. We must shun the common fallacy of the confusion of cause and effect that besets post-war history. It is not the United Nations that is the cause of the world malady but those which, exploiting its weaknesses and even responsible for its inadequacy, have littered the international scene with their warped national interests, their foreign policy drift and their mad drive for control and domination, utilizing in this drive for power political intrigues and pressure alliances without regard for the needs of the international community, and demonstrating what the Secretary-General in his brilliant annual report called a preoccupation with short-term interests at the expense of long-term aspirations.

19. When the storms become more furious those manning the ship must apply themselves to making the ship stronger, to riding out the waves and the winds and bringing their cargo safely to port, and certainly to preventing the catastrophe of sinking.

20. So must it be with the United Nations ship of state. It must be admitted that, while not the cause of the unhappy world situation, the United Nations has not been sailing through the problems of the world with foolproof navigation.

21. In a world of accelerating change the United Nations has been prone to procrastinate and mark time. In this sense, the familiar cliché that the United Nations is only a mirror reflection of the world is far from the truth. According to that stale imagery, contemporary society would not have moved an inch from the 1,000-year-long feudalism of Europe. When there has been a call to make peace, the United Nations has too often responded with a peace-making truce that has soon become a permanent substitute for peace. I might say that any truce more than one year old is merely a deferred war, or at best a festering foreign element in the world body.

22. The fiasco of disarmament was such a case. Just as the protracted truce was only a deferred war, so the so-called phased disarmament ended in the biggest arms race in modern history. While the United Nations was phasing, the scientists were churning out their new weapons at top speed, until today the per capita potential for killing is astronomically incalculable.

23. In the long years of disarmament negotiations, the great majority in the Assembly, the smaller and poorer nations, loudly berated for their allegedly unrealistic resolutions, have in reality only added to the arms race by voting for partial measures in the hope that, by preceeding at the dragging pace of the great military Powers, they could somehow achieve some kind of an eventual breakthrough. And so the hope of general and complete disarmament was sacrificed to the idols of puny and adulterated measures.

24. Failure in the field of disarmament must go down as perhaps the greatest of the United Nations failures. The race

for maximum armament as the means of national security is now being seen by leading military scientists as a boomerang resulting in greater insecurity than any that has ever befallen nations. And the glib argument that a super-strong military establishment is the only deterrent to a potential adversary has now reached a point at which the unlimited arms race and the rivalry for more and more deadly arms is generating a fear that is itself liable to cause rather than prevent war.

25. Similarly, in the economic struggle, economic action programmes sacrificed action to weakening compromises by surrendering to soft words until nations were bled white of action. This reached the climax of naive trust in the folly of the near-collapse of the eleventh special session, devoted to economic matters. Even if the old adage is true, that half a loaf is better than no bread, at that dismal session the developing nations were not given even the proverbial half.

26. So, just as the peace-keeping truce became the enemy of peace, and phased disarmament the spur to the arms race, so trusting compromises ended, as we are now told, in a world economic crisis.

27. It is said that the peoples of the world are disappointed in the United Nations, but no one has yet heard any people say they would therefore dispense with this formidable experiment in the achievement of an organized world peace. What people do not want and will not respect is a weak United Nations suffering from muscular dystrophy.

28. The development of the dramatic United Nations attempt to halt the Iraq-Iran war or even to issue a prompt cease-fire in an area where the sparks of that war could easily ignite other conflagrations is a signal to all of us that the Security Council may also have become a victim of this dystrophy. The complaints rise to a *crescendo* year by year that the Council is no longer the reliable custodian of peace and security—a responsibility assigned to it by the Charter. Its failure to act promptly or effectively, tolerating the bypassing of its resolutions and of the enforcement of its own decisions, and dubious use of the veto power have reduced the prestige of the Council to a sad point, as in the current situation, where the contending parties avoid the Council altogether. The tendency now is for regional, sub-regional and other groups to resolve their own differences.

29. These are commendable initiatives, but must necessarily fall short of the challenge when it takes on world proportions. They cannot stop a world war and it is doubtful whether they can effectively undertake the making of world peace. It is every year more obvious, and perhaps inevitable, that there should be a serious review of the Security Council; a study should be undertaken as to how it can be strengthened with a view to becoming an organ that commands the confidence of the nations and peoples of the world. Here my country agrees with the suggestions of President Senghor and of President Shagari that the Council be enlarged to make it more representative.

30. At the same time, there might be a similar review of the General Assembly with a view to strengthening its effectiveness, authority and moral leadership in the world.

31. There are nations in the world that pride themselves on the practice of self-criticism. For a nation this may be suffi-

cient. For the United Nations, which bears a greater responsibility even into the distant future, this cannot be enough: the United Nations does not want for criticism. For the United Nations to command the prestige necessary for the fulfilment of the aims of the Charter, self-criticism must be followed by self-correction. Given the stormy climate of the world today, the impatience of peoples with unresolved problems and the expression of their frustrations by resort to violence, rebellion, armed action, revolutions and civil wars, it is obvious that we have little time to lose. The gap between analysis and action must be narrowed. I respectfully submit that this process of self-correction, painful but creative, must begin at the current session.

32. In the international power relations, we must encourage restoration of the concept of *détente*. In this area, my Government is pleased with statements by leading countries in Western Europe that they are determined to return to *détente* rather than to cold war and the bitter power struggle.

33. Some, discouraged by such developments as those in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, would abandon other peace efforts as futile and dangerous. *Détente*, like all peace efforts, will encounter difficulties and even setbacks, but peace efforts should not be lightly thrown away at the first negative encounter. The peacemakers should not be discouraged. We now know that to abandon *détente* or any other peace effort means an interminable arms race that must, from the lessons of history, almost certainly lead to war.

34. I have already said enough to make it clear that a new approach is desperately needed to halt the arms race, which tends to involve us all in threats of war and economic crisis. It is our view that the General Assembly must develop a new approach to disarmament negotiations. Delegations and Governments must be less generous in underwriting half-hearted resolutions contrived by the great military Powers and military alliances. Non-military Powers must assume a greater responsibility for the arms race and match their responsibility with boldness in taking the initiative by strong and comprehensive draft resolutions, regardless of whether this suits the convenience of the armed giants, whose caution, while understandable, is no longer acceptable when warfare now kills more people by hunger than it does by bullets.

35. This Assembly must put the derailed special session on economic questions back on its track. In this connection, Mauritius, a member of the Group of 77, considers the resumption of negotiations in the Second Committee a major challenge to this Assembly. We are happy to hear that some of the Western Powers that failed in the efforts to achieve success are ready to resume consideration, we hope in a more promising manner, of the issue of global negotiations.

36. Positive results in these two not unrelated areas would go a long way towards restoring the self-confidence of the United Nations and rehabilitating the confidence of the peoples in the world Organization.

37. There are other areas for fruitful achievements but, in the interest of saving time, I shall refer only to the question

of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. In this area, as in other similar attempts to establish zones of peace, developments have been slow, completely out of step with the galloping course of world events. The General Assembly has a report from the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean [A/35/29] bringing up to date developments since the issue was first raised in 1971.

38. But let us see what has happened in the intervening years. Strategically, the Indian Ocean has completely changed its geopolitical dimensions. Reading the statements of some speakers in the general debate, we find that this Ocean has gradually expanded beyond its own waters: it is now linked to the States of South-East Asia and, by developments in Western Asia, to the most vital features of the Middle East. Naval ships are now mobilizing in its expanded waters and mighty air armadas are filling its skies in the accelerated strategy of acquiring military bases on the Horn and on the Saudi Arabian peninsula, surrounding the vital area of the Persian Gulf.

39. Given that situation, where are the optimists who would now seriously bank on the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace? Ironically, time is gradually converting this intended zone of peace into a zone of war and mobilization for war, and is one more illustration of the point we have made that procrastination, long-drawn-out procedures, delay and deferment have served to erode the major peace efforts listed on the long and ponderous United Nations agenda, while world developments outrun and out-space our efforts.

40. Here it is necessary for me to emphasize that Mauritius, being in the middle of the Indian Ocean, has already—at the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], held at Freetown from 1 to 4 July this year—reaffirmed its claim to Diego Garcia [A/34/463, annex II, AHG/Res. 96 (XVII)] and the Prime Minister of Great Britain in a parliamentary statement has made it known that that island will revert to Mauritius when it is no longer required for the global defence of the West. Our sovereignty having been thus accepted, we should go further than that, and disband the British Indian Ocean Territory and allow Mauritius to come into its natural heritage as before its independence. The United States should make arrangements directly with Mauritius for the continued use of the island for defence purposes. And then, there are the inhabitants of Diego Garcia who are domiciled in Mauritius and for whom better arrangements should be made. It must be the duty of both the United States and Great Britain to discuss with the Mauritius Government how best to give satisfaction to all concerned and at the same time provide better prospects for the islanders.

