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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. STRACHAN (Grenada): Mr. President, let me first fulfil a pleasant duty on behalf of myself and the delegation of Grenada. We congratulate you, Sir, on your election to your high office. Your distinguished record of achievement highly qualifies you to guide the deliberations of this body and we are confident that in that office you will make a great contribution to the success of this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

2. We express our gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim. We are grateful to him and his country for his services. They are well noted, and cannot be forgotten.

3. We offer our special thanks to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his untiring efforts in the furtherance of the objectives of the United Nations.

4. Subscribing to the principle of universality of membership of the United Nations, Grenada welcomes the admission of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Zimbabwe to this Organization. We are happy to welcome Saint Vincent not only because, like Grenada, it is a member of the Caribbean community but particularly because it is our closest neighbour and shares with us ties of history, geography, culture and blood.

5. We particularly welcome Zimbabwe because of its heroic and historic struggle for freedom and independence. Zimbabwe has enjoyed our deep respect, admiration and firm support throughout the most difficult and trying period of its valiant and successful confrontation with racism and imperialism. Zimbabwe is the most recent testimony to the scientific fact that a united people fighting for freedom and social justice will always be victorious. We join the nations of the world in making a strong appeal for financial aid to help in the national reconstruction of Zimbabwe. Each new

nation will inevitably seek its own route to development, and certainly each of us has a fundamental responsibility to respect, deal with and maintain normal State-to-State relations with each other regardless of the ideological predisposition of the various State systems.

6. We in Grenada are revolutionaries; we are not dogmatists. We understand that change is a process requiring the scientific development of the objective and subjective factors. We favour the movement towards anti-imperialism, but we know, purely on the basis of scientific objectivity, that change cannot be achieved at one stroke. So, while we reserve the right to maintain the most cordial relations with political parties and States which share our ideological predispositions, we regard it as a serious and historic obligation to maintain and build normal State-to-State relations. Even so, we will always unhesitatingly denounce the development of Fascist tendencies and the murder of revolutionaries wherever they occur. We have resolutely denounced the Chilean Fascist régime and we have publicly supported, and will continue to support, those who seek to restore democracy to Chile. We will take the same position wherever else fascism rears its ugly head.

7. The pursuit of democratic progressive and anti-imperialist goals in Grenada requires of us a commitment to support the right of all peoples to be free and independent and to choose their direction on the basis of that reality. It is for this reason that we support the right to independence of all colonial territories in the Caribbean and elsewhere. Belize is of special concern. There are no barriers to the independence of that nation except the absurd claim by reactionary circles in Guatemala that Guatemala has a legal right to more than 75 per cent of the territory of that nation. That claim is repudiated by the vast majority of the people of Guatemala. There is no doubt that the reactionary elements in Guatemala could sustain that claim only with the support of imperialist interests. And now that the revolution is taking hold in Central America, they and their imperialist allies are increasingly reluctant to agree to the unconditional sovereignty of the people of Belize.

8. We States Members of the United Nations must take an international initiative to ensure the immediate and guaranteed independence of Belize. The ritual mentioning of our support for Belize in international forums is not enough. In collaboration with the people of Belize, we must set a date for independence and ensure the early decolonization of that Territory. Put it to the conscience of the world as it has never been put before: Belize must be free because the reality is that none of us is free until all of us are free. This is most evident in the Caribbean community, where the colonial Powers constantly claim the right to intervene on behalf of their colonies and in the process undermine the sovereignty of each of us.

9. It is our very firm view that lack of self-determination is the primary contradiction, the first item on the agenda for any colonial country. Until that question is resolved, no other matter affecting the external relations of such States should be settled.

10. It is the right of the people of Puerto Rico to achieve their independence. Let them have that right, and afterwards, if they so wish, they can look to the question of working out special relationships with other countries.

11. As far as the British colonies are concerned, there appears to be a fair prospect of their achieving independence within a reasonable time. However, there are colonies in our region, and the position of our Government remains firm, that independence is the right of all the peoples demanding it. That position cannot be compromised, particularly in relation to the Latin American-Caribbean region, which remains—and we say this with great indignation—the most colonized region in the world today.

12. The independence that we seek for our brother nations must be equal in all measures to the independence that we seek for ourselves. Like the vast majority of Members of the United Nations, we are convinced that the people of all territories which are not independent have the inalienable right to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity. We are convinced, too, that all nations have the inalienable right to exercise national sovereignty and to the absolute control of their wealth and natural resources, so as to be able to contribute to the development of their territories and the well-being of their inhabitants. And all of us must be prepared to assist in defending that right and to struggle against any attempts at destabilization and intervention. In our short experience of revolutionary transformation we have experienced varying forms of both.

13. From the very beginning we have faced the threat of military intervention from mercenaries who serve the cause of imperialism. Very early in our revolution we faced what might be called a diplomatic-economic intervention, when imperialist interests again threatened to ruin our tourist industry unless we abided by their dictates. Soon after, we had the experience of violent intervention, when local counter-revolutionary elements in alliance with Mafia and imperialist agents vainly sought to turn back our revolution by overt and covert intervention.

14. The imperialist rumour machine has been working overtime to discredit our efforts at economic, political and social reconstruction. We know, of course, that we are not the only object of imperialist attention. We have seen them try to belittle the Iranian revolution, to discredit the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions, to undermine the Kampuchean revolution, the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, Palestine, Namibia, Ethiopia and Angola, to name just a few. Sadly, this is only an early stage in the plans of imperialism to turn back the tide of revolution. For the pattern has been that when all those plans have failed, those same interventionist forces seek to assassinate the revolutionary leadership. We have experienced their wrath in the savage attack of 19 June, in which three young women were killed and 94 people wounded by a bomb manufactured under licence from imperialism. Those murderous plans of imperialism and its local counter-revolutionary agents and ter-

rorists to wipe out at one blow the revolutionary leadership in our country failed.

15. We in Grenada know that this will not stop now. We know that those elements will continue in their blind ambitions to reverse the will of the people. And we live by the dictum that those who make a revolution must be prepared to defend it.

16. The fact is that the vast majority of us who seek to introduce fundamental change have already faced such experiences and all of us are capable of facing them. None of us, however, can dare to condone any of these interventionist techniques. Indeed, we feel sure that we shall all condemn them as flagrant violations of the sovereign right of each nation to self-determination and independent development.

17. We regret the outbreak of hostilities between Iran and Iraq. Both societies are fuelled by a revolutionary dynamic that is fundamentally anti-imperialist, although each takes a different course. That reality was strikingly illustrated by the fact that, after the hated Shah was deposed, Iraq sponsored Iran for membership in the non-aligned movement. The achievement of a just and lasting peace, which ensures respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, is therefore our most fervent desire.

18. The past year has witnessed a great increase in Zionist arrogance, insults, insolence and racist oppression. Not only have the Zionists refused to abide by Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), not only have they refused to return the Palestinian lands illegally acquired in 1967, not only have they refused to bow to the demands of world public opinion but, even more, they have illegally acquired the whole of Jerusalem and they have sanctioned the murder, maiming, torture and general violation of the human rights of the people of Palestine.

19. We shall continue to support the right of the people of Palestine to their homeland. Grenada will always support the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the sole and authentic representative of the heroic Palestinian people and we are prepared to make whatever contribution we can to the just settlement of the problem of Israeli encroachment.

20. That pattern of encroachment is being followed by other racist States. In particular, South Africa, which daily brutalizes our black brothers and sisters using the cruel whip of *apartheid*, has taken to invading Angola and Mozambique in what it arrogantly describes as punitive raids. It is fanning the flames of a war that threatens to be genocidal in its dimensions. It would be most sensible of South Africa immediately to halt its external aggression and its internal repression, to take to heart the experiences of Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Kenya and others and to initiate a system of majority rule before the passions of racism drive the oppressed blacks of South Africa to a more painful and harrowing solution that will set the world on edge for generations to come.

21. South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and its stubborn refusal to heed the advice of even its staunchest allies demonstrate the irrationality of fascism at work. The South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] has

been internationally recognized as the only legitimate representative of the people of Namibia and no amount of imperialist or Fascist manoeuvring can change that fact. A people united in armed struggle cannot be defeated.

22. That dictum applies equally to the valiant and heroic people of El Salvador, where a military junta supported by the local oligarchy and imperialism has been engaged in a genocidal war, in the mistaken belief that they can defeat the people.

