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*President:* Mr. Gaston THORN  
(Luxembourg).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. WILLS (Guyana): It is with great pleasure, Mr. President, that I congratulate you on your assumption of office as President of this thirtieth session of the General Assembly of our Organization. I am confident that under your capable leadership we shall make further progress towards putting into practice those time-honoured principles which should inspire our discussions. I wish also to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, for his guidance of our deliberations during the twenty-ninth session as well as the seventh special session.
2. The commitment of my Government and the people of Guyana to the advancement of the struggle for freedom everywhere is well known. But nowhere have we followed the tide of that struggle more closely, nowhere have we provided more of such assistance as we could muster than in Africa. It is therefore with a special sense of satisfaction and pride that we welcome into our Assembly the delegations of the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique. At this time we also look forward confidently to the early admission of the new State of Papua New Guinea.
3. In welcoming these new States we must at the same time pledge our total support and that of the United Nations system to assist in the task of rebuilding and reconstructing their societies. As we who trod this path before know so well, the decolonization process is only the first phase. In the wake of victory comes added emphasis on economic liberation, cultural reaffirmation and psychological decolonization.
4. Most of us have inherited economies which had been distorted or malformed—economies based on a single crop or mineral, with enclaves organized as parts of the metropolitan country. Such infrastructure as existed was limited to that required to move a crop or mineral quickly to Western Europe or to

keep a cheap source of labour barely alive. Indeed, we are still grappling with the ramifications of those problems.

5. As the institutions of the post-war international economic system have lost their legitimacy and their operational capacity, as we have come to see clearly that it is this system which has made us poor and has confined us to menial roles, it is inevitable that all the vital economic issues be increasingly politicized. There can be no turning back. As we utilize the instrument of our solidarity to create a new international economic order it becomes necessary that we build viable States, States which can secure for our peoples a fair share of the gains of the emerging global system. This viability requires the establishment at the national level of institutions for the mobilization of skills and savings. It requires the assertion of control over our natural resources. It requires the conscious creation of a relevant infrastructure. It requires the consolidation of a national identity. It requires vigilance against the sustained hostility of powerful transnational corporations, against the activities of subversive agencies of Governments for ever intent on the protection of investments which have for generations pillaged the wealth of developing countries.

6. The occasion for imperative change is made the occasion for instigating disorder and promoting discontent, for destabilizing Governments whose only fault is the resolute pursuit of nationally agreed objectives. In ways now all too familiar, the political and economic security of developing States, and especially small States, is undermined.

7. It must be a cause for concern that the United Nations system itself in some aspects supports subtle forms of intervention and penetration. While on the one hand our Organization provides a valuable and irreplaceable forum for the ventilation and resolution of conflicts, on the other hand it can and does lend itself to the exercise of pressures for the maintenance of the existing system of economic relations. It is well known that institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have withheld legitimate assistance or have imposed rules in the attempt to enforce acceptance of approaches to development which, were they allowed, would secure the continued dominance of some few States.

8. As we deliberate and debate during this thirtieth anniversary session we must resolve that the decision-making structures of the United Nations system, which are from time to time utilized to thwart change, are democratized and made more responsive to our objectives and our aspirations.

9. But much more is necessary. We must give consideration to the possible range of responses of this Organization to the activities of Governments which, claiming to be pursuing their national security, initiate measures which are designed to destabilize other

Governments. Moreover, our Organization must increasingly acknowledge and support the legitimacy of the strategies and techniques of development which we deem necessary to meet the urgent expectations of our peoples in the developing world.

10. In this context, the consolidation of the developing world, which has been initiated and advanced by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77, should be seen as an arrangement, not for confrontation, but for the enrichment of the whole human community, a community of States each contributing to our planetary heritage special resources of experience, talent and wealth. It should be one of our priorities to give further meaning and deeper content to that solidarity through measures such as schemes for the promotion of the regular exchange of news and information among developing countries, the institution of forms of regional security such as zones of peace and the support of programmes of economic co-operation among developing countries.

11. The seventh special session, devoted to development and international economic co-operation, is now behind us. Meeting as we do immediately after that session we have a responsibility to assess its results objectively, analyse its decisions and determine its significance for future developments in international economic relations. We must seek to place the session in its historical perspective.

12. Guyana acknowledges that the special session has served to advance the dialogue on the establishment of a new international economic order. The measures proposed in the field of trade, transfer of resources, industrialization, science and technology and food and agriculture will, if implemented, represent positive gains since they are designed to eliminate some of the more glaring inequalities in the international economic system. Because of the unanimous adoption of the final resolution, the session has been hailed as an important turning point in the attitude of the developed countries to crucial issues of development. Its results have been seen by some as the inauguration of a new era of accommodation and understanding between developed and developing countries.

13. But can we dare hope that a new direction has in fact been charted? Can we dare hope that we are embarked on a novel and challenging course? While we are prepared to keep an open mind on the question, while we are content not to prejudge the issue, there is the possibility that, notwithstanding expressions of commitment, notwithstanding professions of good faith, we may well fail to achieve the objectives we seek so earnestly. It may be that we shall be offered weak substitutes, where nothing but radical remedies will suffice. We must not forget that the annals of this Assembly are filled with noble resolutions, grandiloquent statements, gestures in the grand manner, but that in many cases these remain mere paper pledges, rarely honoured, seldom fulfilled.

14. Our political commitment will be judged by our willingness to translate principle into action. As we set out to implement the measures we have agreed upon, let us hope that the way forward will not be impeded by obstacles which seem to appear at every conceivable turn, obstacles engineered by those who only recently helped to engender consensus.

15. Moreover, we must not assume that the declared acceptance of some of the principles for which we in the developing world have fought has put an end to the debate. Concepts have been acknowledged; commitments have been expressed; good intentions have been declared; but our full demands have not yet been met. The struggle must therefore continue unabated until the developing world achieves the legitimate objective of a just and equitable international economic order.

16. As I stated in this Assembly at the seventh special session,<sup>1</sup> while compromise can provide a basis for consensus, compromise is not an acceptable objective if it sacrifices essential principles or militates against just and equitable solutions. This is where we in the developing world stand. This is the principle upon which we act.

17. The prospects for lasting peace in the Middle East begin and end with the rights of the Palestinian people. For their struggle is an integral part of the liberation struggle throughout the world. This area, the ancient cradle of so many cultures and religions, is today the arena in which is being played out the competition and conflict of the interests of major Powers, Powers which are intent on supporting the expansionist aims of zionism, or securing the control of communications or of energy resources.

18. In the welter of such turbulence we must continue to insist that the foremost responsibility of the international community in this area is the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people.

19. At the same time we welcome the recent agreement which has been negotiated, the first agreement not spawned in the immediate wake of armed conflict. It may be that such gradualist approaches can lead to an ultimate peace. I sincerely hope so. Such a peace must be founded on an acceptable solution to the Palestinian problem and on an Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied by force.

20. The situation in Cyprus has deteriorated following the breakdown of the talks between the two communities. This is a tragic turn of events; for peace in Cyprus will only come about through arrangements reached, without duress, between the two communities themselves. The history of Cyprus and the relationship which the two communities have with mainland States make for a complex and difficult problem. It was in appreciation of this background that the General Assembly, in resolution 3212 (XXIX), established a balanced set of principles which Guyana firmly believes can serve as a framework leading to a final settlement. That resolution was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly. It was accepted by all the parties concerned.

21. The intercommunal talks were only one aspect of that arrangement and it is a matter of regret to my Government that the other requirements of that resolution have so far not been carried out. In particular, very little progress has been made in the resettlement of refugees. There has been no progress at all in the withdrawal of foreign troops from that unhappy land. It is important that the guarantor nations recognize that a settlement in Cyprus cannot be imposed from above if it is to be permanent and that the two communities must be left free to conclude a mutually

acceptable agreement. The history of our times suggests that a political settlement will have no chance of survival if it is dictated by one side possessing military advantage. Guyana, for its part, remains opposed to policies based on aggression and nourished by intervention.

22. Guyana follows with keen interest the struggle for independence of the people of East Timor. We have always upheld the policy that all peoples should be given the opportunity to chart their own course for development without external interference of any sort. In this respect, we support the liberation movement in East Timor. We call upon those forces which may wish to intervene in an attempt to redirect the course chosen by the East Timorese to desist from any activity which would violate the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination.