41. In conclusion, we repeat our major thesis that the shaky and dangerous world must be confronted by a stronger, better and more efficient United Nations. We hold that the thirty-fifth session can begin this laborious but challenging task in a number of ways, but begin it must, if it is to command the respect and the support of all the peoples of the world.

42. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency The Right Honourable

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius, for the important statement he has just made and for the kind words which he addressed to my people, my country and myself.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

43. Mr. LEVI (Papua New Guinea): I join the previous speakers in extending congratulations to you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation, on your unanimous election to the post of President of this session of the General Assembly. We are confident that, with your excellent record and vast experience, you will be able to provide the leadership, guidance and direction essential to the success of this session.

44. I also extend my delegation's congratulations and appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, for the efficient manner in which he presided over the proceedings of the previous session.

45. This year two new States have been admitted to the international family of nations, namely, Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. My delegation is pleased to welcome them into this family. We look forward to developing close and co-operative relations with them. We also welcome them as members of the Commonwealth of nations, of which Papua New Guinea is a member.

46. My Government is pleased to note that the new nation of Zimbabwe has embarked on its own road to destiny. Our experience has been that the early days of independence are as difficult as they are exciting. My delegation is pleased to note that the Government of Zimbabwe has, eagerly and efficiently, addressed itself to the task of providing a strong, progressive and stable Government in its pursuit of a better life for its people.

47. It is commendable and perhaps prophetic that Zimbabwe was born as the fruit of lengthy international negotiations. The accession to independence of Zimbabwe and its admission to the United Nations is a great achievement for the international community. Independence could not have come at a better time than on the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is encouraging to note that, in these troubled times, peaceful negotiation has proved mightier than military action. Those who assisted and contributed to the achievement of Zimbabwe's independence deserve our high praise.

48. Closer to my own country are the two new independent island nations, namely Kiribati and Vanuatu, the latter formerly known as New Hebrides. Their peaceful transition to independence is both an achievement by, and a tribute to, the inhabitants and the administering Powers. We look forward to developing firmer and closer co-operative relations with them.

49. Our support for decolonization has been expressed many times here and elsewhere. We have stressed the right of dependent peoples to choose their own form of government and determine their own destiny. In the last three

decades most of us have made that choice and taken up the challenge. It is our hope that in the next decade the remaining dependent Territories will make their choice and join us in this community of nations. Those Territories are not many, but the focus is definitely on them. Concern for such Territories will undoubtedly intensify. The United Nations has played a most fruitful and constructive role in this area. We see its continuing involvement as essential and valuable.

50. I am sure that the remaining colonial Powers are well aware of this. Awareness is one thing; but the crucial issue is to take positive and substantive steps towards decolonization. There are many avenues open. Some of them have been trodden by many of us. Some of us have had to struggle very hard to convince or even force the administering Powers to grant independence, whilst some of us did not have to strive so hard. Thus, the attitudes and policies of the remaining metropolitan Powers will largely influence the course taken by our dependent colleagues.

51. Papua New Guinea is particularly concerned with the remaining dependent peoples of the Pacific area. We note that some metropolitan Powers have taken positive steps to create a suitable climate in which a real choice can be made by South Pacific islanders. They have done so voluntarily. We are proud to call them friends. They have nothing to hide and nothing to lose. They can only gain the goodwill, gratitude and friendship of the peoples they administer. We salute and commend them, for they have a strong commitment to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

52. In the South Pacific the path to independence has been gained without acrimony. We would like to see that trend continue. Unfortunately, in Vanuatu an armed insurrection influenced by foreigners has clouded their excellent record. Nevertheless, the successful resolution of this issue through co-operative effort within the South Pacific community of nations demonstrates our commitment to regional solidarity and decolonization. Our hope is to see the remaining dependent Territories take their true place with us through peaceful means. We therefore call upon all remaining metropolitan Powers in the South Pacific to help to keep this record intact.

53. I shall now turn to disarmament and international security. My Government sees the question of disarmament to be of utmost importance to international peace and security. We strongly believe that lasting peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weapons. Genuine and lasting peace can be created only through the effective implementation of the security system outlined in the Charter of the United Nations.

54. General and complete disarmament under effective international control should be the principal objective for ensuring the survival of mankind and eliminating the danger of war, thus ensuring that war is no longer used as an instrument for settling disputes. It is our desire that the peoples of this world have peace and security, so that we can all concentrate our efforts on the development and improvement of the lives of our peoples. I am sure that we all desire peace and security. Unfortunately, greed and selfishness have made this wish only a dream.

55. The Disarmament Decade, introduced by resolution 2602 E (XXIV) of the General Assembly, came to a close at the end of 1979. My Government is disappointed that there was neither real progress made towards a reduction of arms nor any negotiations leading to a treaty on general and complete disarmament. Even the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons¹ ended without any agreement.

56. However, we note with some satisfaction the signing of the SALT II² agreement. Disappointingly, the agreement has not been ratified. Nevertheless, we are hopeful that some international agreement such as the comprehensive test-ban treaty will be negotiated and agreed to as soon as possible. In this connection, we welcome the General Assembly's decision to declare the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade [see resolution 34/75] and hope that something concrete will be achieved during this period.

57. My delegation is opposed to all forms of nuclear testing, atmospheric or otherwise. We are equally opposed to the dumping of nuclear wastes everywhere, in particular in the South Pacific region, where nuclear testing takes place. These tests and nuclear waste dumpings are endangering our environment and our lives. Our desire is to preserve our many beautiful islands for our future generations. We therefore once again call upon responsible Governments to cease all forms of nuclear testing and nuclear waste dumping in the Pacific. This is because we do not believe that the tests and low-level nuclear waste dumpings in the Pacific region are harmless. Indeed, the long-term effects could be catastrophic. As a demonstration of faith in their own technology, the nations responsible should carry out their nuclear tests and dumping of nuclear wastes within their immediate boundaries.

58. The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly is meeting at a time of deteriorating stability in the Middle East. We are concerned about the war between Iraq and Iran. The untold misery brought to the innocent in the conflict must be viewed with grave concern. We are also concerned that, if the situation is not resolved quickly, there is a real possibility that the conflict will escalate, causing the oil supplies to be substantially cut with the danger of bringing about a world-wide economic recession. The third world will suffer greatly because of our great dependency on these oil supplies. We commend the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and the Islamic Conference in trying to have the parties stop the fighting and resolve their disputes by meaningful discussions.

59. My Government is troubled by the continuing failure to find a solution to the long-standing problems that exist between Israel and the Palestinian people. We are mindful of the right of all parties to the dispute to exist within recognized and secure boundaries. We believe that if there is to be peace then there must be respect by each for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the others. Unless positive measures are taken by all concerned, any attempt to restore peace will fail.

¹ Held at Geneva from 11 August to 7 September 1980.

² Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

60. Moreover, my Government regrets the recent action taken by Israel in enacting legislation to change the character and status of Jerusalem. This is contrary to the spirit of the Camp David accords³ and the peace process. The legislation is a serious obstruction to achieving a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

61. Papua New Guinea is geographically far removed from events in the Middle East, but we do not think for a moment that we can divorce ourselves from the enormous problems that beset this region of the world. The dispute between the United States and Iran cannot be resolved if the Iranian Government continues to hold the American hostages. Obviously such action by Iran does not help to minimize the tension in the area. It aggravates it. Papua New Guinea notes that Iran, as a signatory to the Geneva Convention on diplomatic privileges and immunities, has by its seizure of the hostages flouted international law and the law of humanity. Already elsewhere we have seen a similar series of attacks on diplomatic missions. We fear more future violations by political extremists. Because of our fear and concerns, we will support any call by the United Nations and vigilant Governments to deter further violations of diplomatic missions. We support the previous calls for Iran to effect immediately the unconditional release of the American hostages.

62. Adding to the problems of the Middle East is the question of the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet troops. We call once again on the Soviet forces to withdraw without delay so that the people of Afghanistan can be free once again to determine the course of their future. Independence and basic democratic rights cannot be practised in circumstances of insecurity and foreign interference. The principle of territorial integrity must be respected.