23. With imperialist military and financial support, the final day of victory will be delayed but the people can never be defeated. In this forum we wish to declare our support for all our Latin American and Caribbean neighbours struggling for freedom and independence, including the people of Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay and Haiti.

24. The Fascist military *coup* in Bolivia is totally intolerable. Whatever the extent of the present repression, whatever the price of freedom, the people of Bolivia—the inheritors of the name of the great liberator, Simón Bolívar—will, through their own efforts and with the public moral support of the people of Grenada and all other peace-loving people, gain their freedom.

25. From our own experiences and from the lessons of history we know that revolution cannot be forced, created or exported. We know that the objective and subjective factors must merge. Equally, we see each day the balance of forces moving in the direction of revolutionary transformation and we have the fullest confidence that history is on the side of the people because the days of oligarchy, feudalism and fascism are numbered. We continue resolutely to condemn the criminal Pol Pot gang, which murdered millions of Kampucheans. We wish to restate our view that the Pol Pot gang has no right to a place in this Assembly.

26. Turning to Korea, Grenada wishes to restate its position that peace and stability will continue to be unattainable if reunification is not achieved.

27. On the question of Cyprus, Grenada will follow closely the intercommunal talks held under the aegis of the Secretary-General. It is our hope that progress will be made during these talks with a view to finding a just and durable solution that will guarantee the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Cyprus and respect its policy of non-alignment.

28. Grenada is a non-aligned country, free of any commitment to any military bloc and anxious to live in a world free of the threat of war. That threat of war looms larger and larger as those who control nuclear weapons for oppressive and exploitative purposes and the means to deliver them throughout the world put petty issues of local political import above and beyond the primary issue of world peace. This, in part, in our understanding, is why reactionary forces in the United States of America are refusing to support ratification of SALT II,¹ thus threatening world peace and security. We in the Caribbean do not have these terrible

weapons of war in our hands and we do not need them. But if we are to ensure that the Caribbean remains nuclear-free, we must maintain the call for a collective initiative to ensure that the Caribbean region is recognized as a zone of peace.

29. We call for the support of the United Nations in our attempt to get urgent Latin American and Caribbean action to achieve the following: first, prohibiting the introduction of nuclear weapons into the region; secondly, stopping all aggressive military manoeuvres in the region; thirdly, dismantling all foreign military bases that exist in our area; fourthly, ending the colonization of all territories, once and for all; and, fifthly, establishing machinery to deal with all forms of aggression, including assassinations, mercenary invasions, propaganda intervention and diplomatic and economic aggression.

30. This is a far-reaching initiative that will involve all of us in many problems of definition. But, of course, that is no reason for attempting to avoid the tasks involved. The success of such an initiative would make its mark on generations yet unborn and make a deserving contribution to the attainment of the elusive goal of world peace.

31. The peace of the world is also seriously threatened by the pauperization of more than half of mankind and the acquisitive enrichment of a segment of the citizens of the industrialized world.

32. We are on the verge of concluding a reasonable treaty on the law of the sea that will, we hope, make at least a modest contribution to rectifying the dangerous maldistribution of the world's resources. We support the view that the resources of the seas and oceans should be utilized for the benefit of all the world's peoples. We reject any suggestion that profit-seeking multinational corporations should be allowed free access to the exploitation of these resources. Some mechanisms and institutional arrangements must be implemented to ensure that the interests and basic needs of developing countries are protected. But the piecemeal tackling of these urgent problems will not solve the great divisions between North and South. We need a comprehensive new international economic order.

33. In recent years every single report of the developed economies has stated that the world economic situation is grim. Usually these same reports predict a gloomy future for the developing world. These reports say that development prospects for the world's poorer nations are practically zero.

34. When we look at any of the widely used economic indices, what do we find? We find, for example, that poor developing States suffer from much higher rates of inflation. Recent reports indicate that inflation rates in non-oil-producing developing countries averaged 29.4 per cent in 1979 with even higher rates predicted for 1980. The comparable statistics for the advanced industrial States is reported at just under 10 per cent for both years.

35. Certainly a plan of action for structuring the world economy is an absolute necessity. But plans must not remain mere documents. Plans must be implemented. They must be concretized and serious attempts must be made to ensure speedy and successful implementation. And, further, implementation of plans require genuine commitment on the part

¹ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

of those countries committed to world economic development. But what do we find? We find that in spite of statements of commitment and plans for implementation there has been very little progress towards achieving the goal of a new international economic order. According to the Secretary-General's report, "in some crucial fields, including money and finance, protection of the purchasing power of developing countries' exports, access to markets, the process of change, if any, is at an early stage".

36. For us poor countries, accumulation is a serious issue. As colonies, our ability to accumulate resources in order to create conditions for our development was seriously constrained. Foreign ownership and control of our key resources and massive transfers of resources to finance development in the advanced countries ensured that possibilities for economic transformation were limited.

37. A paragraph on page 5 of the World Economic Outlook: A Survey by the Staff of the International Monetary Fund of May 1980, offers us cold comfort:

"In any case, the availability of resources to support developmental expenditures in the non-oil developing countries will tend to be squeezed in the period ahead. Maintenance of domestic savings will be difficult or impossible in the face of very high rates of increase in consumer prices, and the real value of funds borrowed or received through grants from abroad will be impaired by the rise in import prices. Even if substantially larger nominal amounts can be borrowed, the recent and prospective deterioration in the terms of trade of the non-oil developing countries means that a larger volume of domestic output must be used to obtain a given real inflow of imported goods and services."

38. Finance plays a critical role in the development process. For developing countries, external financial assistance is extremely important, but we must remember that economic backwardness cannot be eradicated simply by attracting foreign capital. Historically, foreign monopolies operating in developing countries have extracted and exported large profits. Rather than promote development, transnational corporations have generated conditions for increasing the impoverishment of poor countries.

39. Official development assistance or aid to poor countries has been recorded as a dismal failure. The developed countries have failed miserably to achieve a limited aid target of 0.7 per cent of their gross domestic product.

40. We know that developing countries cannot generate economic and social progress for their peoples without funds from outside. It is imperative, however, that there be a radical change in the terms and conditions under which external financing is obtained. Whether funds are from Government-to-Government programmes, international financial institutions or private investment sources, the terms and conditions under which they are granted are extremely important; and we strongly support the view that such funds must be allocated in such a way as to guarantee the economic advancement of the developing world.

41. We echo the numerous calls being made in various international forums for democratization of "international"

financial agencies like IMF. Lending conditions and related economic prescriptions emanating from these institutions must be more sensitive to the needs of the world's poor and materially dispossessed.

42. Primary commodity production continues to be the main source of foreign exchange earnings, employment creation and income generation in the developing world. So far the implementation of policies to strengthen and stabilize primary commodity prices and markets has been limited. Although in operation, the IMF compensatory financing facility requires significant modifications to satisfy the needs of developing countries; for example, use of the IMF facility is based on a country's IMF quota rather than its financial needs or revenue shortfall. The repayment period under the IMF compensatory financing facility is three to five years, whereas the gestation period for primary products in most developing countries is five to seven years. Therefore it is our view that the repayment schedule of institutions like the IMF should be extended to a period of not less than 10 years. With this and other international finance issues in mind, we support the Arusha initiative² and join the call for a United Nations conference on international money and finance.

43. Economic co-operation among developing States is an area of great concern to us. As colonies and former colonies they had a particular form of integration in the international division of labour. Historically, this has had negative consequences. While some countries provided the sugar, others provided nutmegs and others still provided cocoa or coffee, in the final analysis all developing States imported the finished products from the head office or colonizing country. We had everything to lose, nothing to gain.

44. It is precisely because of that historical experience that we support the deepening of "South-South" discussions, not as a replacement for North-South dialogue but to strengthen our negotiating position. More specifically, we urge the implementation of the Arusha programme of collective self-reliance.³ In this context, we must ensure that genuine economic co-operation takes place not only in international trade but also, to a greater extent, in production ventures, marketing and transportation arrangements and financial mobilization. All this must be seen as part of a strategy for eliminating dependence on imperialism and participating in a world economy in conditions which would develop rather than underdevelop our national economies.

45. In this respect, we welcome the establishment of the joint Venezuela-Mexico oil facility for Latin American and Caribbean countries. This demonstrates a concrete manifestation of South-South co-operation.