23. We live in an era in which the United Nations has recognized the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence. This period has seen the emergence of many newly independent countries which have over the years, with increasing vigour, asserted their own unique identity on the international stage. Within this hemisphere, a new community of independent nations has arisen to join the Latin American republics with their proud revolutionary traditions. There has been an increasing consciousness of regional identity. There has been an almost unanimous rejection of all forms of colonialism and exploitation.

24. It is therefore paradoxical that an anomalous situation exists in Latin America running counter to the aspirations of colonial peoples for independence and for the beginning of genuine economic development. I refer to the question of Belize, a country forced against its will to retain a colonial status it despises and repudiates, because of the bellicose threats against its territorial integrity made by one of its neighbours, which happens also to be a fellow developing country. The territorial claims that have been made on Belize have no justification whatever. They are rejected by the people of Belize, to a man, whose only desire is the attainment of the full independence of their country.

25. For over 10 years, the people of Belize have seen their yearnings for independence frustrated because of the spurious and absurd territorial claims of a neighbour whose friendship they seek but whose overlordship they emphatically reject. Guyana calls on the international community to set aside indifference, to identify itself uncompromisingly and unequivocally with the people of Belize struggling for independence and the preservation of their territorial integrity. Belize must be allowed to be free.

26. The dynamics of change in Latin America, stimulated by developments at both the national and the international level, have resulted in the creation of new institutions. They have also led to the reform of others which have long been resistant to change. The creation of the Latin American Economic System is designed to provide a forum in which the nations of the continent can meet and resolve their problems among themselves and meet free from super-Power influence and domination. Guyana therefore fully supports the aims of that system. It has the potential to become an effective instrument for development in the region. It nurtures possibilities of overdue reform.

27. There has been an increasing democratization of international relations. It has become clear that hemispheric relations must be based on the fundamental right of every State to participate unconditionally in hemispheric institutions. Every State has a right to exercise its sovereign equality in such institutions. We therefore welcome the recent action taken to effect reforms in the structure of the Organization of American States [OAS]. Nevertheless it is our duty to point out that these reforms do not go sufficiently far in transforming OAS into an institution consistent with the needs of the developing countries of the region. Locked in the interstices of structure and procedure are the seeds of disadvantage and inequality. These need to be removed.

28. History is replete with considered *aperçus* on the need for disarmament. Those who at various times held the preponderance of power have always been the most reluctant to disarm. The Romans used to say that if you shorten your spears you lengthen your frontiers. Conversely, those who have found themselves inferior in technical apparatus have always been the most vocal in calling for disarmament. It is ridiculous, to my mind, to cultivate the acquisition of an arsenal one dares not use. But, then, the muses of trade and of comedy are the same. The strategic strait-jacket in which we now find ourselves is not removed by references to theories of limited warfare, be they nuclear or otherwise.

29. This world Organization can no longer leave discussions on disarmament to be held in secluded forums. The time has come for us to decide on a date for the holding of a world conference on disarmament or, alternatively, a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on disarmament. We must not be deterred by the fact that the failure of the old League of Nations was its failure to deal with disarmament. The majority of mankind was not represented in that institution. In any case, that failure should inspire us to new and sustained endeavour.

30. For developing countries, the daily tribulation is the diversion of resources which might otherwise be used to assist development. The awful, tragic waste in the sciences of deterrence and destruction exhibits the nadir of human purpose. The demands on men, money and material, on time and energy, represent a catastrophic limitation on the possibilities of man.

31. Over the 30-year period in which our Assembly has been meeting the attitudes to non-alignment have shifted from indifference and disrespect to growing understanding and support. We must now acknowledge and put on record in this Assembly some of its major achievements.

32. It is non-alignment that has fostered acceptance of the principle of coexistence, the principle that differences in social and economic systems or in ideologies should not preclude international co-operation on the basis of equality.

33. It is non-alignment that has sustained and guided the most profoundly transforming global process of all time, namely the movement of decolonization and liberation.

34. It was non-alignment, with its insistence on the sovereign right of States to pursue independent policies

free from the pressures of bloc entanglements, that significantly defused the conflicts that once threatened mankind with a global holocaust.

35. And let us not forget that it is the non-aligned movement that has ensured that this Organization, which began as a victors' club to police the boundaries of an uneasy peace, has developed into a body whose operations are increasingly informed by the perception that peace and security are inextricably interwoven with economic development and economic security.

36. It is non-aligned solidarity coupled with that countervailing power which is derived from programmes of collective self-reliance and economic co-operation, it is non-aligned persistence and insistence that have made it possible to begin work on the creation of a new international economic order.

37. We must not let slip our guard. Among the super-Powers it seems that confrontation has given way to consultation and that there is the thin veneer of détente. Whatever the propagandist rationalizations, it is certain that we are dealing with the same old Adam. Competition and rivalry on land and sea continue to threaten the stability of States. Old techniques of encirclement and envelopment, of penetration, of subversion and of destabilization remain the order of the day. Hegemonic policies persist. The pursuit of client States remains a domestic imperative.

38. Never has there been a greater need for the principles of non-alignment. Those of us who have been forced to cling giddily to the rim of the revolving earth must continue our efforts to banish terror from the dictionary of international affairs. We must not let the history of the last quarter of the twentieth century become the monopoly of two or three States. We must not let the technological advances of man become a trap for his extinction or a force for his dehumanization.

39. In southern Africa, where racism has been built up into a conscious political ethos, my Government remains unwavering in its denunciation of *apartheid* and white-minority rule. The herding of great masses of the population into bantustans, the practice of a scheme of influx control, the promotion of tribal rivalry, all designed to produce a cheap source of labour and to underscore the exploitation of man by man, are facts which my Government finds utterly repugnant. The strategies outlined in the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 and the Dar es Salaam Declaration of 1975 have produced significant success. The Lisbon-Salisbury-Pretoria axis has been shattered. The enemy has been isolated. The high priests of racism are being dealt with one by one. Portuguese colonialism in Africa is fast being relegated to the footnotes of history. The way ahead is clear. Victory is assured.

40. Having crossed his Rubicon in 1965 by a unilateral declaration of independence, the rebel leader Ian Smith has now had to face up to the political realities of the continent, and justice, which limped behind him for 10 years, has finally cornered him in Zimbabwe.

41. Guyana supports the new moves and contacts in southern Africa, moves designed to augment the use of force and the threat of force as instruments of redress for the grievances of the majority. It is very tempting for some who are far removed from the battlefield and who suffer no casualties to be *plus royaliste que le roi* and to indulge in the unworthy

and ignominious exercise of the impugning of motives and judgement. Guyana has unwavering confidence in the judgement of those four Titans of the Zambezi—Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania—which have sought to establish that peace hath its victories no less renowned than war.

42. In the afterlight men will applaud the unswerving determination and honesty of purpose of those who struggled through the dark days until their hopes were sustained by the triumphs in Mozambique.

43. With South Africa as its neighbour an emergent Zimbabwe will inherit problems which will tax the strength of its political institutions and the cultural cohesion of the Shona and the Ndbele people. Accommodations must be made so that the unity which is symbolized in the African National Congress grows from strength to strength. We support the valiant fighters of Zimbabwe in their struggle and we entertain no doubt that they will grasp the chalice of opportunity and so quaff of its contents that white minority rule will vanish from Zimbabwe, and vanish in the immediate future.

44. In Angola a fierce power struggle continues, —fanned by big Power rivalry and the machinations of transnationals. Guyana adheres strongly to the view that the people of Angola must be left alone to pursue their own destiny. The achievement of political freedom must not further be stained and tarnished by the blood of those who aspire to such freedom. Unity is the essential imperative. From this all else flows. The birth pangs of Angola have been sufficiently painful and poignant. We entertain every hope that the resultant offspring will take its place in the family of nations and make its contribution to the onward march of man, as one entity resolved and resolute.

45. In Namibia the illegal occupation persists. The attempts to exclude the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] from the task of restructuring the future of the Territory must be boldly condemned. SWAPO is the legitimate representative of the people of Namibia. This is an irreversible political fact. There are some who hold that movement of any kind in southern Africa is a sign of progress. This is a view which my Government and my delegation cannot entertain. If the South African régime wishes to show that its present strategies are *bona fide* it should exhibit a greater awareness of the power of international opinion and should show itself to be more responsive to the criticisms which have found expression in the numerous resolutions of the United Nations and other organizations.