63. I turn now to events in Indo-China and the question of Indo-Chinese refugees. My Government is concerned over the security implications along the Thai-Kampuchean border and the refugee problem. We are aware that the refugee problem is a complex one. There may not be any easy solution, but a solution can be found if all parties show a positive and political willingness to co-operate. Basically there are two refugee problem areas. First, its cause and, secondly, its results. The more crucial of the two is the cause. We should do our utmost to eradicate the cause. Once this is achieved, we believe the whole refugee problem will surely disappear.

Mr. Cerruto Calderón (Bolivia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

64. The other concern is the results, that is, the flow of refugees from their homeland. It is our duty to find a solution. Several international conferences have sought means to end the flow of refugees. The ones my delegation endorses are General Assembly resolution 34/22, the Tokyo Economic Summit of industrial nations, held in June 1979, and the Geneva conference on the special problems of Indo-Chinese refugees. We support the efforts made by the Secretary-General to bring Viet Nam and Thailand to the

conference table to discuss their differences. We also support the calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and for the holding of a free and democratic general election under the supervision of the United Nations. We share the view of other countries that the donors of aid to Viet Nam should focus their efforts on the resettlement and rehabilitation of the Indo-Chinese refugees.

65. But we cannot treat these two areas as separate problems any more than a physician can treat the symptoms of a contagious disease without being seriously concerned about the eradication of the disease altogether. My country is worried that we may handle the results of the refugee problem too well. We may encourage some nations to use our refugee management programmes as a means for exporting elements of their societies viewed by authoritarian Governments as being, for one reason or another, undesirable. In brief, there is evidence that some Governments will use the United Nations refugee programmes as a means of dumping their unwanted citizens onto the already overburdened United Nations refugee facilities and onto the strained resources of those generous nations that open their borders and their hearts to these disinherited people.

66. We must devote as much of our limited resources to the solution of the cause of the refugee problem as we are applying to the results. We must find the basic causes of this inhumanity of man to man and root them out.

67. In addition to the regional problems to which I have just referred, there are some more general subjects of worldwide significance upon which I should like to touch. These include the subject of human rights.

68. My Government takes pleasure in noting the measures taken by States Members of this body to safeguard human rights. But there are still too many instances where some Governments continue to deny basic rights to their citizens. The denial of basic human rights on any grounds—racial, political, economic or any other arbitrary grounds—gives rise to injustices which my Government finds totally intolerable. My Government appeals to the international community to condemn those Governments which persist in violating basic human rights. We call on the Governments which violate such rights to take prompt and effective action to respect the dignity of their citizens as well as that of those citizens whose countries were taken by force.

69. My Government notes with regret that the racist régime of South Africa continues to suppress and exploit the black peoples of that country. It is obvious that the Government of South Africa considers black people to be inferior, that they should live less comfortably and be denied the wealth and privileges that have been earned more often than not through the sweat and toil of black South Africans.

70. The ghettos of Soweto are an affront to the dignity of man and an indictment of the callous, degrading and inhuman policies of the racist South African régime. I reiterate the fears my delegation expressed last year on the question of *apartheid*. Persistent failure to deal effectively with this abhorrent offence to mankind is likely to have an horrendous outcome for both the white and black populations of South Africa.

³ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

71. My delegation is disappointed that, despite many pleas, the South African Government remains steadfast in its determination that the black man will be prevented from seeking the freedom and fulfillment that is the right of every human being. Further, my delegation is concerned at the contradictory stance many Members of the United Nations have taken on this issue. On the one hand, some nations, both developed and developing, endorse the view that *apartheid* is barbaric and has no place in the world. Yet these same nations lend considerable support to the Government of South Africa through active trade relations. If the United Nations is seriously opposed to *apartheid*, it should take positive steps to bring maximum pressure to bear on the Government of South Africa to abolish *apartheid*. We believe properly enforced trade embargoes would eventually force South Africa to relent and to adopt a more humane attitude towards its black peoples.

72. Papua New Guinea compliments the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and the Council for Namibia on the role they are playing in seeking a solution to the Namibian problem. My Government learnt with contempt and indignation that the Government of South Africa's illegal administration in Namibia had installed a so-called Ministerial Council as the governing body of the territory of Namibia. This action by the racist Government of South Africa is in total defiance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. It is a further sign of South Africa's refusal to comply with the Security Council plan for free and fair elections, under United Nations supervision, to bring Namibia to genuine independence.

73. The international community today recognizes the need to move quickly towards a New International Economic Order, even though there exist differing views on major proposals that have been put forward. The Government of Papua New Guinea is deeply concerned at the slow progress being made.

74. The attempt to regulate world trade in primary commodities, the reform of the external framework for the industrialization of developing countries, the reform of the international monetary system and the strengthening of economic co-operation among developing countries are still outstanding issues. There are many reasons why they have not been resolved and I do not propose to go into them. But I should like to say that one of the main reasons has been the opposition from developed countries, with the result that conferences, such as the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila in 1979, have repeatedly failed to achieve agreement on any one of the issues that I have mentioned.

75. If the international community has learned anything in recent years, it has surely been that the economic welfare of each sovereign nation depends on a network of interdependence. My Government is deeply concerned at the failure of the long-awaited world recovery to come about. We believe the current economic problems cannot be blamed on the management of individual national economies. The management of each economy is becoming dependent on the external environment. Recovery and development require enlightened attitudes of mutual appreciation of each other's needs, interests and problems. Without such an appreciation, the prospect that any dialogue between developed and

developing countries will lead to constructive changes in the international economic order must be regarded as gloomy indeed.

76. A concrete example of international co-operation for development is the Lomé Convention on trade and aid between the European Community and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries.⁴ The long negotiations on a successor agreement were finalized and signed on 31 October 1979.⁵ It appears that the successor agreement will, in general, be similar to the previous one. However, the Lomé II agreement contains a new mechanism which purports to assist mineral-exporting countries. The Government of Papua New Guinea welcomes the conclusion of the Lomé Convention. But we have reservations about the new mechanism in that it offers assistance only to countries which have suffered a reduction in their capacity to produce certain minerals and export them to the European Market. The assistance itself is restricted to project or programme aid confined to the mineral sector and designed to restore production or export capacity. There is no help for those countries, including my own, which have suffered a loss of Government revenue as a result of low export prices.

77. All developing countries are concerned that, in a harsh world, the poor countries are supposed to be grateful for what they are offered and should not expect to have a say in what the offer contains. Such a situation gives rise to extreme difficulties in the formulation of plans for development, as long as developing countries, to which category my country clearly belongs, are not given a greater say in deciding how they are to be helped. We will continue to face great difficulties in providing for the basic needs of our people. A classic example is the International Cocoa Agreement which was broken in March this year because consumer and producer could not come to an agreement on any acceptable price.

78. Despite the frustrating lack of progress that seems to characterize these negotiations, when they are viewed from the broader perspective of their entire span, it appears that some convergence of views has taken place. There is some evidence of agreement in specific areas and most certainly the negotiations should continue. They represent the greatest challenge and the best hope for a mutually constructive future for the fullest development of our nations.

79. I have highlighted some crucial issues that beset our times. Some of these issues have remained unresolved for some time. We should, nevertheless, be encouraged by the fact that they have not been long with us if we take the history of mankind into account. Most of our problems have arisen only in the last decade or so. A majority of them is brought upon us by ourselves, mostly as a result of our human weakness. The tendency to gain prestige and the desire to accumulate wealth for oneself seem to be the root cause of all our problems.

80. Despite these human frailties, it is worth noting that we do make a commendable attempt at resolving or

⁴ ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé. For the text, see document A/AC.176/7.

⁵ Second ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 31 October 1979 at Lomé. For the text, see *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

soothing the effects of these problems. I refer in particular to the part played by the United Nations to bring about just and practicable solutions.

81. The United Nations is a world parliament to which the majority of our people belong. It has a vital role to play; it has done some good work for the world and has failed in some areas. It must not be allowed to become a stumbling block to the advancement of mankind. Let us make it work so as to produce good results for the present and future generations. We can only arrive at our goals if we are sensitive enough, if we are realistic and practical in our approach to the problems around us. Let us make a fresh start in order to build a better world for all mankind.

82. Mr. BONGO (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): It is an honour for me once again to address this Assembly on behalf of my country, Gabon.

83. This new mandate was entrusted to me by the President of our Republic after he had been given a further term of office as head of State of Gabon, last December, by the people of Gabon, unanimously rallying behind its great Party, the Democratic Party of Gabon. It gives me an opportunity to join preceding speakers in addressing to Mr. von Wechmar, on my own behalf and on behalf of the delegation of Gabon, my heartfelt congratulations on his brilliant election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly.