46. As we say this, we reiterate our fundamental concern for the needs of particularly disadvantaged countries. We recognize that such countries cannot create the conditions for economic transformation without significant assistance. We agree with the Brandt report's recommendation that "there must be immediate intervention to attack the root

² See document A/S-11/AC.1/2, annex.

³ *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), annex VI.

causes of poverty”⁴ and again we call for speedy and meaningful implementation of those policies.

47. When our Prime Minister spoke here last year he stressed our desire for “a new system of international interdependence, based on mutual respect for sovereignty and a collective will to put an end to imperialist machinations designed to disrupt our unity and purpose”.⁵ Our peoples want to establish truly equal and mutually beneficial international co-operation. In this sense, therefore, we support proposals for increased economic co-operation among countries with different economic and social systems.

48. In conclusion, I should like to stress that, although the causes for concern hold sway over considerations of a comforting and encouraging nature, we are neither discouraged nor pessimistic. Our concerns simply reflect the reality of the millions of the deprived and under-privileged in the third world; our concerns also reflect our firm determination to contribute fully to the solution of the problems we face, matched by our commitment to non-alignment. We are confident that, as the struggle continues, it will find assured victory.

49. Mr. BOLE (Fiji): Mr. President, on behalf of the Government and people of Fiji, my delegation would like to join with other delegations that have already spoken in congratulating you very warmly and sincerely on your election as President of this body. Your election as President of the General Assembly during this its thirty-fifth session is a reflection of the very high regard in which representatives hold you personally and, equally important, of the deep commitment of your Government and your people to the continued observance of the high ideals of the United Nations. My delegation wishes to express its fully support to you in your task, which we know is not an easy one.

50. Fiji also wishes to put on record its gratitude for and warm appreciation of the excellent and constructive leadership shown by the immediate past President of this Assembly, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. His record is a credit to himself and his country.

51. We wish to thank also the Secretary-General and his staff for their dedication and devotion to duty in their thankless job of translating the many resolutions of the United Nations into action.

52. Just over three weeks ago this community of nations welcomed to its ranks Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as its one hundred and fifty-fourth Member. The Fiji delegation, representing another island State, extends a very special welcome to the island State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. My delegation is certain that, with the admission of this island State to the world Organization, the needs of island economies—some of which are very fragile indeed—and the aspirations of their peoples will be given the support they richly deserve and the attention from this

world body that they have persistently sought. Fiji looks forward to working closely with Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and wishes it fruitful and beneficial interaction in this community of nations.

53. We also wish to acknowledge the achievement of independence by Vanuatu, a sister nation in the Pacific, on 30 July this year. The Fiji delegation notes the positive roles played by the administering Powers of this former condominium and the encouragement given by the South Pacific Forum countries and the United Nations in regard to the attainment of self-determination and ultimate independence by this country. Vanuatu, soon after independence, became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and, as another island State and a Pacific State, Fiji looks forward to the day when Vanuatu will take its rightful place in this world body.

54. Ten years ago today Fiji became independent after peaceful and constructive discussions with its then administering Power, the United Kingdom. The peaceful process of dialogue which led to the attainment of independence in Fiji on 10 October 1970 has continued to be the corner-stone of our independence and national life and the foundation upon which our relations with other nations are based. The tenth anniversary celebrations which the people of Fiji are holding today bear testimony to the democratic and peaceful process that has been the chief characteristic of our social, economic and political developments to date. Our abiding faith in the value of peace and peaceful and constructive dialogue in resolving problems is also the major motivation for our membership in this international community.

55. At the outset I should therefore like to reiterate Fiji's unequivocal commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and its hope for peace and security in the world.

56. This session is significant in the history of the United Nations as it marks the beginning of yet another decade in the continuing efforts of this Organization to provide a global framework for the maintenance of peace and security, for promoting respect for human rights and freedom and for improving the social and economic well-being of peoples the world over.

57. As we begin this new decade it will not be inappropriate, in the view of my delegation, for Member nations of this global body to remind themselves afresh of their obligations to maintain and uphold these aims and principles for which the United Nations was created 35 years ago. It is the view of the Fiji delegation that such a reminder cannot be over-emphasized and will not be misplaced in view of the threat to international, regional and local harmonious coexistence arising from ruthless expansionist policies which are insensitive and oblivious to the national pride, self-respect and feelings of peoples in small, weak and divided countries; the apparent relaxation of détente among super-Powers with its consequent adverse effects, implied and real, on global peace and stability; the current impasse in international and North-South economic relations—relations between the third world and the industrialized countries—because of the inability of both groups to arrive at a consensus; the lack of respect for international law, agreements and treaties that Member nations individually and/or collec-

⁴ *North-South: A program for survival*: report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, the MIT Press, 1980), p. 79.

⁵ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 27th meeting, para. 38.*

tively subscribe to as a basis for international relations; and the increasing proportion of the mass of humanity which is denied its birthright to life and its right to self-determination and independence because of political oppression, religious persecution, cultural subjugation and ideological intolerance.

58. Fiji believes that those are some of the key issues which at the beginning of the decade of the 1980s are threatening the work and the very existence of the United Nations.

59. Fiji is a small independent country in the South Pacific which is proud of its tradition of harmonious multiracial living, orderly socio-economic development, stable political evolution and peaceful coexistence with its neighbours. But as a part of an increasingly integrated and interdependent world community, Fiji views with the greatest concern the continuing escalation of unresolved conflicts in many parts of the world.

60. The situation in the Middle East, for instance, remains one of our dominant concerns, primarily because of its implications for international peace and security and the economic future of the world. The search for a just and lasting peace in the area has continued for several years now. This year, there was the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of Palestine. Efforts have also been made to revive the stalled talks on the issue of Palestinian rights. A noteworthy initiative has been undertaken by the European Community, which sent an exploratory mission to all the parties this year, in an effort through dialogue to promote peace in the region. While the prospects for an immediate solution appear uncertain, there is no doubt that the question of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East conflict.

61. A negotiated settlement, in the view of my delegation, could be based on the following principles: Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied since 1967; recognition by the parties concerned of each other's legitimate concerns, including the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a homeland and acceptance of Israel's security needs; and the involvement of PLO in negotiations leading to the self-determination of the Palestinian people.

62. We further believe that all actions that discourage the attainment of a just solution through a process of dialogue and consultation must be abandoned. In this regard, the deliberate policy of creating settlements in occupied Arab territories and the unilateral decision by Israel to change the character and status of Jerusalem create serious impediments to the peace process in the Middle East. However, we remain convinced that, given goodwill and understanding on all sides, an amicable solution can be found for the complex Middle East question.

63. The course of events in the Middle East continues to affect the situation in Lebanon, a small country whose peaceful and secure existence has been seriously compromised. To our deep regret, the practice of pre-emptive strikes and armed activities has continued. For normalcy to return to the area, it is imperative that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon be scrupulously respected. It is because of Fiji's abiding commitment to the principles of the Charter concerning international

peace and security that we have decided to participate in the United Nations peace-keeping operations in southern Lebanon. Our involvement also stems from our belief that, while peace-keeping is no substitute for peace-making, they are not mutually exclusive. Moreover, in the case of UNIFIL, there is wide agreement that it is performing an absolutely vital peace-keeping function. It is therefore crucial that there be co-operation from all sides, so as to permit UNIFIL fully to discharge its mandate.

64. It is indeed regrettable that, despite the fact that peace-keeping operations like UNIFIL have proved their usefulness, their financial situation remains precarious. We fully concur with the following observations made by the Secretary-General in his report to the Assembly on the work of the Organization:

"This situation places a heavy burden on the troop-contributing countries which, if allowed to continue, may adversely affect the future of such operations." [A/35/1, sect. II.]

The troop-contributing countries, and particularly developing countries such as mine, continue to suffer from the failure of some to share the financial burden of peace-keeping. Since the maintenance of international peace and security is a collective responsibility, we hope that all will fulfil their financial obligations in this regard.

65. Moreover, my delegation recalls that the General Assembly, in its resolution 34/166, requested a United Nations study this year on "the existing standard rates of reimbursement, with a view to ensuring an equitable rate of reimbursement to the Governments of troop-contributing States". My delegation looks forward to that important report. We further hope that this Assembly will be able to take action that will provide for more regular and fairer rates of reimbursement to the troop contributors. Failure to act could mean continued absorption by the troop-contributing countries of escalating costs for the maintenance of their national contingents on United Nations peace-keeping assignments.