46. The final victory is in sight; but there will forever be pockets of resistance, laagers of repression which would seek to stem the onrushing tide. It is our clear duty to sustain the momentum which has brought us thus far. It is our clear duty to renew our dedication to the principles of the Charter. It is our clear duty to reassert that we shall never cease to oppose all vestiges of *apartheid*, racism and colonialism, whether in southern Africa or elsewhere.

47. Mr. OULD MOUKNASS (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): The thirtieth session of the General Assembly opens at a time when important events are occurring on the international scene. At the

economic level, the ills from which the international system suffers have been the subject of a more careful diagnosis and an attempt is being made to remedy them. At the political level, war is ending in Indo-China, while considerable progress is taking place in the field of decolonization. These transformations undoubtedly constitute an important stage on the road to establishing peace. However, a long road lies ahead before true justice prevails in international relations and before peoples who are still oppressed can enjoy fully their rights to dignity, freedom and independence. It is, therefore, within a new context where the peoples of the world are torn between despair and hope that this thirtieth session, whose work you are called upon to guide, is opening.

48. Mr. President, your responsibilities are difficult and complex, but we who know your qualities as a statesman and an eminent diplomat, your foresight and clear perception, we who know the well deserved respect that your country enjoys, rejoice at the unanimous choice of the General Assembly which has brought you to the presidency of this session. I therefore ask you to accept the warmest congratulations of the delegation of Mauritania on that mark of confidence and tribute of esteem addressed to you and, through you, to your country, Luxembourg.

49. I should like also to pay a most earnest tribute to your predecessor, my friend and brother Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria. The delegation of Mauritania is all the more happy to express its gratitude to him because he is not only a worthy representative of Africa but also the Minister for Foreign Affairs of a brother country with which Mauritania maintains the most fraternal and fruitful relations. The history of the United Nations will for ever bear the imprint of the courage, the personality and the qualities of the man who, despite resistance and criticism, was able to define the problems and was among the first to lead us to a fuller awareness of them. It is therefore appropriate for us to express our gratitude to him for his important work during the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

50. The Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, also deserves our appreciation for the remarkable way in which he discharges his lofty and difficult mission. I wish once again to assure him of the support of Mauritania in his courageous and persevering efforts to win respect for the principles of the Charter and the ideals of equality and justice.

51. I said earlier that the peoples were torn between despair and hope. If we examine the international situation we note that it has been marked by events which are bringing us closer to peace. Among the super-Powers a network of new relations, based on economic co-operation, is being established over and above any differences of political régime or ideological system. That new spirit of co-operation and understanding has grown out of the realization that within the context of the balance of nuclear power certain geographical or political boundaries cannot be altered by force. It is also fostered by the fact that it has been realized that two powerful industrial and trade blocs can both benefit from economic co-operation.

52. In Europe, where for a long time peace initiatives, attempts to settle by peaceful means problems inherited from the Second World War, died in the face of misunderstanding and suspicion, a new era of confidence and mutual respect is gradually beginning.

53. In the Viet Nams and in Cambodia, whose peoples have for a long time been dying from war and foreign intervention, peace is being restored. This is not a peace resulting from a compromise or from a partially observed commitment; it is a peace which has been dearly bought by those peoples. The Cambodian people imposed upon itself the sufferings and the painful sacrifices which we know of to recover its independence. Its victory is a victory for all the peoples who are still struggling for their freedom and dignity. Because of the victory of the Cambodian people, I can today greet their representatives in this Assembly, where they have been restored to their rightful and natural place. The victory of the Vietnamese peoples is no less significant. It was because of a lofty struggle that those peoples obtained their ultimate objective—their independence and freedom.

54. Having implacably devastated the two Vietnamese States, the United States ought to have undertaken to assist in their reconstruction. Not only has the United States not shown such generosity; it has even gone so far as to oppose the admission of the two Vietnamese States to the United Nations by the abusive exercise of its veto. My country cannot but deplore such an attitude, which nothing can justify.

55. In the field of decolonization considerable progress has been achieved through the concerted action of liberation movements and the United Nations. The concrete result of that action is the accession of many countries to international sovereignty. I should like to express the warmest congratulations of Mauritania to the representatives of the brother countries which have acceded to independence and are with us today. I refer to Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe.

56. On the economic level, the seventh special session, devoted to development and international economic co-operation, was one of the rare gatherings where dialogue prevailed over confrontation. That was all the more fortunate since international economic problems, and in the first place the fundamental problem of development, are today more acute than ever. The specific measures proposed by the special session constitute an important step towards the establishment of a new international economic order, because they are measures which were unanimously accepted by all the Members of our Organization. We know that the resolution adopted at the seventh special session [resolution 3362 (S-VII)] suffers from definite gaps and shortcomings but it none the less reveals a sincere desire to embark upon a useful and constructive dialogue.

57. My country has already had an opportunity, at the beginning of last month, to state its basic position regarding the development problems faced by the countries of the third world. We emphasized particularly the need to stabilize prices of raw materials, the need for the adequate transfer of resources to finance development and a more equitable distribution of industry throughout the world. While our demands have not been fully met, we must nevertheless rec-

ognize that our legitimate claims in those various fields have been welcomed with sustained interest.

58. These outstanding events constitute beyond any doubt a substantial success for the forces of peace throughout the world. They are therefore a legitimate source of hope. It must nevertheless be recognized that peace is far from assured everywhere and that more justice in international economic relations remains a distant target. Those negative factors constitute serious dangers for the world community.

59. The first of those factors is the question of Palestine, which directly affects international peace and security. The people of Palestine, whose existence throughout the centuries was closely intertwined with geography, with the very land of Palestine, have been chased from their homes, dispossessed of their goods and reduced to wandering and living on international charity. This injustice committed against the people of Palestine is at the root of the whole problem of the Middle East. It is therefore obvious that any solution to that problem must necessarily include the restoration of the legitimate national rights of the people of Palestine, including their right to return to their homes and their right to independence and to national and international sovereignty.

60. In the other occupied Arab territories, Israel pursues its policy of intimidation and colonization by force. The establishment of a systematic policy of settlement, the implantation of settlers from everywhere except the region concerned, is in itself very revealing of the Tel Aviv authorities' view of a contribution to the establishment of peace in the Middle East. Quite obviously, what the Israeli authorities have in mind is the creation of an irreversible situation of violent change and *faits accomplis*.

61. We have of course followed with great attention the praiseworthy efforts of the United States Secretary of State to unfreeze this explosive situation of "no war, no peace", a situation whose maintenance cannot but threaten the peace of the region and, therefore, international security. While the results he has obtained can be regarded as a first step towards a solution, it is none the less true that the price paid to Israel in armaments can definitely jeopardize any chance for peace in the Middle East. Moreover, those results will remain limited and without any real effect on the situation if similar and urgent efforts are not undertaken in the other sectors—on the Syrian and, particularly, the Jordanian fronts. In any case, it must be understood that any kind of peace in the Middle East will be an illusion so long as the Arab territories remain occupied and the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people have not been restored to them.

62. Another negative factor is the tragic situation in southern Africa. Indeed, the peoples of South Africa and Zimbabwe remain under the yoke of a colonialism based on racial segregation and the domination of the majority by a handful of foreign settlers. The racist policy of the Pretoria régime, which denies to 13 million Africans the most elementary human rights, is an insult to the international community and to this Organization itself. The Organization cannot accept in its midst those who reject its principles and systematically trample under foot its relevant decisions. The South African régime has no place in this forum so long as it does not subscribe sincerely to the principles of

equality and respect for the human person, principles that are the framework and the very essence of our Organization. With regard to the rebel Ian Smith régime, the Members of the United Nations have the imperative duty scrupulously to apply and strengthen the sanctions imposed on that régime by the Security Council.

63. I should like here to assure the peoples of South Africa and Zimbabwe of the active solidarity and unwavering support of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in their struggle for dignity, freedom and national independence.

64. There is another problem that causes us concern—that of Angola. We hope that that country will once again find peace and stability so as to accede to independence in unity and brotherhood, without being torn apart. The people of Angola are living through a difficult period of their existence, but we are convinced that if they are left to themselves they will be able to meet the challenge and recover their national cohesion.