84. I should like to take this opportunity to say how pleased I am that his country has made détente one of the keystones of its foreign policy, a policy which resolutely pursues the same objective as the policy of dialogue endlessly advocated by the head of State of Gabon, El Hadj Omar Bongo, and which has been a corner-stone of his own political action. It is therefore no coincidence that our two countries long ago established fruitful ties of co-operation.

85. We are experiencing an era of total change, prone to upheavals and tension of all kinds. Because of this, Africa today, more than in the past, is truly at a crossroads, and is called upon to play a predominant role in the search for peace and security in the world.

86. In the same context, I should like to commend the highly positive contribution of Mr. Salim A. Salim, of the United Republic of Tanzania, President of the thirty-fourth session, for the remarkable work that he did during his term of office.

87. A year ago, from this very rostrum,⁶ I deliberately made hope the watchword of my intervention, and I am pleased to point out that that hope was not altogether unwarranted, since today we rejoice at the admission of two new Member States to our Organization: Zimbabwe, which joined the international community during the eleventh special session, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, which we welcomed just a few days ago.

88. We are extremely pleased to express to those two fraternal States our heartfelt welcome. We are convinced

that their participation in our discussions will make a positive contribution to the work of our Organization which, in the face of serious events of the day, more than ever needs the goodwill and efforts of all, in order to ensure the triumph of reason and wisdom, the safeguarding of peace and the realization of our common objectives. As an African country, we are particularly gratified at the presence among us of Zimbabwe which, following a bitter struggle against injustice, oppression and blatant colonialism, has recovered its dignity and its sovereignty over that portion of our African land.

89. My country also wishes to commend Great Britain for having finally realized that it had to accept its responsibility and guide that country to independence. In this context, we cannot fail to mention the unremitting and highly commendable efforts of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the defence of just causes.

90. There can be no doubt that, following this new victory won by Africa, the strategy devised by the OAU for the liberation of Namibia and the elimination of racial segregation from South Africa, together with the work of the international community, will achieve the same decisive results.

91. That is the lesson that the Government of South Africa must draw from the Zimbabwe experience. To those who still refuse to face up to reality and to understand that Africans are sufficiently mature to accept responsibility for their own future, Zimbabwe's attainment of independence has just provided irrefutable evidence that it is not possible to curb or stem the irreversible course of history, and that the African people, more than any other, knows how to practise the policy of extending a helpful hand.

92. The Pretoria Government must, before it is too late, accept the fact that, if it really wishes to escape from that isolation to which it has been confined by universal condemnation, it must restore to the whole of Namibia—in other words, including the port of Walvis Bay—its legitimate rights usurped and confiscated in defiance of United Nations decisions. Likewise it must grant to the South African people, and I am speaking of the black majority, the rights inherent in the very nature of human beings, which continue to be denied them because of their colour.

93. How many resolutions must international forums such as ours adopt, how much longer must nations that cherish justice and peace be patient before the Pretoria Government comes to its senses?

94. This question is addressed to the Government of South Africa, a sector of whose white population does not necessarily approve of the policy of *apartheid*, as well as to the Governments of countries that would have us believe they are in a position to induce it to see the light.

95. More than ever before, evil seems to have taken hold of the human race. And we, as defenceless guinea pigs, have no alternative but to voice, in confusion, anguish and fear, our protest in the face of the catastrophe towards which we are irremediably headed, as new weapons, ever more sophisticated and deadly, are produced.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 14th meeting, paras. 238-295.

96. Interplanetary satellites are being placed in orbit day after day to monitor our every movement and to prepare holocausts, while thousands of men, women and children are dying of hunger and poverty each day. It is true that for the most part the victims belong to the third world and that their death makes it possible to reduce the population explosion which some believe to be at the root of all our ills; however, these same individuals do not attempt to reduce other explosions, namely nuclear ones.

97. There is reason to believe that racism, underdevelopment, poverty and many injustices are in fact but the different facets of one and the same evil, that is, lack of consideration by wealthy peoples in the East and the West alike for the peoples of the third world, because with any sense of logic, one would endeavour further to reduce and then eliminate the scourges that afflict and decimate our mankind, scourges such as war, hunger, disease and poverty and thus save life rather than destroy it.

98. Allow me to dwell a little on this aspect of North-South relations, the relations between those that die of hunger and those that die of opulence; between those that die of boredom, disgusted because they have nothing further to wish for since the world in which they live has willed everything to them, and those that die of despair, aware that they will never be able fully to realize their aspirations because of a lack of means. These are just a few of the sad contradictions of our world, contradictions that I should like to place before you for reflection.

99. I should also like to state that, faithful to our policy of dialogue for the establishment of peace, we believe that any initiative likely to promote or consolidate peace is commendable, as long as it makes it possible to alleviate hardship in our world. That is precisely why we intend to support any initiative taken, in particular by our Organization, with a view to restoring peace wherever armed conflicts have arisen and wherever the freedom and dignity of man are trampled underfoot and existing tension has degenerated into or might become open conflict. The list of such conflicts is very long: from Africa to the Far East, via the Middle East where the Arab people of Palestine continues to be denied its right to self-determination and to existence as a nation and where it sees its cultural and religious values trampled on, as is borne out by the attempts of the Zionist State to annex the eastern part of Jerusalem. We cannot remain insensitive to its cry of despair. That is why we condemn Israel and urge it to understand that it is in its own interest to work towards the restoration of peace in the region.

100. Indeed, be it in sub-Saharan Africa, the Maghreb, the Mediterranean, the Arab Gulf, western Asia or South-East Asia, be it a regional conflict or a conflict between countries that are far apart, law and dialogue must prevail over force and violence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and that of OAU, so that we can prevent the establishment of the law of the jungle.

101. I should like to recall here that my Government's stand on questions of international policy stems from the fact that Gabon has made dialogue a fundamental principle of its internal policy and a choice tool for the solution of conflicts among States.

102. Unfortunately, at the international level, certain countries seem to get carried away by their ideology and to seek confrontation rather than agreement, even with those that, in spite of undeniable ideological differences, have proved to be excellent partners at the bilateral level. It is true that many States give the singular impression that they have real respect only for those who vie the most with them.

103. The indifference, even the selfishness, of the rich countries should prompt us in the third world to redouble our efforts to attain that collective self-reliance which seems to have established itself as a model within South-South technical co-operation.

104. In that connection we are gratified that after the Buenos Aires Conference in 1978,⁷ devoted precisely to that question, the African countries in particular have become aware of its importance. Indeed, following the Monrovia Declaration of Commitment of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on Guidelines and Measures for National and Collective Self-Reliance in Social and Economic Development for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order,⁸ those countries met first at the highest level in their second extraordinary session, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980, where they adopted the "Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa".⁹ They then met again at the ministerial level at Nairobi last May. All those initiatives are a demonstration of the political will of Africa to denounce the mimicry and extroversion of a recent past and to assume its own identity, its own personality, rather than having them imposed on it from abroad. In this way, Africa has resolutely declared itself in favour of an endogenous development aimed particularly at guaranteeing food self-sufficiency.

105. What can be more logical than granting priority to rural development? Indeed, although the objectives of the developing countries should not be confined to "the attainment of certain minimum thresholds", especially in the area of food, the essential priority in the life of man is, after all, to meet his nutritional needs, hunger in the world being the main scourge of mankind.

106. The problem of food in the developing countries has not in any way lost its seriousness since the World Food Conference, held at Rome in November 1974; unfortunately it has worsened. Any analysis of that question brings us to the need for increased and effective efforts, both in connection with food production and with malnutrition, efforts without which there can be no prospect for peace and stability in the world.

107. Thus the activities of FAO, especially its programmes of technical co-operation and food security, deserve further attention and increased support by all.

108. While all developing countries are endeavouring, relying on their own meagre resources, to step up action to increase agricultural production, foreign aid in real terms

⁷ United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Buenos Aires from 30 August to 12 September 1978.

⁸ See document A/34/552, annex II, AHG/ST-3 (XVI).

⁹ See document A/S-11/14, annex I.

shows a disturbing decline. This is not a groundless statement.

109. Indeed, not only has the target accepted for the First United Nations Development Decade of devoting 0.7 per cent of the gross national product to development not been reached, but that percentage was as low as 0.31 per cent in 1977. This is clear and unassailable evidence of the indifference and selfishness of the developed countries that we denounced just a moment ago and which we witnessed during the eleventh special session, devoted to development and international economic co-operation.