66. The conflicts in Indo-China and West Asia remain unresolved. Despite efforts to defuse the situations in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, no political solution acceptable to the parties directly concerned has emerged. Because of the serious implications of these conflicts for peace and security, and for humanitarian considerations regarding the plight of the refugees, urgent solutions are necessary. It is therefore our very earnest hope that General Assembly resolution 34/22, in respect of the situation in Kampuchea, will be expeditiously implemented, with the co-operation of the parties concerned.

67. In the case of Afghanistan, we remain convinced that General Assembly resolution ES-6/2 provides the basis for a satisfactory solution. Even though various efforts to resolve the crisis have not yet yielded results, it is crucial that a search for a negotiated settlement should continue.

68. My delegation supports the implementation of these resolutions essentially because they provide for the withdrawal of foreign forces, which in turn could facilitate the act of self-determination by the peoples concerned. We

firmly believe that it is for the people themselves to decide their own future without any external interference in any form.

69. A problem which faces the United Nations each year, and which is not dissimilar to the problems in South-East and West Asia that I have just alluded to, is the question of decolonization.

70. Many members who have spoken from this rostrum have drawn our attention to the commemoration this year of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*].

71. While we welcome the independence attained by many countries since 1960, we are nevertheless aware of the plight of the many that are still seeking to control their own destiny, including those in Africa, the Caribbean and, indeed, our part of the world.

72. My delegation supports the inalienable right of all colonial peoples to exercise self-determination in accordance with the important principles that are enunciated in the Charter and in resolution 1514 (XV). Having attained our own independence in 1970, and following our accession to membership of this Organization and of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we have been guided by those principles in our approach to various cases of decolonization. Mindful of the fact that the Charter recognizes the well-being and interests of the colonial peoples as paramount, we fully subscribe to the view that it is for the people themselves freely to choose their own destiny. We would therefore monitor closely the positive assurances from those concerned that they will be guided by the wishes of the people as regards their future. For we remain convinced that no self-centred interests or narrow considerations, such as those based on race, creed or colour, should be allowed to impede the decolonization process.

73. Concerning the international Territory of Namibia, we note that the prolonged search for an internationally acceptable solution has not yet resulted in Namibia's freedom. It is indeed regrettable that the carefully devised United Nations plan for the peaceful decolonization of Namibia remains unimplemented because of the continuing intransigence of South Africa. My delegation earnestly hopes that South Africa will speedily end its illegal occupation of the Territory and accept a solution based on the important principles outlined in Security Council resolution 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) which, in brief, entail the acquisition of genuine majority rule by the Namibian people based on free and fair elections to be held under the auspices of the United Nations. Moreover, SWAPO should continue to participate fully in the processes leading to independence. Such steps should bring to fruition the attainment of the peaceful solution that the people of Namibia fully deserve and have long been denied.

74. As for South Africa itself, the abhorrent practice of *apartheid* and racial discrimination remains the concern of the international community. Repression should give way to

genuine changes aimed at majority rule and the full realization of the principles of human rights.

75. Addressing the General Assembly in 1976,⁶ my Prime Minister said that the practice of "*apartheid* is anathema to us". We continue to subscribe fully to that position. We remain convinced that in multi-racial and multi-cultural societies all can share, without any distinctions, the fruits of progress, peace and prosperity. Our own experience in Fiji—as indeed experience elsewhere—has shown that that is possible.

76. On the question of human rights, my country is fortified by our election to membership of the Commission on Human Rights, with effect from next year. It is our intention to honour the trust placed in us by the world community through a constructive contribution to the deliberations of the Commission.

77. Although great progress has already been made in the field of human rights, the efforts of the international community are being continuously tarnished by human-rights violations in many parts of the globe. Political persecution, racial discrimination, torture and arbitrary sentences are still a painful reality today. It is extremely important to understand that in the final analysis individual human rights must rest on the foundation of collective human rights. National liberation and self-determination create the framework for the latter, and only after they have been achieved can one think of ensuring human rights for individuals.

78. My delegation believes that concrete and effective measures should be urgently adopted by this Organization in order to meet and fulfil its obligations in the human-rights field by seeing to it that those who on various pretexts have pushed waves of refugees across their national borders or out to sea show more moderation and responsibility. Whether in Africa, Asia, the Middle East or elsewhere, these refugees suffer the most inhuman treatment. My delegation appeals to this Assembly to support the efforts of the United Nations and other organizations to relieve the misery of these fellow men. We sincerely hope that the inscription on this session's agenda of the item entitled "International co-operation to avert new flows of refugees" [*item 122*] will bring us closer to a solution of the refugee question.

79. We remind this Organization again that stability of newly gained freedom is essential for ensuring socio-economic development and for widening and deepening the ambit of human rights. That needs to be properly institutionalized, for only then will there be a safeguard against their possible abuse or suppression, or even total eclipse.

80. We in Fiji are very concerned about our society because it is multiracial, multireligious and multicultural, and in such a society great care and sensitivity are needed to ensure that no segment of the society is deprived in any way. The dignity of man expressed through the equality of all is what we believe in.

81. The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, held at Copenhagen last July, is only one of the many facets of our international efforts towards the achieve-

⁶ *Ibid.*, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 25th meeting, para. 72.

ment of equality for all in the field of human rights. Although the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the United Nations Decade for Women⁷ was not adopted by consensus, my delegation is of the opinion that the document contains frameworks which are acceptable to all and within which Governments and organizations can successfully pursue the aims and objectives of the Decade. This, together with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, adopted by the General Assembly last year [*resolution 34/180, annex*], must now form the basis of our efforts towards the advancement of women, who after all constitute half of mankind.

82. The progress we have made in Fiji on the general question of human rights and respect for others and its consequence in bringing about harmony and peace can perhaps be summed up in the following passage taken from my Prime Minister's address this morning to the people of Fiji on the occasion of our national independence day:

"We have been fortunate in Fiji. We have enjoyed peace. We have made progress, and there is stability in our country. Our endeavour for the future is to maintain this stability. Our aim is to establish in our country a truly multiracial society where the welfare of all is our collective concern.

"Given the tolerance and goodwill and the hard work and dedication through which we have been blessed with peace, progress and stability, I believe there is great promise for our country in the future. As we look to the next decade of our development, let us remember that our greatest contribution to our country and to the world at large is to maintain a united and harmonious multiracial society."

83. Many speakers who have preceded me have spoken of the current trends in the world economy and the grave economic problems facing the international community today. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly, which ended recently, focused on the realization by the international community of the urgent need to establish the New International Economic Order. A significant part of that economic restructuring process envisages emphasis on the development of the small, less endowed, geographically handicapped and poor nations of the world. My delegation is pleased that a consensus has been reached on the question of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*A/35/464*]. We hope that the text will be adopted and the recommendations in it expeditiously implemented. We are, however, disappointed that the special session failed to reach a consensus on the global round of negotiations, but we hope that the preparation for the global round will be finalized during the current session.

84. The international community is mindful of the interdependence of the economies of our nations. It has also shown through many resolutions adopted within the United Nations system that it is fully aware of the economic plight of island developing countries like my own. In our statement to the recently concluded special session on the New Interna-

tional Economic Order,⁸ we emphasized the problems of high inflation, the increasing cost of energy fuel and protectionism. We shall not repeat that here. What is needed is not repeated declarations and resolutions on avowed intentions, but a genuine and honest political will to assist those nations in need.

85. However, my delegation has always emphasized its views on trade as the vehicle for economic growth. Most island developing States like Fiji are faced with limited resources, small domestic markets, heavy dependence on imports and high transportation costs. Having made that point, I must say that we have, in the course of our decade of independence, assumed full responsibility in resolving that problem.

86. We believe that equitable terms of trade with developed and developing countries constitute the best form of aid. We are convinced that the best form of assistance that countries can give us is the provision of assured markets for our exports.