65. While I am speaking of colonial problems, I cannot fail to mention the problem of Western Sahara, which is of the utmost importance to us since it involves our territorial integrity and the unity of our people. We shall, of course, have an opportunity in the Fourth Committee to take up the substance of this problem, when the report of the Visiting Mission to the Territory [A/10023, chap. XIII, annex] and the advisory opinion requested of the International Court of Justice<sup>2</sup> have been communicated to the General Assembly. But I should like now to reiterate the mutual determination of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and the Kingdom of Morocco to find for this problem, within the framework of the United Nations, the most appropriate political solution, a solution that will take the utmost account of the respective rights of the two countries. I willingly refrain from dwelling on this problem, since the General Assembly last year took the twofold action which I have just mentioned and the results of which are not yet known. Hence, I shall consider it my duty at a later stage of this session to set forth in detail my country's views on this problem, which affects our national unity and our very existence.

66. While the problems of Africa are of particular concern to us, we cannot fail to mention other problems which, while they are far removed from us in distance, are nevertheless of great concern to us. One of them in particular is the problem of Korea. The Korean nation was divided by the accident of occupation. At the beginning, there was a temporary demarcation line, which later was changed into a definite boundary—not because that was the desire of the people of Korea but because the prolonged presence of occupation forces tends to create an irreversible situation. That situation, which some are trying to make ever more final, is a permanent threat to peace in that region because it is contrary to the sacred principles of the territorial integrity of the country and to the interests of its people. The use made of the United Nations flag to give an appearance of legality to such an undertaking, to camouflage the occupation of the southern part of Korea, must be stopped by our Organization. The people of Korea must in fact have

the possibility of achieving their independent and peaceful reunification without any foreign interference.

67. These hotbeds of tension or selective confrontation are not the only problems with which the international community is faced. There is another crucial problem of our times: the growing gap between the developed and the developing countries. So long as the measures decided upon by the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly for the establishment of a new international economic order have not been put into effect, this gap, which is already scandalous, will continue to grow. We hope that the developed countries will give us proof of their true political determination to implement these measures which, if they are respected, can contribute to the establishment of genuine international co-operation.

68. The United Nations is an appropriate framework for such international co-operation. Reform of the economic system of the United Nations and the establishment of structures tailored to the new economic facts cannot but make our Organization more able to play its role of catalyst. It is by doing this that our Organization, an instrument of peace and understanding among peoples, can see its role as a factor for political, economic and social advancement restored to it.

69. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, for its part, is prepared to make its contribution to this task of renewal, which is of necessity a joint task.

*Address by Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada,  
President of Uganda*

70. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada, President of the Republic of Uganda and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. I invite him to address the General Assembly.

71. Mr. AMIN (Uganda):\* As a true African I do not want to speak to you in a foreign language. Thanks to the good offices of the Secretary-General, my statement will be read out to you by my Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Mr. Khalid Younis Kinene. Meanwhile, I wish to bring to you warm greetings from the people of Uganda, from all members of the OAU and from all peoples of the third world.

72. I have put all the points which concern the OAU, the third world and the world as a whole in the statement which my representative will now read out to you. Thank you.

73. Mr. KINENE (Uganda): I shall now read out the statement by His Excellency Idi Amin Dada, President of the Republic of Uganda and current Chairman of the OAU, to the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

74. As a pure and proper son of Africa, who does not believe in any colonial and imperialist language, I shall address you in an African language which will be interpreted to you through the good offices of the United Nations Secretariat.

75. This year marks the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, and I therefore take the highest honour and privilege, on behalf of the OAU and on behalf of the entire people of Uganda, to bring to all representatives to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly greetings and good wishes from the heart of Africa. I wish, in particular, to express Africa's appreciation of the solidarity demonstrated by other delegations to this Assembly and to the entire American people who have welcomed me and accorded me hospitality since my arrival in New York.

76. On this occasion, I wish to express Africa's appreciation and gratitude to the founding fathers of the United Nations. In particular, I recall with admiration the dedication and great effort that all leading international civil servants have exerted for the success and growth of this Organization which has constantly faced very difficult crises. We recall, in particular, the first Secretary-General of the Organization, Mr. Trygve Lie from Norway, and the President of the first General Assembly, Mr. Henri Spaak of Belgium, and all successive Secretaries-General up to the last one, all of whom are now, regrettably, dead. Their individual contributions to the success of this Organization are very well known and acknowledged and will remain a permanent record in the history of the United Nations.

77. Mr. President, I wish also to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the high office of President of this session. With your enormous experience, I have no doubt that the business of this session will be conducted in a most competent manner, under your able and wise guidance. I also wish to pay a tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his entire staff for the dynamism and dedication with which they have been executing their duties. The entire membership of the OAU is particularly satisfied with the manner in which the Secretary-General has executed his African assignments, especially in the field of decolonization and the problems of the racist minority régimes in southern Africa.

78. The thirtieth session of the General Assembly is being held at a time when developments in the world are moving fast. Imperialism is being resolutely driven back, and the peoples of the industrialized countries are showing fresh interest in the genuine development of the third world and in its fight for economic independence and construction. The OAU, of which I have the honour to be the current Chairman, wishes this session success in its deliberations, aimed not only at consolidating the political and economic independence and the construction of its members, but also at the cultural and moral development of peoples all over the world. We in Africa, and in Uganda in particular, are fully dedicated and committed to that end.

79. The agenda at this Assembly session is a long one. But it is not my intention to speak on it at length. Permit me, however, to address myself first, on behalf of the 46 States Members of the OAU, to the pertinent problems that are of greatest concern to the African continent in the context of this world body. At a later stage, I will also have a few points to make as President of the Republic of Uganda.

80. All over the globe, there continue to be hotbeds of crisis in the political, economic, social and cultural

\* Mr. Amin spoke in Luganda. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

fields. Many countries have consequently been involved in one way or another in trying to find lasting solutions to those constant problems. The twelfth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU at Kampala, the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima, and the seventh special session of the General Assembly held in this very Hall not very long ago, go a long way in demonstrating mankind's commitment to finding solutions to the problems that lie between it and the ideals and aspirations of the international community it is trying to achieve.

81. You will permit me at this juncture, Mr. President, to dwell particularly on the economic problems that for a long time have created bottlenecks in world development. The fact that the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order mapped out at the sixth special session of the General Assembly [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*], and has now clearly been enunciated by the Lima Conference and the seventh special session, is, in my view, highly significant. It is significant because the developed nations, I hope, are beginning to realize that economic co-operation of any kind with the developing countries must take place strictly on the basis of mutual benefit to both sides as well as respect for the national sovereignty of each State. These recent international meetings have furthered a positive trend towards the attainment of a realistic and just international economic order fair to all parties to it. For this progressive development, I wish to pay a special tribute to the United States authorities, especially the President and the Members of Congress who approved a change in the United States attitude and policy towards the third world and, consequently, made that position known to the world during the seventh special session of this Assembly.<sup>3</sup>

82. Except for the southern tip of the African continent and isolated pockets here and there, the worldwide war for self-determination and political independence is almost over now. But the struggle for self-reliance continues. The present stage in this struggle is for economic independence without which, as it has rightly been stated, political freedom is meaningless.

83. All States Members of the OAU are vigorously waging battles for full economic control over their own affairs. Each State is following a method and a speed that is most suited to its national conditions. We in Uganda, having taken a short and revolutionary cut to economic independence, are now somewhat luckier than many of our sister States members of the OAU. Our experience, among many other things, has taught us that, if the more industrialized countries are genuinely serious about extending technical assistance to the developing countries, they should ensure that the experts they send are dedicated and appreciative of the aspirations and determination of the third-world countries to be masters of their own economies.

84. These modern technical missionaries should not have that old colonial mentality of their predecessors who came out to Africa with the conviction that they were coming to work among second-rate human beings. The modern expatriates Africa now needs should come with the knowledge that they are employees, not employers; partners for peace, not preachers of polit-

ical ideologies or builders of foreign empires. If this type of expatriate comes to Africa, and indeed goes to other parts of the third world, the cause of international peace and positive development will be served.

85. The efforts for economic independency by all States Members of this Organization are aimed at ensuring that mankind's gains in the future will be stable and significant and that the society that the new economic order aspires to create holds immense potentialities. We do not only want a world free of colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and zionism, but a world free of hunger, disease, ignorance and any form of tension arising from inequalities in social or regional development.

86. While there is positive co-operation among the nations of the third world, one regrets to note that co-operation between the third world and the industrialized nations still leaves a lot to be desired. Some industrialized nations still cling to the outdated attitude whereby they unjustifiably depend for their prosperity on the exploitation of the natural resources of developing nations. It is our hope and prayer that this thirtieth session will go a long way in promoting economic co-operation among those who are prepared to respect each other's sovereignty and are willing and ready to co-operate on an equal basis.