110. On that occasion, with just a few exceptions, the representatives of the two blocs developed their usual reasoning, some casting blame on the countries members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] for the present world economic crisis and thus for the decline in aid, the others invoking the colonial heritage to justify their own negative attitude to development aid. But we know that, as far as the OPEC members are concerned, there is really a skilfully orchestrated campaign by the media in the developed countries to find a scapegoat for the economic crisis. We know that in connection with development aid the members of OPEC have by far exceeded 0.7 per cent of their gross national product and that they intend to devote \$4.4 billion to that end by 1982, through the OPEC special fund, which is financed by voluntary contributions.

111. But, while some denounce the "excessive profits" in foreign exchange made by oil-producing countries, they ignore or knowingly conceal the exorbitant profits made by the foreign companies that exploit that resource and that turn many developed countries into oil producers whose importance is equal to if not greater than that of certain OPEC countries.

112. It is true that the industrialization of the developed countries, long based on the shameless low-cost exploitation of energy sources, experienced a certain slackening because of increases in the cost of oil. But, before that energy crisis, what did those countries do for the industrial development of the countries whose natural resources they were exploiting? They did nothing, or virtually nothing.

113. I should like to stress here that for the third world countries the search for relative self-reliance requires a true change in mentality, which means no longer considering as valuable only the products marketed by the former metropolitan countries. It is even more necessary that the North-South dialogue proceed on the basis of such a change in the collective mentality of the developed countries and the abandonment of their policy of economic domination because, I repeat, agreement must prevail over confrontation.

114. For their part, the developed socialist countries should change their approach to aid to the third world and no longer take refuge, in order to justify their attitude, in the argument that it is the responsibility of the former colonizers alone to help the developing countries and thus redress the injustice done to them.

115. That is the price that must be paid for the establishment of a new, more just and more equitable international economic order, the idea of which the developed countries

accept in word but not in deed, as is proved by the failures or semi-successes—we do not quite know what to call them—of all international economic conferences from the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila in 1979, to the eleventh special session, which was devoted to development, and including the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna in 1979 and the Third General Conference of UNIDO, held at New Delhi in 1980. At all those abortive meetings, the developed countries consistently played the part of a blocking minority whenever that power existed, and struggled to achieve it when it did not, as in the case of the negotiations within the framework of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

116. However, to conclude on a positive note, let us hope that at the dawn of the third United Nations Development Decade those partisan and selfish demonstrations which we have denounced will give way to a growing awareness of the ideals and principles of the Charter, the only guarantors of the peace and security to which mankind so fervently aspires.

117. Mr. OTUNNU (Uganda): Eighteen years ago today the colonial flag was lowered in my country as we witnessed the momentous drama of the birth of a new nation. It is therefore with a great sense of history that I address this Assembly today on the occasion of the eighteenth anniversary of our national independence.

118. I wish to extend to Mr. von Wechmar my delegation's warmest congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. That is an honour bestowed on him personally as well as on his country, the Federal Republic of Germany, with which my own country is privileged to have very cordial and fruitful relations. We have full confidence that under this able leadership at this session the General Assembly will discharge its tasks with speed and wisdom. He can count on the full co-operation of my delegation.

119. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. We are proud and appreciative of the exceptional statesmanship he demonstrated during an unusually busy year for the General Assembly, a year in which Ambassador Salim presided not only over the thirty-fourth regular session but also over two emergency special sessions and one special session. We wish him well as he continues to serve his country and the people of the world.

120. I wish also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his dedication to the work of the United Nations. Mr. Waldheim's report on the work of the organization over the past year [A/35/I] bears impressive testimony to his tireless efforts, in spite of the difficulties that abound, to unite our world in a régime of international peace and security.

121. It is with very special joy that we join other delegations in welcoming to the ranks of this world body the newly independent nation of Zimbabwe. The independence of Zimbabwe is the fruit of a tenacious struggle waged by a very heroic people. We salute the people of Zimbabwe for

this triumph. Their triumph will remain a source of inspiration for all who thirst for justice and peace the world over.

122. We welcome also to membership in the United Nations the Caribbean nation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. We look forward to working together in our common search for a free and safer world.

123. The eleventh special session, devoted to international economic co-operation and development, ended in this hall nearly four weeks ago. The failure of that session to resolve some of the most pressing issues concerning the present state of international economic relations still hovers over us and haunts us.

124. In 1974, during the sixth special session, we made a solemn commitment in this Assembly to work towards the creation of a new international economic order, an order in which we would ensure a more rational and equitable economic link between the countries of the North and the nations of the South.

125. The imperative need for this change had emerged from the reality of our post-colonial experience. We had fought so hard for political independence so that we could improve the material conditions of our people. Instead, we found our hands tied, and were unable to embark meaningfully on the tasks for which we had attained political independence. We found our hands tied in the web of an elaborate historical relationship: the colonial link gave birth to exploitation; exploitation produced under-development; and that under-development is the basic cause of our present poverty.

126. To this day we remain the producers of cheap raw materials for the industries of the North and the consumers of over-priced finished products from the industries of the North.

127. In order to break out of the present pattern of poverty, we must first break out of the chains of the present international economic system. Our demand for the New International Economic Order is therefore a demand for justice.

128. But, justice apart, this is also a matter of collective survival. Because of the historical relationship to which I have referred, our world has become very interdependent. The export industries of the North depend on the health of our economies for their survival. It is no longer possible for the economies of the developing countries to collapse without that collapse significantly injuring the economies of the industrialized nations. It is therefore in the interest of the industrialized nations to work with us in order to produce a more stable and secure economic order.

129. Negotiations on such issues as international monetary and financial institutions, raw materials, the transfer of resources, commodities and energy cannot be delayed much longer. We are most disappointed that the eleventh special session was unable to produce the procedures for a new round of global negotiations because of the obstinacy and insensitivity of some Western Powers. We appeal to the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Repub-

lic of Germany to rethink their position on this matter and to join us in a consensus later in this session.

130. Although the agreement reached during the special session on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [see A/35/464] falls short of the original expectations of the developing countries, it is nevertheless a positive development. Now we must work to ensure that the failure which bedevilled the International Development Strategy for both the First and Second Development Decades will not be the fate of the International Development Strategy for the Third Development Decade.

131. For us, in the African continent, the Lagos Plan of Action marks an important beginning. The Plan encompasses a continental development strategy which marks out the priorities for economic development between now and the year 2000.

132. We in Africa have no choice but to work for collective self-reliance. Only when we achieve that can we reduce our individual vulnerability to the whims of the present economic system.

133. As a least developed country, Uganda commends the special session for recognizing the problems peculiar to the least developed countries and for agreeing on a special programme for that group of countries. We look forward to speedy and successful implementation of that programme.

134. On the question of official development aid, it is clear that we need that aid in order to meet basic short-term needs. We therefore appeal to the developed countries to exercise greater political will for the purpose of achieving the target of contributing 0.7 per cent of their gross national product by 1985, and 1 per cent of their gross national product by 1990.

135. But I must sound a warning here. Although we need aid to deal with basic needs, aid cannot be a substitute for radical change in the structure of existing economic relations. Aid can play only a marginal role in our struggle for economic emancipation and prosperity.

136. This year we celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Over the years that historical document has served as an important reference point for millions of colonial peoples struggling for self-determination. Inspired by it, many nations of Asia, the Caribbean and Africa, including my own country, have been able to attain their dream of national independence. This year should therefore be a time for celebration and rejoicing.

137. But our joy on this occasion is tempered by the sombre realization, as we look around, that there are still many vestiges of entrenched oppression in our present world. There are still areas where the goal of self-determination remains but a dream. We in Uganda will continue to support those peoples in their struggle until their dreams are converted into the reality of freedom.

138. The recent victory of the people of Zimbabwe has once again demonstrated the fact that a people united in struggle for a just cause must and always will triumph, no matter how long it takes for that triumph to materialize.

139. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe should serve notice to others in the region that their own fortress of oppression is not invincible. They must accept the impending change, which is inevitable, or face the grim consequences of their folly.

140. For our part, the triumph of Zimbabwe inspires us to redouble our efforts in favour of the forces of liberation. The tide of freedom has now crossed the Limpopo. We shall not rest until that tide embraces the Cape of Good Hope.

141. We are very disturbed by the continued saga of South Africa's occupation of Namibia. That illegal occupation continues in clear defiance of the categorical decisions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the International Court of Justice.