87. We have therefore been encouraged by the positive response demonstrated by the industrialized European Economic Community [*EEC*] countries in their improved economic relations with the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries and in their willingness to give guaranteed access for an assured quota of our sugar to their markets at guaranteed prices. We are grateful to the EEC for the substantial aid and technical assistance given to us under the Lomé II Convention.⁹ We are also appreciative of the positive steps taken towards regional trade agreements and economic co-operation among South Pacific countries providing for duty-free and unrestricted entry of a wide range of products on a non-reciprocal basis. My delegation is pleased at the noteworthy progress made in UNCTAD, where agreement has finally been reached on establishing a Common Fund for Commodities.¹⁰

88. The island States in the South Pacific have their own regional identity in the South Pacific Forum. The member States of the Forum have come a long way, since its inception in 1971, in their desire for increased mutual co-operation among themselves. At regular meetings, the South Pacific countries have come to grips with such problems as assisting member countries in providing for their needs in economic assistance, specialist skills, manpower, technical co-operation, regional shipping and fishing. Indeed, the South Pacific Forum is regarded as a respected international organization fully consistent with the Pacific tradition of mutual help and self-reliance and also in keeping with the United Nations concept of increased co-operation among developing countries.

89. Earlier in this address I mentioned that a major cause for concern in the world today is the lessening of détente resulting from the lack of respect for international law, agreements and treaties, to which Member nations subscribe, some individually, some collectively, as a basis for

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 16th meeting.

⁹ Second ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed at Lomé on 31 October 1979. See *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

¹⁰ Document TD/IPC/CF/CONF/24.

⁷ *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14-30 July 1980* (United Nations publication, Sales No.E.80.IV.3), chap. I, sect. A.

peace and harmonious international relations. In that connection allow me to make some brief comments on the topic of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific, in the context of general and complete disarmament.

90. At its thirtieth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3477 (XXX) endorsing the idea of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific. In inviting the countries of the region to carry on consultations about ways and means of achieving this objective, the resolution also expressed the hope that all States, in particular the nuclear-weapon States, would co-operate fully in achieving the objective of a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific.

91. Whilst the heads of Government of the independent or self-governing States of the South Pacific Forum have issued various communiqués since the adoption of resolution 3477 (XXX), reiterating the importance of keeping the South Pacific region free from the risk of nuclear contamination and of involvement in a nuclear conflict, the co-operation they had hoped to receive from nuclear-weapon States of the region has not been forthcoming.

92. Encouraging progress has been made in the declaration and the establishment of nuclear-free zones in the Indian Ocean, the Middle East and South Asia, as well as in the denuclearization of Africa and Latin America. Sadly, the largest and, from its name, supposedly the most peaceful of oceans remains the hub of nuclear testing and related nuclear activities. We therefore call on the States concerned to refrain from any action contrary to the objective of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific and urge them to enter into dialogue and negotiations with the States of the region for the achievement of these objectives. Everyone recognizes that the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Pacific would contribute not only to the security of our region but, more important, to the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and would bring us a step closer to the goal of general and complete disarmament.

93. The numerous appeals by the General Assembly in its equally numerous past resolutions for an end to all nuclear-weapon tests in all environments must be heeded and heeded by all. In the present international climate, in which nearly all our disarmament negotiation efforts have reached an impasse, the call for the cessation of all nuclear testing and of the nuclear arms race is even more imperative than ever before. The highest priority must be accorded to the adoption of effective measures towards nuclear disarmament and the conclusion of an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

94. A necessary corollary to the Pacific island nations' call for the cessation of all nuclear testing in the region is our protest at the dumping of nuclear waste in our waters and on our islands. In July this year the heads of Government of the South Pacific Forum in their meeting in Kiribati unanimously adopted a resolution condemning any action that represents further exploitation of the Pacific for nuclear purposes to the disadvantage of the people of the Pacific. That was a follow-up to a similar resolution adopted at the previous year's meeting regarding the storage in the Pacific of spent nuclear fuel. While we note in that regard the assurances by the States concerned of the high safety stand-

ards laid down for those projects and the minimal threat they pose or will pose to our people, experiences elsewhere remind us that accidents have occurred and are bound to occur. In any case my delegation is not convinced that there exists at the present time any nuclear storage system that can provide an absolute guarantee against accidents as well as against future seepage.

95. The question of global disarmament remains the most basic and is of immediate concern to this world body, whose very foundations appear threatened not only by the stalemate reached in both multilateral and bilateral negotiations towards agreement on general and complete disarmament but also and even more by the increase in the military budgets of all major Powers, which aggravates further the constantly spiralling arms race. Even previous calls for the freezing and reduction of military budgets, including the one issued last year by the General Assembly in resolution 34/83F, which was adopted without a vote, appear—in the light of the major Powers' military budgets for the coming year—to represent mere drafting exercises. Perhaps the General Assembly's decision in resolution 34/75 last December to declare the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade is indicative of the rate of progress we have achieved so far in this area.

96. The World Disarmament Conference envisaged to take place after the second session on disarmament would, in my delegation's view, be the most appropriate forum, in which all the peoples and nations of the world should participate, for everyone to make an all-out concerted effort at reaching some consensus on ways and means of achieving our goals. For such a conference to be effective, it requires the political will and participation of all nuclear-weapon Powers. For such a conference to have any meaningful effect it must be convened at the earliest possible time.

97. Why, it may well be asked, is the issue of the urgency of global negotiations on disarmament raised by one of the smallest Member nations? For a variety of reasons. In addressing the General Assembly 10 years ago on Fiji's admission into the United Nations, our Prime Minister said¹¹ that Fiji's remarks on world affairs and events were made with an appreciation of our isolated geographical location, which in turn gave us a perspective different from that of many nations closer to the pulse of international affairs. For that very reason alone, and given the endless search for alternative avenues and ways and means of achieving any progress in many of our international strivings, it may be worth our while to take some of the views expressed by small and medium-sized countries into consideration. Fiji sees the impasse reached in many of our disarmament negotiations as not only dangerous for our immediate future but equally undesirable, given the latest regional conflicts in South-East and South-West Asia as well as in the Middle East.

98. A further reason why my small country has seen fit to comment on global disarmament is our over-all responsibility to the world community. The question of disarmament is, in my delegation's view, not a matter for the major Powers alone. It is a problem that affects each and every

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1876th meeting, para. 208.

member of the international community, touching not only on their security interests, but also on their very survival. It would be irresponsible on our part, as it is on the part of other small countries, to remain silent or indifferent on the issue of disarmament. Super-Powers and the other major Powers cannot arrogate to themselves the role of custodian of the fate of mankind at a time when its future and its very survival are at stake.

99. My delegation is mindful and appreciative of the untiring work of the Committee on Disarmament in this area. Its report [A/35/27], setting out the various stages the negotiations have reached concerning the elements of a comprehensive programme on disarmament, and its recommendations should form the basis of our future efforts. In this connection, the report of the Disarmament Commission [A/35/42] to be placed before this session and incorporating the report of the Committee on Disarmament, should again emphasize the need for our efforts to be co-ordinated and concerted and to receive serious consideration by the General Assembly.

100. The second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, held at Geneva from 11 August to 7 September this year, noted that "considerable progress" had been made in some key areas on peaceful uses of nuclear energy. But again we note with deep concern the inability of the Conference to reach an agreement on issues pertaining to nuclear non-proliferation, disarmament and international peace and security. This again underscores the urgency of the call my delegation and those that have preceded me make to the major Powers to co-operate fully with the negotiating processes aimed at establishing peace and security.

101. If there is a ray of hope about what political will and co-operation between nations can do, a hope that so far has eluded the world community in our efforts to reach agreements in areas of global disarmament and in the last special session concerning the global round of negotiations to launch the New International Economic Order, it is to be seen in the success achieved at the recently concluded ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea at Geneva. The hard-core issues which had plagued the Conference over the years and which now have happily been resolved amply illustrate one fundamental fact, namely, that the international community can arrive at a consensus in any areas of international endeavour if there exists a genuine will and determination to do so.

102. The draft convention that has emerged¹² and that is to establish a new order to govern the ocean space based on international social justice is of particular importance to the small island countries and territories of the Pacific which rely to a very great extent on the resources of the sea for their daily needs. For archipelagic States like Fiji, it is particularly gratifying to note that the concept of an archipelagic régime is firmly entrenched in the draft treaty and has now won universal acceptance.