87. Let me now touch on some basic political problems before this world body. Session after session this Assembly has spent long hours trying to find solutions to the problems of decolonization. Yet it is disheartening to note that, up to the present session, in this Organization which is the custodian of world peace and security there are still some countries which come to this Assembly to pay lip-service to the cause of liberty, democracy and justice while at the same time they continue the very malpractices condemned in this Hall.

88. I am glad to mention that, despite setbacks, events over the past year in the arena of decolonization have moved at a faster pace. I refer to the accession to independence of the three former Portuguese colonies, Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, and the former French Territory of Comoro, and their admission to the OAU at the twelfth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government held at Kampala. I hail, on behalf of the OAU, their admission to the world body and I am convinced that their revolutionary zeal with which they fought for their independence will lead them to make a worthy contribution to the deliberations of this Organization. I should also take this opportunity to congratulate the people of the new State of Papua New Guinea on attaining their independence. Africa welcomes this newest State of the Pacific to the ranks of this world body.

89. At this point, it is fitting for me to pay Africa's compliments to the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement for their far-sightedness. As a result of their very progressive policies since they took over power last year, Portugal is now in the process of realizing the true and internationally accepted limits of its sovereignty. Portugal can now afford to develop its economy without wasting its resources in outmoded colonial ambitions which its economic means could not sustain. The new-found independence and freedom which both the former Portuguese Territories and the Portuguese



people are enjoying is directly attributable to the many years of struggle by the African peoples in the Portuguese colonies and to the progressive forces inside Portugal.

90. I should like to punctuate the independence of the former Portuguese Territories by referring to the unhappy situation prevailing in Angola. The Portuguese Government remains in the final analysis the responsible Power in Angola until independence on 11 November 1975. For its part, the OAU will spare no efforts in contributing to measures to bring the situation under control.

91. It is pertinent here to warn against external interests in Angolan affairs which have made it more difficult to bring about reconciliation among the three major Angolan liberation movements: Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA], Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola [FNLA] and União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola [UNITA]. One positive role the United Nations can play in this tragic situation is to help to prevent the current conflict in Angola from being internationalized. The United Nations must unequivocally condemn those Powers which for ideological or strategic reasons are pouring arms into Angola, thereby complicating further an already delicate situation. The problem of Angola, being essentially African, should and ought to have an African solution. I want to assure you that the Conciliation Commission on Angola which was appointed by the last Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU is doing everything possible to bring about peace among the warring Angola parties. I am sure that the Commission will succeed in its mission. While on this point, I should like to stress what has already been stated many times before: that the problems of Africa can be solved by Africans alone, without interference from outside. There should not be any press or other public utterances claiming that African problems in Africa are so explosive that they require non-Africans to come and control them.

92. With the independence of the new States of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and the Comoros, come two related problems. These are the return of refugees to their countries of origin and the urgent need of the new States for technical and financial assistance to enable these new States to cope with the problems of national economic development and social reconstruction.

93. As far as the question of the refugees is concerned, the OAU is grateful for the co-operation and generous assistance which the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, other United Nations agencies, individual Governments and various organizations have rendered and continue to render, not only for the return of the refugees to their countries of origin but for their resettlement, reconciliation and rehabilitation. However, the State of Cape Verde presently faces an exceptionally acute refugee problem arising from the current situation in Angola, where many of its citizens have been working. Cape Verde therefore needs urgent assistance for the resettlement of its displaced citizens, whom it cannot reabsorb at once. An appeal for assistance has already gone to all members of the OAU, but in view of the enormous size of the problem may I, on behalf of that Organization, extend the same appeal to all other Members

of this Organization. The assistance can be channeled through bilateral or multilateral arrangements.

94. On technical and financial assistance, States Members of the United Nations will no doubt be aware of the scarcity of educational and health facilities that are normally allowed in colonial Territories by metropolitan Powers. A new structure for social services has therefore to be built; transport has to be developed; and, similarly, bases for agriculture and other economic backbones must be established. This is a formidable task with which the new nations are faced. I am sure that the United Nations, through its various specialized agencies, will play a worthwhile role in this great challenge facing its newest Members.

95. On behalf of the new nations I should also like to make a fervent appeal to all more developed nations represented in this great Organization to show solidarity and magnanimity by rising to the occasion through bilateral arrangements without undue political considerations.

96. As for the other colonial Territories, I can only hope that the remaining European colonial Powers—France, the United Kingdom and Spain—will follow the example of the new Portugal and embark on a committed programme of decolonization. The OAU cannot accept the lame excuse used by some colonial Powers that the colonial people are not ready for independence or that they prefer the colonial status to independence. No human being can choose to be a slave.

97. The Comoros declared independence from France last July. True to its principles of respect for the sovereign right of peoples to self-determination and independence, the OAU accepted the application of the Comoros for membership in that Organization.

98. The problems that ensued following the Comoros' declaration of independence and the stance adopted by the French Government are too well known to this august Assembly to require further elaboration. That the Comoros has not yet found it possible to apply for admission to the United Nations is no fault of the OAU. The intention of the French Government concerning the Comoros has remained ambiguous. France has a moral obligation to explain its position on this question.

99. In spite of France's negative attitude, the international community and OAU, in particular, have been more than patient with France on matters relating to the decolonization of its African Territories. It is time for France to reciprocate before our patience is completely exhausted.

100. The OAU has welcomed the results of the independence negotiations held last March at Marlborough House, London, between the United Kingdom Government and the two nationalist parties of Seychelles, Seychelles People's United Party [SPUP] and Seychelles Democratic Party [SDP], setting the date for independence as not later than 30 June 1976. It is our fervent hope that the United Kingdom Government will respect the wishes of the people for a united, prosperous Seychelles nation.

101. We are, however, suspicious of the United Kingdom's intentions to retain some of the islands that rightly belong to Seychelles in what is referred to as

the British Indian Ocean Territories. Our fears and concerns arise out of the fact that this action undermines the territorial integrity of Seychelles. Besides, the OAU, as well as the non-aligned States, have expressly stated their opposition to big-Power rivalry in the Indian Ocean, which we want to remain a zone of peace.

102. I should like to appeal to the United Nations, and particularly to the permanent members of the Security Council, to take meaningful measures to resolve the outstanding colonial problems of southern Africa. I am convinced that it is not beyond the competence of the United Nations to end colonialism and *apartheid*. We in Africa are prepared for a peaceful end to colonialism and *apartheid*, but if peaceful means are blocked there can be no other alternative but to achieve independence on the battlefield. The United Nations has a responsibility in this. You can help us save bloodshed by helping to implement United Nations resolutions on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

103. Independent Africa will not allow itself to be deceived by *détente*, which is in any case increasingly going bankrupt in the face of the sharpened struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The States Members of the OAU have resolved to step up their support of the nationalists and the peoples of southern Africa in their multi-fronted struggle for national liberation. May I at this juncture express Africa's appreciation to all those countries that have assisted and continue to assist African liberation movements in their struggle for freedom and independence. In particular I wish to mention the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and other Socialist countries for their generous assistance, both moral and material, to the peoples of Africa still fighting to free themselves from the bondage of imperialism, racism and *apartheid*.

104. I cannot condone any compromise with *apartheid*. The system must be eradicated root and branch and buried. It defies all known principles of humanity as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations or in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is for this reason that free Africa has insisted that South Africa has no right to United Nations membership because the very basis of its ideology and practice are a direct contradiction to the Charter of the United Nations.

105. I should like now to turn to one other point that is of key importance not only to Africa and the rest of the third world but to the entire world. This is the question of peace and security. Africa rejects the opinion which has sometimes been publicly expressed that the problems of security should be the monopoly of the big Powers alone. We maintain that all peace-loving peoples of the world have an active role to play in world security, peace and co-operation. On a broader plane, we in Africa feel the need for more effective initiatives and the co-operation of all countries, big or small, which are keen to deliver the entire world once and for all from the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racialism and *apartheid*. For us in Africa, this is the central issue.