142. Instead of terminating its illegal occupation of that country the racist régime is working ever more frantically to entrench its presence in Namibia. Now it is organizing the puppet Turnhalle Alliance as a substitute for the true representative of the Namibian people. We in Africa are very familiar with the mockery of these so-called internal settlements. We were not deceived by similar gimmicks in the past; we shall not be hoodwinked by the Turnhalle farce either.

143. Any serious negotiations on the future of Namibia must be conducted with the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

144. We salute the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO for the heroic resistance they are mounting against the occupying racist Power. We want to assure them of our steadfast support in their just struggle. SWAPO had displayed a remarkable spirit of compromise by accepting various initiatives for a negotiated settlement, including the present United Nations plan for elections. But South Africa has responded to those gestures by consolidating its intransigence.

145. Meanwhile, in South Africa itself *apartheid* continues to take its toll. The edifice of oppression is growing and becoming more vicious every day. In a futile attempt to stem the growing tide of resistance, the masters of *apartheid* have organized a new wave of repression. Increasingly we are witnessing the indiscriminate shooting of peaceful demonstrators and the torture and assassination of political detainees.

146. The uprising of the students, the strikes by the workers, the acts of sabotage and the increased activities of the guerrillas in urban centres, all testify to the fact that the struggle in South Africa had gained both in momentum and in quality.

147. There is no doubt that the racist régime in Pretoria is strengthened in its arrogance and intransigence by the col-

laboration it continues to receive from some Western countries.

148. It is no longer a secret that South Africa has now developed nuclear capability. It is inconceivable that South Africa, standing on its own, could have become a nuclear Power. Clearly, South Africa has acquired nuclear capability as a direct result of the well-known collaboration between some Western countries and the racist régime in the field of nuclear technology.

149. We all know that a desperate man is also a very dangerous person. There is no telling the purpose for which the racists will choose to deploy their new-found capability. The Western collaborators are responsible for this ominous development. They must, therefore, bear full responsibility for the adverse consequences it may bear for the African continent.

150. Year after year, in one resolution after another, we at the United Nations have continued to speak the language of reason and moderation. Yet one thing is clear. We have been talking the language of reason to fanatical racists who are impervious to the appeals of reason. It is now time therefore to turn the resolutions of the Security Council and this Assembly into action, because the impact of action is something the Pretoria régime cannot ignore.

151. It is now time for the Security Council to take specific enforcement measures, including the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. We have, however, noticed with great disappointment that some Western Powers in the Security Council are reluctant to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. Yet those same Powers have in the past been only too keen to invoke Chapter VII in other situations, the gravity of which could not possibly compare with the situation in South Africa. What we are witnessing here is yet another demonstration of international double standards. The people of Africa have suffered long enough as a result of the hypocrisy with which matters affecting our well-being are treated by the same Western Powers.

152. Uganda calls upon all members of the Security Council to put the need for international peace and security as well as the interests of the suffering peoples of southern Africa before any other parochial considerations. Now is the time to act and to act positively before it is too late.

153. The developments in the Middle East give cause for great concern to my delegation. The prospects for peace in that region have become more dim as the Israeli authorities have become more bold in their defiance of international opinion as well as in their persecution of Palestinian Arabs, a people whose only crime has been that it has stood resolutely for its right to be a free and independent nation.

154. We condemn most strongly the recent law passed by the Israeli parliament proclaiming the fiction of Jerusalem as the so-called eternal and indivisible capital of Israel. The cynicism of the Zionists knows no bounds. It is an act of supreme political and religious insensitivity. It is a deliberate ploy to change the religious and political character of Jerusalem, thereby presenting the world with a *fait accompli*.

155. We call upon the international community to reject that Zionist manoeuvre unanimously and unequivocally. In that connection, my delegation commends the Governments that have registered their disapproval of the Israeli action by closing their embassies in Jerusalem.

156. Like the racists in Pretoria, the Zionists have become very desperate because all the years of systematic terror, destruction and persecution have failed to break the will of the Palestinian people. Instead, the Zionists are now faced with massive and popular resistance the proportions of which neither their tanks nor their bulldozers can contain.

157. Faced with this political situation, the Israeli authorities have responded by deploying more repressive measures. During this year the world has been treated to the tragic drama of harassment by terrorists and the deportation of political leaders, detention and the torture of detainees, indiscriminate destruction of homes as a means of collective punishment and the continued expropriation of Palestinian land.

158. Like South Africa, Israel can afford to trample on the rights of the Palestinian people and disregard international opinion only because of the support provided by the imperialist Powers. It is clear to my delegation that in both the Middle East and southern Africa we are fighting objectively the same enemy, namely imperialism, which has chosen to prop up the oppressive systems in those two regions.

159. We pledge solidarity with the people of Palestine in its struggle, which is also an anti-imperialist struggle, under the leadership of its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO. Uganda will continue to support the right of the Palestinian people to have an independent sovereign State in its homeland. That element must constitute the centre-piece of any comprehensive peace formula for the Middle East.

160. Our concern for the self-determination and independence of peoples is a commitment of principle about which there can be neither equivocation nor compromise. It is therefore a matter of considerable embarrassment to my delegation that a fellow member of OAU continues to frustrate the people of Western Sahara in their rightful quest for self-determination. I refer here to Morocco's continued occupation of the territory of Western Sahara.

161. In spite of the unequivocal resolutions of OAU, the non-aligned countries and the General Assembly, as well as the clear opinion of the International Court of Justice, Morocco has persisted in its illegal occupation of Western Sahara. It is not yet too late for Morocco to correct its indiscretion and relieve Africa of this scandal. Once again, we appeal to Morocco to follow the brave and principled example of Mauritania, and withdraw from the territory of Western Sahara immediately.

162. Uganda will continue to support the struggle of the people of Western Sahara, under the leadership of POLISARIO,¹⁰ for the complete liberation of its homeland. In that connection, Uganda, like the majority of States members of OAU, has already accorded full recognition to the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic.

¹⁰ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

163. Uganda also recognizes the right to self-determination of the people of East Timor and the people of Belize. It is our hope that, in this twentieth year of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations will not turn a blind eye to the plight of those peoples.

164. Uganda is committed to the principle and practice of non-alignment. We wish to determine our course of development freely and independently, without any interference from the big Powers. Over the last year, however, we have witnessed with alarm the acceleration of big-Power rivalry. As this rivalry intensifies, the big Powers stalk the globe, seeking new areas to dominate. Uganda is therefore very concerned about the increasing big-Power military presence in our region, including the Indian Ocean. Any conflict resulting from the tension created by this presence would affect us very seriously.

165. We want our region to be free from big-Power military presence and we want the Indian Ocean to be a zone of peace. Uganda hopes that adequate preparations will be made for the Conference on the Indian Ocean, due to be held in 1981, at Colombo, on the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. Similarly, we call upon all countries to give serious consideration to the proposal by the President of Madagascar for a summit meeting of the countries in the Indian Ocean region to discuss this matter.

166. Today is the eighteenth anniversary of Uganda's national independence. I must seek the indulgence of the Assembly to make a few remarks concerning developments in my country over the last year.

167. Since the liberation of Uganda from the grip of the Fascist dictatorship we have experienced many difficulties, but we have also made some significant progress. During this past year the north-eastern region of the country has suffered from a serious famine caused by drought. This famine has claimed the lives of many people. However, through sustained local and international efforts, the situation has been brought under control. I wish to express the gratitude of the people and Government of Uganda to the Governments, United Nations agencies and other international agencies that have contributed generously to the relief efforts.

168. Unhappily, Uganda also continues to experience some difficulties along its borders. There have been periodic incursions into the country from across the borders, spear-headed by remnants of Amin's army. Although it has taken us some time to organize our security system, Uganda is determined to put an end to this nuisance and maintain security and stability.

169. As representatives are aware, since our liberation the affairs of my country have been managed by the Uganda National Liberation Front, a broad coalition representing all the major tendencies within our political spectrum.

170. As in every society, the existence of different political tendencies often gives rise to contradictions. Some of the contradictions have a positive impact on society, while oth-

ers leave a negative mark. In Uganda we have learnt to accept our contradictions openly and honestly and we are determined to resolve them politically, through the democratic process.

171. We are proud of the democratic freedom which exists in our country today, only a year and a half after the overthrow of one of the most oppressive régimes in modern history. We have free and thriving mass media. The Ugandan people are able to organize politically in an atmosphere of complete freedom. We value these democratic gains and we intend to consolidate them further.