103. Mention of this major achievement leads me to refer to our added apprehension about our vast ocean areas. We have already alluded to the danger that nuclear testing and

the dumping of nuclear wastes in our ocean poses for our people. Coupled with this is the very real danger and the magnitude of damage that such nuclear spillage and seepage can cause for our environment, especially for our marine resources. Whilst nuclear testing and dumping are carried out outside our territorial waters and economic zones, that does not prevent the adverse consequences from flowing into our areas and affecting our marine life. It does not prevent highly migratory species of fish, like tuna, which are affected by nuclear activities, from moving from testing and dumping areas to ours where they are harvested. We highlight these points, if only to dramatize the over-all undesirability of nuclear testing and dumping of nuclear wastes that are carried out in our region.

104. The main theme of what we have said is the peace and security of this world. Without it there is little hope for mankind, as indeed peace is necessary as a precondition for the fulfilment of our hopes for a better world.

105. Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas): Mr. President, I should like first of all, on behalf of the Bahamas Government and its people, to congratulate you on your election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your distinguished record of achievement eminently qualifies you to guide the deliberations of this body. I wish you every success in your high office and can assure you, Sir, of my delegation's full co-operation.

106. I am further pleased to have this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, who through quiet diplomacy and expert skill guided the work of the past session in an admirable and efficient manner.

107. I wish also to take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation to the distinguished and indefatigable Secretary-General and his staff for their devotion to duty and loyalty to the Organization. They have our full support in their endeavour to execute the decisions and resolutions of the Organization.

108. Believing firmly in the principle of universality of membership of the United Nations, my delegation warmly welcomes Zimbabwe and the sister Caribbean nation Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to membership of this Organization. We wish to congratulate those two Commonwealth nations on their independence and their emergence into the community of free and sovereign States.

109. In 1973, when the Bahamas became a Member of the United Nations, we gave some indication of how we perceived the international situation and the problems confronting the world community. We also expressed our confidence in the United Nations as a global mechanism for the resolution of international problems. However, today, seven years later, we are obliged to acknowledge that many of those problems are still with us. Indeed, in some instances they have worsened and in others given rise to new problems. We wish therefore, in addition to restating the principles of our foreign policy, to give an assessment of the international situation and to consider how best our United Nations can overcome the problems confronting it and find lasting peaceful solutions to them.

¹² Document A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev.3 and Corr.1 and 3.

110. The foundation of our foreign policy, like that of other States, is the preservation of our national sovereignty and identity as a free and democratic society of which human values and respect for individual freedom are unchallenged ingredients. As a nation, it is our goal to help to create an international environment in which all people may live in a similar state in peace and freedom under the rule of law. Specifically, some foreign-policy guidelines of the Bahamas are: first, that the Bahamas will pursue a course of peace with its neighbours and with all like-minded nations; secondly, that the Bahamas will support the right of all colonial peoples to self-determination and independence; thirdly, that the Bahamas will oppose the political interference of one State in another State's internal affairs; and, fourthly, that the Bahamas will work for a more equitable and stable world economic order.

111. In pursuing these goals we regard our membership in the United Nations as a corner-stone of Bahamian foreign policy, and we see the world Organization as a unique vehicle for bringing us closer to the ultimate goal—that is, a world at peace based on greater respect for the individual and his fundamental needs.

112. International society is extremely heterogeneous. It consists of a wide range of cultures, traditions, races, religions and ideologies. In view of this diversity it is evident that only global co-operation can create the conditions of stability and peace that are necessary for ensuring economic and social progress for all mankind.

113. In this connection, the Bahamas continues to regard the United Nations as an indispensable instrument for co-operation at the international level. However, in reflecting on the course of developments in recent years we must conclude that progress and a constructive approach to global problems are possible only if Member States move from confrontation to meaningful dialogue and from dialogue to consensus and implementation. For too long fundamental political and economic issues have remained unresolved, shifting about in a sea of rhetoric. Much has been said about strengthening the role of the United Nations. Yet we fail to accept the reality that such strengthening can come about only through the exercise of sincere political will by the Member States. It depends on their willingness to subordinate certain national ambitions and short-term interests to selfless interests and the common yearnings for peace.

114. Representing the Government of a developing nation, I am concerned over the state of the world and of the Organization. Indeed, the positive facts and developments are overshadowed by negative events and situations. The emergence of newly independent States contrasts starkly with aggression, war and occupation of States' territories by foreign Powers. Progress in the fight against inflation, and the prosperity in some parts of the world, are overshadowed by unemployment, inflation, persistent mass poverty and lack of advancement in achieving structural change in world economic relations. The relative stability in Europe and the absence of war in other regions have to be balanced against the uneasy stalemate and dangerous clashes in the Middle East, the senseless violence in southern Africa and the increased threat of nuclear proliferation.

115. It is against that back-drop that I wish to address myself to some of the key issues of the day which also happen to dominate the agenda of the thirty-fifth session.

116. The Bahamas remains firmly opposed to all forms of racial discrimination, wherever it exists. We condemn the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa, for it not only violates all our principles and ideals but poses a dangerous threat to international peace. Events over the last few years have demonstrated the growing frustration of the black population and the intransigence of the South African Government. In our view, for example, the bantustan policy, far from solving the problems posed by *apartheid*, is in fact a means of perpetuating it. In November 1977, by its resolution 418 (1977), the Security Council imposed a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa. The Bahamas not only welcomed that move but supported it whole-heartedly. Further, we support the call to States to cut their economic relations with the racist régime of South Africa. Members may rest assured that the Bahamas will do everything in its power to help to bring about a non-racial democratic government in South Africa.

117. The Government of the Bahamas firmly supports the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, independence and enjoyment of the fundamental rights stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

118. It is also our view that the people of Namibia should be able to exercise their inalienable rights in a democratic fashion under the supervision of the United Nations, and that all political groups, including SWAPO, should be able to participate.

119. Further, the Bahamas wishes to pay the highest tribute to the front-line States for the sacrifices in both human and economic terms which they have made and are still making concerning the deplorable situation in South Africa. While the Bahamas commends the efforts expended by the five Western Powers and the United Nations in bringing the issue to a point where optimism was warranted, we deplore the present foot-dragging of South Africa in this matter and warn that it would be irresponsible and dangerous for South Africa to continue to do nothing or to promote arrangements which would be internationally unacceptable.

120. For a number of years now the United Nations has been seized of the question of independence for Belize. The Government of the Bahamas affirms its support for the just aspirations of the people of Belize to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The Bahamas also supports Belize in its rejection of the suggestion that it cede part of its territory to Guatemala as the price of gaining its independence. We regard any such move as creating a dangerous precedent for States in the region. The Bahamas therefore calls on all parties, in keeping with General Assembly resolutions, to accelerate their negotiations with a view to achieving a just and workable settlement of the dispute and thereby allowing the people of Belize to exercise their inalienable rights.

121. Turning to the question of Cyprus, my delegation wishes to express its deep disappointment over the slow

progress which has been made in settling that problem. The basic position of the Bahamas Government is that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus must not only be maintained but safeguarded as well. The Bahamas believes that a settlement in Cyprus can be brought about only through negotiations between the parties. We therefore attach great importance to the intercommunal talks and urge resumption of discussions as quickly as possible. We further call upon all nations to condemn most strongly any outside interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

122. With regard to the Middle East it is disheartening to note that, after numerous hopeful starts, very little progress is being made towards an ultimately acceptable solution. The Bahamas has seldom expressed its opinion on the conditions it views as necessary for peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Today we are convinced, however, as a matter of principle, that any solution must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and on the following fundamental principles: first, the acquisition of territory by force is unacceptable; secondly, Israel must end its occupation of territories it has held since the 1967 war; thirdly, the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each State in the region must be respected as well as the right of the citizens of each State in the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; and fourthly, the establishment of a just and durable peace must take account of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

123. With regard to developments since the Camp David accords,¹³ the Bahamas is concerned over certain measures taken by the Government of Israel in the occupied territories. Those measures are contrary to the basic principles stated earlier and they constitute additional difficulties in the negotiations. The Bahamas Government therefore calls upon the parties to refrain from making any declarations or adopting legal, military, administrative or other measures which would constitute an obstacle to peace.