106. Having regard to the political and social clashes that are taking place in the southern part of our continent coupled with the bloody friction in the Middle

East at the northern end of our continent, it has become increasingly evident that, without the concerted involvement of the countries of the third world in peace-keeping, it will be impossible to solve the endemic problems in southern Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere in the world where hot political issues exist. Indeed, it will even be difficult to implement any meaningful international economic changes that have become a necessary factor in the attainment of secure international peace and harmony if the third world countries which now command a numerical majority in this Assembly are not fully involved in the process of making and guaranteeing world peace. In this particular connexion, I appeal on behalf of my African colleagues and the entire third world to the United States Government to reconsider its position in and relationship with Panama, an independent Member of this Organization, regarding the use of the Panama Canal. All international traffic using the watercourse should fully respect the sovereign rights of the Republic of Panama. This is within the acceptable principles of this Organization.

107. I should like at this point to refer to the continued monopoly of the veto by the permanent members of the Security Council, which privilege some of them have used to protect situations that are against world peace. The third world cannot now be overlooked when the most important decisions, some of which even directly affect it, are being taken in the Security Council. At this time when the interdependence of nations, big or small, is an acknowledged fact, it is high time that this Organization, especially the Security Council, decided to review the Charter of the United Nations, adopted when not more than three African Members were independent. The implementation of this idea will be a great leap forward for mankind, since the principle of equality and sovereignty will have been mutually respected by each and every State.

108. It is thus my belief that, in consideration of the changed world political situation since the adoption of the present Charter, the review of the Charter should among other things, enable the third-world countries to exercise the rights at present being monopolized by the conquering allies of the Second World War. I would specifically propose that Africa and other recognized regional groupings in this Organization, which do not enjoy the right of a veto, be given a bloc veto each. As and when, for example, the Security Council decides on substantive issues, the concurrent votes of a region's representatives at the Council will have the same effect as that of a permanent member of the Security Council.

109. East-West *détente* has now been made concrete with the conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at Helsinki. I wish to compliment all the countries that contributed to the success of that Conference. The Soviet Union in particular is to be given special thanks for conceiving the idea of the Conference and for working tirelessly and consistently until the signing of the Helsinki agreement.

110. Now that *détente* between the Western and the Eastern States has thus been formalized, it would be a logical step forward in the search for world peace, if the third-world countries also met and reviewed

their position in the light of the Helsinki agreement. The third-world countries which spread all over the globe should never lag behind in the search for world peace and security. Being composed of developing countries, the third world needs an assurance of peace for itself much more than the more industrialized countries. A security conference for the third world has thus now become necessary and should be convened as soon as possible.

111. In our regional search for international peace and security, the position of the People's Republic of China and Japan has not been very clear. From what I know, these two countries rightly belong to the third world. China, because it has always stated that it wants to belong to the third world. Japan, in spite of its high industrial development, naturally belongs to the third world. In any case, because of its geographical position and, especially since its defeat in the Second World War, it has never really been accepted by either Eastern or Western blocs of countries as a member of either.

112. Countries of the third world, especially those in Africa, the Arab subcontinent and Asia, should very seriously think of this proposal to hold a security conference. With the inclusion of China and Japan in such a conference, the third world will find it easy to resolve, by peaceful means, problems that are found within or among its member States and thus avoid the interference of super-Powers that we have so often witnessed in such cases. The problems of North and South Korea, for example, would be made easier to solve in the context of the third-world peace efforts, as these two countries are also legitimately within the third-world group.

113. Given its large and varied membership and its enormous natural resources, such as those in Africa, which include high-nuclear raw materials, its rich historic cultures and revolutionary aspirations, the third world stands the greatest change to lead the world by peaceful means, if only it can co-ordinate its efforts.

114. As I said at the beginning, I should like now to discuss a few points in my capacity as President of Uganda, starting with the very first prerequisite of a State, namely, its land.

115. Needless to say, land is the greatest gift the Creator has given to man. Its price cannot be estimated in terms of money or any other measure of value. Without it there would be no States and the human race could not exist in the form in which we know it. Land, through the ages, has been the cause of both joys and woes, unity and conflict. When thinking about land in its proper perspective, considerations cut across national boundaries and assume an international character to which nations should give serious priority consideration, commitment and dedication. Today the peoples of the world are very much worried about overpopulation, and those fears are based entirely on the kind and amount of food that can be available to feed the everincreasing millions of people on earth. As we know it today, food is a product of land. Therefore, land utilization and settlement are subjects of top priority to the human race. In many countries there is no more space left for the growing of food to feed their nationals, and therefore in this regard they face peril. The only hope for survival of such

people lies in the amount of food that can be obtained from the new lands which are less populated, endowed with a good climate and soil and which, therefore, can achieve maximum production with the least effort in terms of technology and finance. Nations blessed with the attribute of a large area of arable land therefore stand in a unique position.

116. I am glad and proud to inform this Assembly that Uganda is one of the very few countries which occupy that unique position. Uganda realizes its moral responsibility to humanity to hold out the bread basket to the starving world. In this connexion, the Government of Uganda has recently promulgated three decrees designed to bring about maximum productivity and the better utilization of land within its national territorial boundaries and to increase employment opportunities. By the grace of God, Uganda does boast a wonderful climate, rich soil, a healthy energetic people, good means of communication and rich natural resources, all of which, if fully exploited, would benefit the human race and go a long way towards removing the fears in which the world is engulfed today. It is against that background that the Land Reform Decree, the Community Farm Settlement Decree and the Self-Help Projects Decree were promulgated in the middle of this year. Those decrees place all land in the hands of the Government for management, distribution and control, provide for its planned settlement and utilization and encourage the supplementing of financial investment requirements by our time-honoured voluntary communal labour supply for community development.

117. The following reasons led to the reform of land possession and management law: to enable the Government to make proper plans of land use for maximum productivity; to remove the evils of feudalism which discouraged the farmers of the land and encouraged laziness and exploitation by the absentee landlords; and to provide employment. Under the new decrees, everyone in Uganda now has an equal opportunity to own land and develop it for the benefit of himself, the country and the world at large, since the world expects those who are so favourably placed as regards rich natural resources, like Uganda, to share them with their fellow human beings the world over.

118. The effect of the new decrees on Uganda's social pattern of life and economic development has been tremendous. Anyone who visits Uganda today will see the great strides that have been taken by the people in the development of land for agriculture and animal husbandry, although it is barely four months since the decrees were promulgated.

119. The international community has recognized that one of the most serious problems facing the majority of mankind today is the problem of human settlement. The three decrees promulgated in Uganda, already referred to, are meant among other things to solve this problem at the national level. It will be appreciated, however, that human settlement is an international problem which can best be solved at the international level. For that reason Uganda supports the proposal for the creation of a United Nations agency or programme to deal specifically with this international problem of human settlement. In this connexion, Uganda offers to be the host country to the secretariat of such an agency or programme of the

United Nations, if and when it is created. As is very well known, Uganda has the capacity and the facilities to be host not only to the secretariat of such an agency or programme but even to much bigger ones.

120. Full exploitation of the land resources requires heavy financial investment. If the world is going to benefit in the shortest possible time from the natural wealth of Uganda, then the world must be prepared to invest in the exploitation of these resources. Uganda invites interested parties on the individual, State and international levels to participate in the exploitation of these rich resources. Our law protects foreign investments and we guarantee fair returns on these foreign investments. We respect in full measure the right to property as a fundamental inalienable right. Our Constitution guarantees this right and the Government and people of Uganda observe this constitutional guarantee strictly; so much so that when I declared the economic war in order to restore to our people their natural rights, dignity and self-respect and save them from callous exploitation by foreigners, I also guaranteed payment of compensation to these exploiters. Negotiations are going on between Uganda and the countries concerned to determine the amount due and the method and programme of payment of compensation. The United Kingdom team was recently in Kampala, our capital city, for this purpose. The United States of America's claim has long since been settled. All that indicates that we are not just interested in making sweet utterances or paying lip-service to human rights and law, but that we observe all these principles and back them up with practical, visible action.

121. Uganda takes strength and gains inspiration from the numerous utterances and resolutions of this venerable house urging the colonial and imperial Powers to make speedy restoration of full economic rights to the hitherto exploited, oppressed and enslaved peoples of the third world. My strength and earnestness of purpose is even greater when I stand here delivering my speech on the soil of the United States of America, the country which in our era conceived a new philosophy which has lit, cleansed, inspired and sustained the third world in the pursuit of freedom. The United States colonies resisted exploitation by foreign Powers 200 years ago. They wanted to have the sole right and control over their economy. This is the accepted principle today in this Assembly, in the world of peace-loving and right-thinking peoples and at the international law platform. We in Uganda have pursued the same goal.