172. Uganda is preparing for general elections, to be held on 10 December 1980, which, as the Assembly knows, is also Human Rights Day.

173. The process of political rehabilitation will continue alongside the programme for economic reconstruction. Economic reconstruction is not possible without a democratic and stable polity. As we enter the nineteenth year of our independence we are determined to achieve both goals, and in place of the ruins of the Fascist dictatorship we shall rebuild a free and prosperous Uganda.

174. Mr. HODOUL (Seychelles) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I should like to extend my congratulations and those of my delegation to Mr. von Wechmar on his election to the presidency of this thirty-fifth session. I am sure that this Assembly will benefit from his experience and competence in the conduct of its proceedings and thus be able to continue to pursue its objectives of peace and development. I am happy to be able to assure him of my delegation's whole-hearted co-operation in the performance of his delicate tasks.

175. May I also express my Government's deepest gratitude to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim and convey to him our warmest congratulations on the way he presided over the thirty-fourth session of the Assembly. Fully versed in the workings of the United Nations, devoted to its objectives, receptive to the problems of the world and having particular insight into those of the third world, he lived up to our expectations, for which we thank him most warmly.

176. I should like to take this opportunity also to assure the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, once again, of my Government's appreciation of his work. He has ably faced and dealt with many complex problems this year within the limits of the resources available to him.

177. It is with great emotion that I welcome the delegation of Zimbabwe to this Assembly. The people of Zimbabwe has left its mark on history, not only the history of its own country and of the African continent but also that of the whole of mankind. That valiant and self-sacrificing people has shaken the very foundations of a system which extended well beyond the frontiers of what was formerly Southern Rhodesia and which believed itself to be powerful and invincible. Today not only the colonial and racist minority of South Africa, but all the agents of imperialism contemplate the future with somewhat less arrogance and assurance. What is more, they have been given a last chance to reconsider their position in the interest of all parties concerned.

178. My delegation also would like to welcome the representatives of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, a State which recently became independent and was admitted to membership of this Organization at the beginning of this session.

179. For a country like Seychelles, which does not have very powerful information media and does not always enjoy the friendship of those who do, it is not always easy to make its own voice heard. It is true that certain publications in the Western world mention us, but often only in the context of the ambitions and interests of some of those countries. We can thus understand why their articles project a negative image of our society and often express only unfavourable criticisms and recriminations: because their aims and ours are rarely compatible.

180. We therefore value very highly the opportunity to speak at this international forum.

181. Situated in the heart of the Indian Ocean, Seychelles is at the very centre of one of the most sensitive regions of the world. Oil tankers *en route* from the Middle East and the Far East ply the waters of that Ocean, the resources of which are much coveted.

182. The people of Seychelles has struggled and continues to struggle to safeguard its independence, because it wants to be the sole master of its decisions and orientations, its form of development, its social relations and its philosophy in general; at the same time, it believes in ties of profound and active solidarity with other peoples fighting for the same causes.

183. These three factors—that is, our geopolitical position, our choice of social structure and our solidarity with other fraternal peoples—essentially determine our position in international matters. It is a firm and honest position, dictated by the principles of justice and embodied in non-alignment, as was reaffirmed by our President, Comrade France Albert René, during the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in 1979. It is a non-alignment which refuses to take refuge in neutrality and rejects indifference or abdication in the face of international problems. But, above all, it is that freedom to take any position we want whenever we wish, faithful to the history of the non-aligned movement, which has always been indissolubly linked with the authentic liberation of peoples and their emancipation from the imperialist yoke.

184. It is imperative that we continue this policy because it involves the very authenticity of our independence, and indeed the possibility of real development. It is within this context that I should like to deal here with some of the problems of concern to the people and the Government of Seychelles.

185. I turn first of all to the question of the Indian Ocean. The great Powers have been engaged in unbridled militarization of that region. The rate of growth of the number of warships—some of which carry nuclear devices—is intolerable. We are not in a position to assess this build-up in terms of striking power, but from June 1979 to June 1980 the

number of warships present in the Indian Ocean more than doubled.

186. Those foreign Powers, when they do not benefit from the complicity of certain Governments in the region in order to install themselves there, simply occupy territory which is subject to the sovereignty of coastal States. Thus, the Chagos Archipelago, including the island of Diego Garcia, which is an integral part of the territory of Mauritius, has been occupied by Great Britain and the United States; the island of Tromelin is administered by France; the island of Mayotte is still juridically separated from the rest of the Comoros. As for the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, it remains stripped of the Glorieuses islands, Juan da Nova, Europa and Bassas da India.

187. The reasons for this militarization of our region are well known to all, even if more often than not they are unspoken. They are both economic and political in nature.

188. A large proportion of the oil being sent to North America, Western Europe and Japan passes through the Indian Ocean. The resources of that Ocean, the raw materials and commercial potential of the coastal countries and the energy resources of the Middle East and the Far East are all greedily coveted.

189. Of course, the great Powers prefer to speak of a protective mission, the defence of a so-called "free world", the restoration of a balance of power, the Afghanistan affair, the events in Iran and so forth.

190. However, when we realize how easily the great Powers today are exporting their conflicts to the third world countries and setting up in them proving grounds for their weapons, silence on our part would be censurable. Furthermore, we need peace in order to concentrate all our efforts on the development of our country instead of having to devote some of our efforts to protecting ourselves against constant threats aimed particularly against progressive régimes which are characterized by some as being "refractory".

191. Seychelles wishes once again to associate itself with those countries that have already done so, in appealing to the international conscience and calling for the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean. This entails the dismantling of military, air and naval bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the region.

192. Of course, the process of demilitarization must be accompanied by the decolonization of the Indian Ocean, that is to say, by the return to the sovereignty of their respective countries of all islands being used or liable to be used as bases for foreign Powers. So the Chagos archipelago, including the island of Diego Garcia and the island of Tromelin, must be returned to Mauritius; the island of Mayotte to the Comoros, and the Glorieuses, Juan da Nova, Europa and Bassas da India islands to Madagascar, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and OAU. The island of Réunion must be demilitarized and the right of the people of Réunion to self-determination must be respected.

193. Coastal States should provide no foreign Power with any military base, and those who have already done so are urged to reconsider their decisions.

194. For years, the people of Seychelles have been fighting for the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean and have adopted very specific and courageous measures to this end. Our President, Comrade France Albert René, recently made representations to the coastal States of the Indian Ocean in an attempt to win their support for the holding of the Colombo Conference convened by the United Nations, followed by that in Antananarivo proposed by President Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar. In this regard, we wish to denounce the manoeuvres of certain Powers that are working for the failure of these Conferences.

195. If it should prove indispensable to police the oil route, this should preferably be done by the coastal States themselves, if necessary under the control of the United Nations, and not by the great Powers from outside the region, whose interests are necessarily different from our own.

196. Other matters of concern to us are also connected to decolonization, peace and development.

197. We are compelled to note that 20 years after the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) by the General Assembly on the decolonization of colonial peoples and territories, there are too many peoples who, despite their profound aspirations to liberty, peace and development, know only exploitation, foreign domination and repression.

198. On the African continent, peoples are continuing to shed their blood to wrest themselves from the grasp of colonialism with all its implications.

199. First of all, there is the people of Namibia. It is difficult for us today to understand how the League of Nations at the end of the First World War could have entrusted the administration of the Namibian territory to the South African régime, already well known for its repressive and archaic practices, so that the Namibian people are now confronting in their liberation struggle one of the most barbaric and archaic systems ever known to history.

200. In this Assembly, all the countries represented here would appear to wish for the independence of Namibia. However, without wishing to be cynical or lacking in respect, I cannot refrain from pointing out that, despite the numerous reports, declarations and resolutions adopted and in spite of the United Nations plan for the decolonization of Namibia, the South African régime continues with impunity to defy the international conscience. The fact is that among those very people who call for the independence of that country there are some who remain accomplices of the South African régime militarily and economically. This is a disgrace. The South African régime can continue, unfortunately, to count on powerful allies who are actually sitting here among us.

201. Today, the Namibian people, in order to emancipate itself from the illegal occupation of its territory, has no choice but to confront the South African régime in armed combat, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and legitimate representative.

202. The people of the Seychelles will continue to provide unswerving support, politically, diplomatically and even materially, in so far as its resources allow, to SWAPO in its liberation struggle.

203. We also would express the hope that the international community will render assistance to the people and Government of Angola, which, because of their exemplary support for the Namibian revolution, have been the victims of aggression at the hands of the South African régime and consequently have suffered considerable loss of human life and material damage.