124. Similarly, the situations in Kampuchea and Afghanistan are of concern to the Bahamas in that the crises demonstrate an imposition of wills on small, independent States by foreign Powers through the use of force, in blatant violation of international law, thereby threatening international peace and security. The Government of the Bahamas strongly condemns armed intervention against those two countries by foreign Powers, in violation of principles enshrined in the Charter. The Bahamas consequently calls once again upon Member States, in particular those directly concerned, to adhere to the United Nations resolutions that seek to resolve those two situations.

125. I now turn to a consideration of the economic and social issues which are so vital to the welfare of our peoples. It should be recognized that the attainment of peace and security will continue to remain a distant goal unless the basic economic and social needs of mankind are fulfilled, at least to a reasonable degree.

126. As a developing State, we are becoming increasingly aware of the wide-ranging effects that the actions of other

States, particularly the industrialized and oil-producing States, have on our policy options. That is why it is so important for us to discuss economic and development issues effectively in this body. The Bahamas has watched and followed with keen interest the dialogue over proposals for a transformation of the structures of economic relations between developed and developing countries. My delegation must, however, register deep disappointment regarding the results which have emerged from discussions at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, at the sessions of UNCTAD, at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, in the Committee of the Whole and now, most recently, at the eleventh special session of the General Assembly.

127. The continuing world-wide economic stagnation may have made progress towards a new international economic order more difficult, but no less urgent. The developing countries have been affected even more severely than the industrialized countries. My delegation must again appeal for commitments which would extend beyond words and conferences towards the effective implementation of what has previously been agreed upon. Of essential importance here is the mobilization of political will by all parties. The developed countries should find ways of convincing their nationals of the moral imperative of assisting developing nations and also of the good economic sense of so doing. Developing countries, on the other hand, must renew their commitment to self-reliance and third world economic co-operation, correcting deficiencies and gaps in their national economies which only they can reasonably be expected to correct.

128. The Government of the Bahamas recognizes the incalculable benefits which have accrued to the people of the world as a result of the presence of the United Nations over the last 35 years. No other organization, State or grouping of States has been able to assist the economic well-being of so many for so long. Yet, despite those achievements, the United Nations and the specialized and intergovernmental agencies could improve on their performance. My delegation holds this opinion especially regarding the approach to the allocation of development and technical assistance taken by the various agencies.

129. The Bahamas wishes to reiterate what other small island developing countries have drawn attention to in this chamber; that is, that the quantum of assistance which is allocated to a country is largely determined by its gross national product per capita. That gives a completely unrealistic and inaccurate evaluation of a country's wealth and leads to the classification of a resource-poor country as wealthy and a resource-rich country as poor. Indeed, the net effect of the application of this criterion is the penalization of a given country with an artificially high gross national product per capita because of the existence of some anomaly in its economic structure, which, in the case of recently independent States, may be the result of bygone colonial economic policy.

130. The Bahamas contends that when the same approach is adopted in bilateral and other non-United Nations multi-lateral groups or agencies, it makes it very difficult for the lower or middle income State to receive help for its development projects. We do not mean in any sense that the major

¹³ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

thrust of aid efforts should not go to the least developed States. We do mean, however, that some attention should be given to preventive development assistance, to help those States about which I am speaking. We should not wait until all the efforts and assistance must be restorative. That can be achieved simply by taking into account, apart from the gross national product per capita, the size of the country, its potential for development, the human resources available and the nature of the specific problems confronting the country.

131. We are pleased to note that the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, which the General Assembly called for at its thirty-third session [resolution 33/148], will convene in August next year. In our opinion the energy issue is one of the most urgent among our global problems. The rich countries consume a disproportionate amount of the world's energy supply. Accordingly, it is primarily their responsibility to conserve energy, to promote intensified exploration and exploitation of conventional energy sources and to develop alternative sources. In those efforts the Government of the Bahamas will lend all the support it can possibly give.

132. Having touched upon only some of the issues confronting this body, I cannot help but think of the many other problems which likewise demand our attention. It is expected that at the outset we may have different proposals, different priorities and different approaches to problems, but it must be recognized that, to achieve progress, convergence and consensus must occur. We have to be realistic. We cannot continue to use inflated rhetoric. Action is badly needed if we are to keep public support for the United Nations.

133. Today more than ever the United Nations is necessary, even indispensable. It represents hope for many nations, especially for the small and the militarily weak. It is the supreme resort, the guardian of international law and a source of comfort and assistance.

134. We offer our undivided support to the General Assembly and to the Security Council, as well as to all other organs of the United Nations system. We support, too, measures which promote unified action and increase the effectiveness of the United Nations. To achieve these goals, the Bahamas urges Member States and the Secretariat to seek daily to define priorities better, to plan integrated programmes and to follow policies of reducing expenses and of conservative budgeting which should allow a greater proportion of the available resources to become available for projects that will be of particular benefit to developing nations.

135. For almost a decade now, the world community, through the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has been trying to devise a new legal régime for the oceans that will be fair to all countries. We are pleased to note the success achieved at the last part of the ninth session by the Conference in this endeavour which brings the work of the Conference nearer to the achievement of a universal and comprehensive treaty acceptable to all nations by consensus.

136. There can be no doubt as to the positive achievements of the Conference. Achievements such as the freedom of

navigation, the preservation of the marine environment and the conservation of fisheries benefit all nations, both developing and developed. The provisions of the draft treaty relevant to the legal régime of archipelagic States¹⁴ represent a far-reaching accomplishment, since for the first time the world community recognizes the legitimate aspirations of archipelagic States to be considered a unitary, political, historical and geographical category.

137. We look forward to the tenth session of the Conference, which, it is hoped, will be the final substantive session. We realize that there still remain some issues to be finalized, among them the delimitation of maritime boundaries. We hope that this issue will be resolved in a manner that is fair and just to all concerned.

138. In conclusion, let me state that we must never forget our goals and objectives. Despite the myriad problems and the weaknesses inherent in our Organization, the Charter binds us to certain basic principles which are as valid now as they were in 1945. Let us therefore pledge ourselves to assist in promoting the principle that conflicts, disputes and economic and social problems must be solved through constructive dialogue and peaceful negotiations and, most importantly, through the enforcement of realistic ways to eliminate injustice and reduce inequalities among the peoples of the world.

139. Mr. MROUDJAE (Comoros) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is for me a pleasurable task to congratulate you warmly on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your election to this responsible post is proof of the general esteem and respect that this Assembly has for you and also of our belief in your ability as an experienced diplomat to carry out this work and preside over our debates. It is also a tribute which the international community is paying to your country, the Federal Republic of Germany, with which many of us have excellent relations.

140. We would also extend our congratulations to your predecessor, our brother Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, for the firmness and wisdom with which he presided over the various sessions that have been held during this past year. His successful discharge of his functions did credit not only to his country, the United Republic of Tanzania, but also to Africa as a whole.

141. We would also express our appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose tireless work for peace and justice earns him our greatest respect.

142. We welcome to this great family of the United Nations Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and we assure it of our fraternal solidarity.

143. We also congratulate the Republic of Zimbabwe on its admission to this Organization and we hail its gallant people for their brilliant victory over colonialism and racial segregation—in a word, over injustice.

¹⁴ See document A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev.3 and Corr.1 and 3, part IV.

144. Lastly, we would express our great appreciation to the British Government, the former administering Power, for the considerable efforts it undertook to ensure that the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference, held in 1979 at Lancaster House in London, would lead to the results which now allow the people of Zimbabwe to make their own path towards progress and prosperity.

145. Once more history has demonstrated that our Organization can help to re-establish peace in the world, provided that we are truly inspired by goodwill and courage.

146. We have gathered here in New York once again to consider the progress made by mankind in working towards the objectives set by our Organization when it was established. Alas, we have to confess that the fruits of our efforts have not yet materialized. Of course, it is true that today Zimbabwe has regained its freedom and independence, but there are so many other crises throughout the world that are still without solution! There is the crisis of the world economy, there are crises in Africa, South-East Asia and the Middle East; there are many very distressing problems that require in-depth action on our part if we are to avoid another world catastrophe.

147. For many years now, the establishment of the new international economic order has been on our agenda. There is certainly no doubt but that this question does deserve our full attention, if we wish to break, once and for all, the vicious circle of underdevelopment and abject poverty.