122. For the pursuit of our natural rights; for the consolidation of our independence; for the retrieve of our economy; for our struggle for equality, dignity, justice in the world; for our efforts in fostering international brotherhood; for the creation of a world order in which there will be complete independence of States, with freedom for each State to decide on its destiny without regard to size, ethnic grouping, colour or creed; for our unflinching fight against oppression by big or technologically advanced nations, against exploitation and enslavement of the majority by a few powerfully placed reactionary and fascist minority régimes in southern Africa; for our dedicated commitment to the liberation movements in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, we have been subjected to black-

mail, vulgar abuse, commercial ostracism, economic strangulation and treachery by imperialists in league with the Fascists and Zionists. Our case has exposed the moral bankruptcy of those powerful nations of the West which through deceit have for so long held themselves up as the bastions of peace, freedom and justice. They have, in their endeavours to distort our image in the eyes of the international community through their powerful news media in order to cover up for their inadequacies at home, not only revealed their hypocrisy but to their chagrin given unprecedented publicity to our nation and the truth we stand for.

123. While we have liberated our economy to feed our people, unemployment in the United Kingdom has but soared to an all-time record. While we have taken measures to restore our cultural values and establish justice among our people, the United Kingdom has turned to blackmail in order to confuse the world about the terrible situation of an internecine war in the United Kingdom colony of Northern Ireland, where the colonized people live in great fear for their lives. Today, the London-based organization, Amnesty International, continues to pay lip-service to the cause of justice and, as shown in its recent publication, has blackmailed over 100 nations of the world as violators of human rights without mentioning the United Kingdom and its role in Northern Ireland. It is impossible to feel secure in the United Kingdom today because of the sporadic bomb blasts which wreck churches, schools, cafes, bars, trains and even hospitals. Kidnappings and murders have long since ceased to shock the British society as hardly a week passes without press reports of such horrible acts. This shows the decadence of a nation which once prided itself before the entire world, a quarter of which it colonized, as the fountain of peace, freedom, justice and tranquillity. Amnesty International is fed on rumours and concoctions from discredited criminals in exile and, surprisingly, feels content to continue to be fed on rumours. Where on earth have exiles spoken glowingly of the régime in their country or exposed their own criminality? Amnesty International has taken no trouble to investigate or send a team to Uganda to see for itself. Its report has indicted over 100 States. How can it be said that 95 per cent of the entire world does not conform to accepted standards? By what measures does it judge 95 per cent of the entire world? What is the justification of the continued existence of Amnesty International if it is so helplessly behind the times? It has lent itself as tools for the smear campaigns perpetrated by the colonial and imperialistic Powers that fund its existence. It wishes to divert the attention of those peoples fighting for their freedom, equality and independence in order to subvert the world order. Such tricks have not succeeded in Uganda. Such tricks have not been accepted by the peoples of the third world, who form the majority of the world society.

124. We in Uganda are proud and committed to hold the banner of independence for the oppressed peoples to see and to follow. We condemn all forms of enslavement and economic exploitation as exhibited by the minority régimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. We salute the new order in Portugal which has seen the truth and committed itself to the liberation of all its colonies which formerly were called overseas Terri-

tories. We condemn any form of territorial aggrandizement as practised by the Zionists in the Middle East. We condemn any perpetration of illegalities in the United Nations or sustenance of the bogus State of Israel. Until 1947 there was no State of Israel, but Palestine. The colonial Powers, for their imperialistic motives, created Israel, carved out of the State of Palestine, thus causing an upheaval which, if it is not settled immediately, may throw the world into conflagration. It is reported today that, in spite of the so-called peace accord between peace-loving Egypt and the bogus State of Israel, much more powerful arms have been delivered to Israel by the United States, including missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. This has created great uncertainty and fear not only in the Middle East but in all of Africa, which in the northern corner has the Zionists and in the southern corner the Boers of South Africa. It has also accelerated the chances of nuclear confrontation, which may spell the doom of the human race.

125. Israel, like South Africa, has absolutely ignored the United Nations resolutions commanding it to withdraw from the occupied territories of Egypt, Palestine, Jordan and Syria. It is disappointing to note that some major Powers, notably the United States of America, which are founder Members of this Organization which was established to bring about a world order based upon law, justice and peace, have not only continually supported Israel in flouting United Nations resolutions, but have also equipped it with powerful armaments to make it strong enough to defy, grab and plunder its neighbour's territory. Today, without the United States of America, there would be no Israel.

126. The United States' persistent support for Israel stems from the sad history of colonization. The United States of America has been colonized by the Zionists who hold all the tools of development and power. They own virtually all the banking institutions, the major manufacturing and processing industries and the major means of communication; and have so much infiltrated the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] that they are posing a great threat to nations and peoples which may be opposed to the atrocious Zionist movement. They have turned CIA into a murder squad to eliminate any form of just resistance anywhere in the world. The role of CIA has been revealed to the world community by United States senators and congressmen themselves, as we learn from the United States news media. The top echelon of CIA has made an admission of this. How can we expect freedom, peace and justice in the world when such a powerful nation as the United States of America is in the hands of the Zionists? I call upon the people of the United States of America whose forefathers founded this State "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" to rid their society of the Zionists in order that the true citizens of this nation may control their own destiny and exploit the natural resources of their country to their own benefit. I call for the expulsion of Israel from the United Nations and the extinction of Israel as a State, so that the territorial integrity of Palestine may be ensured and upheld.

127. When this objective is achieved the Holy City of Jerusalem will once more revert to its holy status.

Jerusalem should and will remain the holy place of worship for Christians, Moslems and Jews and must be free of any military activity. When recently I had the honour of being received by His Holiness the Pope, in our discussion we shared this view.

128. I like the Jews but I do not approve of zionism. There are many Jews in many countries who do not subscribe to the iniquitous Zionist philosophy. To these, all the peace-loving people of the world extend their hand in friendship. Indeed, Yasser Arafat himself announced at the General Assembly last year<sup>4</sup> that the Palestinian people were prepared, ready and willing to live in partnership and amity with people of all creeds, Christians, Moslems and Jews in one State, the State of Palestine. Zionist Israel has refused this offer. While millions of displaced Palestinians roam without home, without shelter, without food, millions of dollars extracted from the sweat and resources of the American people go to aid and fatten the Zionists. While the United Nations continues to pass resolutions calling for peace in the Middle East, resolutions without sanction, the displaced Palestinian people decay and perish. Their hope and reason are fast running out. To my Arab brothers I wish to give a piece of brotherly advice. If they wish to defeat Israel they must unite. No country should be diverted from the common objective without consulting the other Arab States. Lack of proper consultation causes friction and misunderstandings, to the great benefit of Israel. Arab must stop fighting Arab so that together they may face their enemy, Israel.

129. I wish to emphasize that I am not a racist. I hate racialism in all its manifestations, as practised in Rhodesia and South Africa. *Apartheid*, like zionism, is an enemy to humanity itself. Uganda is totally committed to the liberation of the African peoples under colonial minority régimes. We are baffled by the double standards displayed by imperialists who, in the name of democracy, plundered Viet Nam, Cambodia and many other lands while they support oppression in Rhodesia, South Africa and the Middle East; who veto the admission of gallant Viet Nam in the same way they veto the expulsion of South Africa and Israel from the United Nations; who withhold financial support from peaceful nations and pour investments into South Africa, Rhodesia and Israel.

130. We welcome investors to come to Uganda as friends, but not as masters, and they will find us active, generous and friendly. Anyone interested in youth programmes, employment programmes, increased productivity programmes, freedom-from-hunger programmes and environmental programmes, whether taken together or separately, will certainly take an interest in our law of reform and the methods we have devised and continue to devise. To this end I wish to restate that we are non-aligned and therefore our doors are open to any country or organization in the world with aims, methods and objectives acceptable to us to participate with us in the development of our land resources for the benefit of the world.

131. While here in the United States of America, a country that is celebrating its two hundredth year of independence from British colonialism, I should like to mention, without in any way imputing racial bias, the position of the black Americans in this country. In spite of the fact that he was forcibly brought to

this country against his will, the black American has contributed as much as, if not more than, most of the other races towards the construction, development and now the economic mightiness of this country. His contribution, to his credit, stands sharply in contrast to the treatment he has received from his fellow Americans. Having been in this country for some three centuries now and at present numbering some 30 million or more, one would have expected that of the 50-odd governors in this country at least one, if not several, would be black. As to the top executive policy-makers of the Federal Government, such as Secretaries of State, one would have hoped that at this time and moment in American history this great country, a champion of peace and freedom, would have boasted of having several black faces in that group of policy-makers. But none of these hopes have materialized. Why? This is a challenge that I would like to leave with the American people. It is a challenge whose concern has been beyond United States boundaries since the United States became a super-Power. Hence my mentioning it here.