204. The victory of the Namibian people is inevitable, as is, indeed, that of the people of South Africa. Both have already shown the Botha régime that they can strike hard. The Republic of Seychelles will continue to support the African National Congress in its struggle and will not hesitate to put into effect the resolutions of the United Nations and of the OAU regarding sanctions against South Africa.

205. With regard to the question of Western Sahara, it is our pleasure to be able to stress that the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic is today recognized by more than 40 countries, including 26 African countries. The Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic thus meets the conditions laid down by the OAU charter for becoming a fully fledged member of the pan-African organization. Last year, from this rostrum¹¹ we condemned once again the expansionist and colonial designs of the Moroccan régime with regard to Western Sahara. We regret to have to do this again. At the same time, however, we wish that the authorities in Rabat would respond tangibly and positively to the appeal for a cease-fire and negotiation issued recently by the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State and Government of the OAU on Western Sahara.

206. In the Middle East, Israel continues in its turn, like its ally, the Botha régime in South Africa, to defy international public opinion with impunity by pursuing its expansionist and murderous colonial policy. The recent attempt at annexation of the eastern part of Jerusalem is just one example among so many others. Its ultimate objective is to extend its territory as far as possible and wipe the Palestinian people off the map. Therefore, Israel has no hesitation in violating the principles of the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of neighbouring countries by means of its military incursions and illegal occupation of Arab territories. Israel continues to torture, mutilate, murder or deport Palestinians so that it can establish settlements.

207. The Palestinian question today constitutes a matter of "international conscience". Our Organization, furthermore, has taken up this matter on several occasions and has even devoted exclusively to this subject its seventh emergency special session, held in July this year, and we are very happy about that. However, when, within our Organization, the time comes to condemn Israeli aggression, certain great Powers refrain from doing so, and it is those very Powers which pose as champions of human rights, national sovereignty and territorial integrity. We have heard them, in this role, talking about Afghanistan, Iran, Kampuchea.

However, when it is a matter of Israeli aggression they remain silent.

208. This lack of consistency in the practice of international politics, which is, incidentally, only a reflection of the double standard policy, depending on whose interests are at stake, is something which is necessarily going to undermine the authority, the credibility and the effectiveness of many international institutions, including our own. It is in part the reason why some of our resolutions have no effect.

209. This is why my delegation believes that it is time for the international community to condemn unanimously and unequivocally the colonial and Zionist policy of Israel and to decide in favour of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination under the leadership of the PLO, its sole and legitimate representative.

210. Concrete measures must also be taken against Israel—indeed, even the imposition of economic sanctions, in accordance with the spirit of resolutions CM/Res.785 (XXXV), CM/Res.787 (XXXV) and CM/Res.791 (XXXV) of the OAU [A/35/463, *annex I*] on the Palestinian question. The Palestinian people must recover their territorial and national rights as soon as possible.

211. It is in application of these same principles relating to the right of a people to self-determination and the building of its future in peace and security that the Republic of Seychelles supports the people of East Timor in their struggle against the Indonesian occupation and for the independence of their country; that we call for the Afghan people, under the leadership of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, to be able to manage their own affairs and define their own future without being threatened either in terms of their sovereignty or on their frontiers and with the assistance of allies which they choose; that we hope that Iran, like all other States, will make arrangements to engender respect for international law with regard to the immunity of diplomatic personnel, although, at the same time, there should be an international convention protecting peoples and States against the activities of certain shady foreigners who contrive to obtain diplomatic status to carry out their often clandestine work, particularly in third world countries; that we demand that a halt be called to the repression against the peoples of Chile, Bolivia and El Salvador and that any and all threats of foreign military intervention in El Salvador should be eliminated. Still in application of these same principles, the Republic of the Seychelles has broken off all relations with the bloody Seoul régime and calls for the reunification of the north and south of Korea, in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people.

212. For more than a year my country has recognized the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its legitimate and authentic representative, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, because it had no doubt that the Pol Pot régime had been among the most murderous in history, having taken the lives of about 3 million people. Today, the people of Kampuchea is able to breathe again now that that régime has been driven out of the country.

213. However, within this Assembly the legitimate representatives of the people of Kampuchea are excluded. We

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 25th meeting, paras. 1-32.

believe that one cannot, as so many delegations have done from this rostrum, invoke the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea to justify the exclusion of the People's Republic of Kampuchea from our Organization without, on the one hand, interfering in the internal affairs of these two States and, on the other hand, reopening the frontiers of Kampuchea to Pol Pot and his army of butchers.

214. That is why the Republic of Seychelles believes that the People's Republic of Kampuchea must be allowed to take the seat which belongs to it in this Organization, to the exclusion of the representatives of the Pol Pot régime who, in no circumstances, should benefit from the tolerance or complicity of our Organization.

215. The people of the Republic of Kampuchea needs the sincere and effective solidarity of the international community to perform its task of national reconstruction in peace and security.

216. It took our Organization more than 20 years to recognize the People's Republic of China. I mention this in passing.

217. Anxious as always to promote peace throughout the world so that the peoples of the world can continue the building of their future, we support the initiative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam which is designed to make of South-East Asia a zone of peace. The other countries of Indo-China have associated themselves with this initiative and we know that a dialogue on this subject is possible between the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and the countries of Indo-China, but only on condition that outside influences are not allowed to play a part. We very much hope that our Organization will take a stand in favour of this initiative.

218. I have mentioned here the struggles of peoples throughout the world to obtain or safeguard their political independence. But, as we all know, colonialism was a means of political domination essentially aimed at economic exploitation. Thus, if our political independence is to be genuine it must be allowed to put down deep roots in economic independence; otherwise neo-colonialism will rise to the surface and the same structures of exploitation will persist.

219. But we also know how difficult it is to rid ourselves of the structures of economic dependence. Most of the countries of the developed world which were formerly directly or indirectly our colonizers, continue to see their relations with our countries in terms of relations of exploitation. Recently they have transformed our countries into suppliers of raw materials and of cheap labour, as well as consumers of their manufactured products which are sold at prices out of all proportion to the prices they pay us for our raw materials. And this is continuing.

220. There is a deliberate determination on the part of the exponents of imperialism to maintain this situation of economic dependence by keeping our countries in a state of technological and financial dependence. This is all the more true in that too often, the policies of aid and co-operation of certain rich countries—indeed, even the policy of certain specialized agencies of the United Nations—consist in helping countries only if they remain in a state of poverty.

221. At the same time, everyone talks of the need for new international economic relations. In this regard, there have been recently two special meetings convened by OAU and the United Nations respectively: The second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, at Lagos, on 28 and 29 April, and the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, from 25 August to 15 September. There have been attempts at a North-South dialogue. UNIDO and UNCTAD are supposed to have been working for years now to promote new economic relations in the world.

222. But unfortunately we cannot but note that the results achieved so far are rather disappointing. Imperialism continues to dominate the structures of world economy, particularly at the expense of the economies of the third world countries. The great Powers are asserting themselves ever more arrogantly. Thus, we have recently noted with indignation that the United States has unilaterally adopted a law authorizing its transnational corporations to exploit the resources of the sea-bed, at a time when they claim to be negotiating with the rest of the international community the adoption of a convention on the exploitation of those very resources, which are the common heritage of the whole of mankind.

223. If it happens that the capitalist system makes certain small adjustments, it is in an effort to control its growing internal contradictions, never in an attempt to change its basic method of operation.

224. One thing seems to us to be clear: apart from appreciable support from the community of socialist countries, the third world countries had to fight alone for their political independence; today they are having to fight alone again for their economic independence.

225. The North-South dialogue, essential though it is, is bogged down; unfortunately it remains a dialogue of the deaf. It will only make progress under the pressure of South-South co-operation, in accordance with the recent declaration of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77 [A/35/506, annex].

226. Thus, the Republic of Seychelles, together with its neighbours and other third world countries, has undertaken to promote horizontal and regional co-operation. In this regard, we wish to express our appreciation to those third world countries that are at the most advanced stage of development and have demonstrated their solidarity with the others, sometimes at the cost of genuine sacrifice.

227. To conclude, permit me to reaffirm the wholehearted support of the Republic of Seychelles for the objectives of the United Nations and its loyalty to the praiseworthy ideals which prevailed at the foundation of an Organization. However, representatives will understand why the Seychelles delegation is worried about the future. There must be an end to certain manoeuvres which have the effect of diverting the United Nations from its primary objective, namely, the promotion of peace and development, with respect for the equality of all nations.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.