148. The third world has fought for its independence and does not intend to lose it again in the face of the new challenges to it. Economic progress can no longer continue to be the preserve of a minority. We must take care and work to establish a world of equal partners based on the right of all nations and individuals to a life of dignity and decency. Attempts made to that end so far, in particular within UNCTAD and UNIDO, have suffered resounding defeats, for most of the developed countries have not yet agreed to revise their economic policy in respect of the third world. But it is in the interests of one and all of us to remedy this situation, for if recession and inflation persist, the growth rate of all countries, including the most developed, will continue to fall over the next decade.

149. Nevertheless, my delegation welcomes the special session that has just been held on problems of development by our General Assembly. Even though the eleventh special session did not live up to all our hopes, it nevertheless provided the basis for preparing the next round of global negotiations. It also enabled us to restate the urgent need for increasing aid to the least developed countries. However modest the consensus was, it should nevertheless be emphasized, because it is a point of departure for the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries to be held in 1981. We must make active preparations now for that Conference.

150. My delegation is glad to see the international community devoting more and more attention to the very acute specific problems of that category of countries, which includes the Comoros. The least developed countries, in addition to having the lowest gross national product per

capita in the world and a growth rate that is virtually zero, also face additional difficulties resulting from the very nature of those countries. This is the case with the Comoros, my country, which, because of the fact that it is an island, suffers from complete isolation and from excessive dependence on the international market. The situation is aggravated still further by an almost non-existent infrastructure as far as air and sea transport and telecommunications are concerned—areas where development requires tremendous financial investment.

151. Friendly countries, on a bilateral or regional basis or even multilateral, have agreed to provide us with assistance, and my Government is indeed appreciative of those offers. However, the fact remains that an even greater collective effort is required from the international community to support our development efforts. To that end, we believe, regional organizations must become increasingly active in this common endeavour.

152. The Organization of African Unity [OAU], for its part, has now decided to contribute to that effort. It has set up structures for economic co-operation and integration. The most recent initiatives in this area were the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy, decided upon by the heads of African States in the course of the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Lagos last April.¹⁵ In our opinion, such concrete measures constitute a major contribution to the establishment of the new international economic order and as such, we feel, should be supported by the entire international community.

153. Turning now to the international political situation, I must unfortunately state that it has evolved in a direction that I can hardly describe as positive.

154. My country is seriously concerned over the policy of *apartheid* that is practised in southern Africa by the Pretoria régime. We whole-heartedly condemn that policy, for it is based on institutionalized racism. A minority can no longer continue to flout the decisions of our Organization and deny the majority the fundamental right to a life of dignity and freedom. The example of Zimbabwe has proved, if any further proof were needed, that it is in no way Utopian to think of a multiracial State based on the equality of all citizens.

155. As far as Namibia is concerned, my delegation continues to consider Security Council resolution 435 (1978) to be a basis for an acceptable settlement. However, South Africa, wishing at all costs to impose an internal solution in Namibia, is responsible for the delay encountered in the implementation of the settlement plan advocated by the United Nations to lead the country to independence. Such delaying tactics and also Pretoria's barbarous repression carried out against SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, can no longer delay the advent of a solution to that tragic problem. We believe that the European group must now adopt a more dynamic attitude in order to encourage the implementation of the United Nations plan. It is the duty of those countries to exert pressure, by appropriate specific measures, on South Africa,

¹⁵ Document A/S-11/14.

so that it will at last realize that it has no option but to accept the decisions of our Organization.

156. In Chad the stream of refugees is constantly increasing, even though the Agreement signed at Lagos on 21 August 1979 had given us great hopes. We support the peace efforts currently being made by OAU. The international community must do all it can to ensure that those efforts are successful, but if they fail the United Nations without further delay must be seized of the matter.

157. As far as Western Sahara is concerned, my country, the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros, has constantly supported the initiatives of OAU and the international community to find an equitable solution in keeping with law and justice. The "Committee of Wise Men" of OAU, to which Africa decided to entrust this matter, seems to be moving towards a compromise that would be acceptable to all the parties involved in the conflict. We continue to believe that it is our duty to make sure that this constructive dialogue continues, in order to safeguard peace in that region and indeed in the world.

158. In the Middle East the situation is more than ever before a serious threat to international peace and security. We are indeed disgusted at the attacks and the perpetual aggression carried out against Lebanon by Israeli troops. Tension in the region is aggravated still further by the establishment of more Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories. We condemn such actions, which are contrary to international law. Such a negative attitude can only crush the hopes that had been aroused by certain initiatives taken in the region for peace. Israel can no longer continue to ignore the fact of Palestine, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and its absolute right to found an independent State on its own land. At its seventh emergency special session, held in July last and devoted to this important issue, the General Assembly reaffirmed that the participation of the Palestinian people is indispensable to all efforts to find a just and equitable solution. I would take this opportunity to reaffirm here my Government's constant support for the just cause of the Palestinian people and the PLO, its sole representative.

159. My country considers that the annexation of Jerusalem by Israel to make it its capital is a serious infringement of international law. Jerusalem must be preserved as a universal holy city. Accordingly we support all the decisions taken on this question by the Islamic Conference and by its Al Quds Committee. More than ever before, our Organization must do all it can to ensure that Israel at last withdraws from the Arab territories it has occupied by force since 1967, including Jerusalem, and to ensure that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people be respected.

160. Turning to Asia, my delegation would like to express its deep concern over the conflicts which continue to occur there. Afghanistan, a fraternal Moslem country and a member of the non-aligned movement, continues to suffer under a régime that has been imposed by force. Last January our General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority resolution ES-6/2, demanding the ending of the occupation of that country by Soviet troops. It is for our Organization to take the necessary steps to enable the

Afghan people to exercise its legitimate right to determine freely its own future.

161. Another people in Asia, the people of Democratic Kampuchea, has been stricken by famine and all kinds of epidemics which threaten its very existence. It is the victim of an irresponsible Government imposed by Hanoi.

162. In the name of the sacred principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, we strongly oppose the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. We support the efforts of our Secretary-General and indeed of all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples to help that people regain its dignity and exercise its right to self-determination.

163. With regard to the armed confrontation between Iraq and Iran, we would appeal most urgently to those two fraternal countries to make use of the means of negotiation rather than weapons. If the conflict continues much longer, it will not only run the risk of dangerously aggravating tension in the region but also help to relegate to second place another problem that is still unresolved, that of the holding of the American hostages in Iran.

164. We do not want to interfere at all in the complaints that Iran and the United States of America may have against each other. But diplomatic immunity is one of the very basic principles prevailing in inter-State relations, and in our opinion it would be dangerous to acquiesce in the transgression of that principle by a State Member of our Organization.

165. There is another matter of concern to my country, namely, the explosive situation in the subregion of the Indian Ocean. Like the other States bordering on that ocean, the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros is deeply concerned at the increasingly active militarization of the area by the major nuclear Powers. Such a situation is a serious threat to international security and, indeed, to the very survival of our States most of which have acceded to independence quite recently.

166. That is why the Government of the Comoros has always declared that it is willing to support any initiative, regional or international, to encourage the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) which contained the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

167. Accordingly, we support the idea of convening at Colombo in 1981 a United Nations Conference on the Indian Ocean which would, *inter alia*, be entrusted with the task of studying ways and means of implementing that resolution.

168. Before concluding my statement I should like to refer to one matter which is of paramount concern to my country and to Africa, namely, the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte.

169. At a meeting of the General Committee¹⁶ my delegation insisted that that item be retained on the agenda of this

¹⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, General Committee*, 1st meeting, para. 61.

session so that our Organization could be kept informed of developments. As everybody knows, talks have been held between the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros and France, in accordance with resolutions adopted by the General Assembly since its thirty-second session. Those talks have made it possible, by common consent, to draw up a series of economic, social and political measures, in order to ensure that Mayotte can gradually and effectively be integrated into the Comoros as a whole. Thus freedom of movement has been restored to the people and visas are no longer required for movement between Mayotte and the other islands. This important measure has indeed, by facilitating communications, contributed to lessening tension among the people of the Comoros. This information has

been communicated to the Secretary-General for inclusion in the report on this item [A/35/467]. I shall speak on it in more detail when the item comes up for discussion in the Assembly.

170. The Government of the Comoros is convinced that the negotiations that have been begun must be continued. We shall do our best to that end. We shall try to avoid any polemical spirit that could damage the negotiations that have been begun with a view to finding a just solution, in keeping with the decisions of our Organization, as soon as possible.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.