132. While I leave the entire American community with this challenge, I should like to mention specifically that the black Americans themselves are to blame in a way because of the many reported divisions in their own communities. These divisions should certainly become unnecessary in the face of continued and perpetual subjugation of their own lot by their fellow citizens. For our part in Uganda, we have done our best to champion the cause of the black Americans. In the context of the OAU, we have for the last several years now advocated their identification with the continent of their origin in the same way as the other races in this continent take pride in their ancestral homelands.

133. The international community has committed itself to intensify action in promoting equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities of men and women, to ensure the full integration of women in the total development effort and to involve women widely in international co-operation and in the strengthening of world peace through the proclamation of this year, 1975, as International Women's Year [resolution 3010 (XXVII)]. I am glad to say that as far as Uganda is concerned, under my Government we have already guaranteed, in principle and practice, equality between men and women. Both sexes have equal opportunities and responsibilities to enable them to develop their particular talents and capabilities in the service of Uganda and the rest of the international community. Ugandan women have, like their male counterparts, full opportunities to make maximum contributions in every field and are playing their roles fully and effectively at all levels of decision-making, planning and implementation of all policies, programmes and projects. Our women have been fully integrated. They receive their full share of the benefits of development. In this connexion I wish to mention that there are Ugandan women at all levels of administration, including, at the top, Permanent Secretaries; there are Ugandan women professors; a Ugandan woman ambassador; doctors; lawyers; business women, and women in all areas of our total endeavour.

134. Our faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human being is so strong

that we have extended it to all spheres of our endeavours, including the prison services. Our view of prisoners is not to inflict punitive punishment on them but to reform and rehabilitate them so as to enable them to become useful and responsible members of society who make maximum contributions to the economic and social development of our country. Prisoners in Uganda are therefore trained in such fields as crop and animal husbandry, where our prison industries are some of the best farming institutions in the country. They are also trained in such other skills as furniture-making, shoemaking, tailoring, blacksmithery, metalworking, handicrafts and many other industrial skills. The results we are obtaining are very good indeed in that the majority of our prisoners complete their sentences fully reformed and use the skills attained in prisons in their future lives.

135. We in Uganda believe that the best and most practical and lasting form of international co-operation is in trade. It is for this reason that I wish to remind representatives, and through them the countries they represent, that Uganda produces some of the world's best coffee, cotton, tea, tobacco, copper and many other forms of trade commodities, which are available for the international community to buy. I express the hope that, under the proposed new world economic order, Uganda, like other developing countries, will receive fair prices for its raw materials, which constitute the major part of its exports.

136. Uganda, which is in the very heart of Africa, astride the Equator, is renowned as one of the world's tourist paradises. The fabulous beauty of the countryside, with its rich colours; the graciousness of its traditionally friendly, courteous and hospitable people; the mighty Kabalega Falls; the snow-capped, fantastic Mountains of the Moon, carrying permanent glaciers; the source of the immortal River Nile; the unsurpassable magnificence of the equatorial forests; the many lakes and the unequalled scenic beauty; the rolling and terraced hills; the extraordinary concentrations of wild life in its national parks and game reserves, including the rare, huge but extremely shy gorillas, the precious white rhinoceros, the lordly lion, zebras, leopards, cheetahs, herds of elephants, buffaloes, hippopotamuses, huge crocodiles, bewildering varieties of bird life; the famous local dishes, including the Nile perch and the local brand of gin-cum-vodka, unforgettable *waragi*; the elegance of Uganda's traditional crafts; Uganda's rich traditional music, dances and cultural activities; the glorious summer sunshine of the Equator and the coolness of the mountain breezes; Kampala, the capital city, standing on a series of closely-gathered, lush green hills—all these tourist attractions, topped with a year-round congenial climate, provide a visitor with the experience of a lifetime. All these God-given fantastic natural treasures are available to the world community as a whole. Ugandans welcome you and your fellow compatriots to come and share them with us in the spirit of international harmony and co-operation.

137. Long live Africa. Long live the third world. Long live the United Nations. For God and our country.

138. Mr. AMIN (Uganda): I am sure you have understood my speech in a foreign language. I would like to summarize my speech very briefly in the lan-

guage of the British, the language of the former empire of which I was formerly a member. I would like to thank all of you very much for listening to my speech and I want to inform you, on behalf of the 46 independent African Member States, that we in Africa are not racists and we have no discrimination. We want to work completely with the entire world community. We want to work together with people from Europe, from Asia, from the Arab world and from the other parts of the world such as the United States and Latin America. We consider you as members of the world community. Therefore, nobody should tell you that Africans are against the whites. No. It is the members of the racist régime of South African *apartheid* who are the actual criminals, who are highway robbers, stealing the gold and diamonds of others.

139. I thought it was necessary for me, as Field Marshal Amin, to speak to you in English so that you will understand me very well. I would like to advise the whole world community, the United Nations Members here, that it is not true that the people of Angola are against the Portuguese. The peoples of Africa are against the white régimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. But the people of Africa are a majority in that part of the world, and therefore it is not advisable for the Portuguese people to leave. Before I left Uganda to come directly here I talked with the Portuguese Government, which is now in discussions with the nine-member Conciliation Commission in Kampala. The Portuguese can stay when Angola gets its independence. They want the technicians, they want the doctors, they want the engineers for building roads, they want the electricians, they want the teachers to educate them. Now, if the whole Portuguese community or the white community runs away, who will build that particular new, independent country?

140. Nobody should deceive you on this. If you will read my speech, which has been read to you by my Permanent Representative to the United Nations, you will see there the pictures: Britons in the various departments of the armed forces, being recruited, taking oaths. Of all the countries in black Africa, Uganda is the first to have even supersonic women pilots and a women's squadron.

141. I just wanted briefly to tell you, therefore, that even the racist régimes in the southern part of Africa should not run away. They should not fear that if we liberate southern Africa we might kill all of them or throw them into the sea. No, because the people of southern Africa want people who can work together with them, but they are the majority there and they want to control the country. They want to be the masters of their own country. Therefore, the Europeans who are there will be advisers to them. Even I myself have Italian advisers in the President's Office. I have British advisers. I have Germans; I have Americans; I have people from all over the world—from Asia, the Arab countries, Latin America—who are working with me.

142. It is very important that you, the representatives, tell your countrymen, and I want you to tell them and I shall myself also be touring many parts of the world.

I want to see that many people are recruited, as has already been mentioned by my representative. I want to get the newly independent African countries doctors, engineers, teachers, electricians, mining engineers and so forth to help in developing those countries. We have so many rich natural resources. We have gold, and many do not have it.

143. Today Europe, and especially the United States of America and the Soviet Union, have the means to find minerals in the land by satellite. But in Africa we do not have the money to do that. We want assistance. Therefore, all the countries that have these means of finding minerals must assist Africa. I am speaking to you on behalf of all the States members of the OAU and not only Uganda.

144. You should not listen to any rumours. If you want to know exactly what is going on in any African country, go to see for yourself. Some people might be talking, bringing some misunderstandings, even rumours, that for instance, the relations between Somalia and Ethiopia are very bad. They are not bad at all. They are very good—excellent. People are enjoying themselves. I wanted to tell you this.

145. And also, if you wish to hear anything about Africa, the office of the OAU in Addis Ababa is open to you. We have a Secretary-General; we have myself as Chairman, and my office is open 24 hours a day. You can get any information you want to have. But you should not listen to any rumours. African problems will be solved by Africa. This is very important. We have also gone deeply into uniting the Africans and the Arabs, and this will be happening very soon now.

146. In just a few words, do not fear Africa; be very friendly to Africa; when you come to Africa, you must know that you are coming to talk with people who also have brains and who can be very friendly to you. In Africa today the people are aware and capable of doing anything that any human being in this world can do.

147. With those few points, I thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

148. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency the President of the Republic of Uganda for the statement he has just made and the statement he communicated to the General Assembly. We are aware of the importance of both.

*The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2340th meeting, para. 176.

<sup>2</sup> *Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2327th meeting, paras. 33-203.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2282nd meeting.