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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BONGO (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Each session of the General Assembly of the Organization, whose universality remains its underlying moral justification, provides us with the opportunity to question ourselves about the political, economic, social, cultural and human future of our planet on the basis of the balance sheets of the international situation which, one by one, we each draw up. This is perhaps why the general debate may give an impression of repetition, not only year after year but also speaker after speaker. This is, however, only an impression.

2. In my own case, although this is the sixth time I have had the signal honour to speak, on behalf of my country and its Head of State, Mr. Omar Bongo, to the Assembly, I do not in any way feel that I am repeating myself. Even less do I feel that I am listening to the same litanies. This is owing to the wide range of subjects and their fluidity.

3. In the past, we have had the opportunity to take up such enduring items as the deterioration of the international situation, security, détente, the persisting tensions among nations, the deterioration in the terms of trade, the growing inequality between rich and poor and the need for the establishment of a new, more just and more humane world order.

4. This is why, in the face of increasing risks of conflagration in a world that is prey to crises and turmoil, it is incumbent upon all of us gathered here to find appropriate ways and means to avoid the irreparable. This is a responsibility which we cannot shirk.

5. The Gabonese delegation, for its part, is participating in the current session, as it has in previous sessions, imbued with the firm desire to make its contribution to the construction of peace, justice and human dignity in order to ensure a better world. It is this meaning that we intend to impart to our statement.

6. However, at the outset I should like to convey to you, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, our warmest congratulations upon your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. It is an indication of our trust in you, which is wholly in keeping with your outstanding qualities and with the competence, each of us is pleased to recognize in you. The Gabonese delegation is convinced that under your presidency the Assembly will steer the work of the present session towards the successful results which the entire international community is seeking.

7. I should like to assure you that my delegation will give you its full support in the discharge of your weighty but ennobling and delicate mission. Our congratulations are extended also to the other officers of the Assembly, who, we are convinced, will contribute together with yourself to the success of our deliberations.

8. It is a pleasure for us to avail ourselves of this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, a talented diplomat, for his outstanding services to the international community, thanks in particular to the far-sightedness, effectiveness and devotion with which he discharged his important responsibilities. We should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General of the Organization. My Government is particularly grateful for his tireless efforts to find answers to the many questions which remain before the community of nations.

9. Lastly, we should like to extend a warm welcome to the delegations of Vanuatu and Belize upon their admission as the one hundred fifty-fifth and one hundred fifty-sixth Members of the Organization. The membership of the Organization has thereby been strengthened and brought closer to universality. We should like to welcome these friendly countries to our midst and wish them full success in their efforts to contribute to our joint search for the advent of a peaceful world, a world of solidarity, a better world.

10. To be sure, the principal aim of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security and to achieve co-operation among nations, all the while providing a centre in which joint efforts may be brought into harmony. Unfortunately, the balance sheet of the world situation forces us once again to note that the current session of the General Assembly is being held at a moment of particular concern in the history of mankind, one marked by serious tensions and conflicts as well as by economic disorders which generate the poverty of which the third world in general and Africa in particular are the principal victims.

11. In Africa, one of the main subjects of concern for our States, above and beyond any other, remains the situation in southern Africa, particularly in Namibia, a Territory still under colonial domination in spite of relevant United Nations resolutions which the racist authorities of Pretoria continue to defy.

12. As long as Namibia remains under the domination of South Africa and as long as the racist and fascist Government of Pretoria continues to impose upon the black majority its régime of *apartheid*, the work of decolonization and the liberation of Africa will not have been completed.

13. We cannot repeat often enough that the key to a rapid solution of the problem is firmly in the hands of the South African Government and the countries of the Western contact group and that the basis thereof is Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which endorses the plan for the settlement of the question of Namibia.

14. In truth, throughout this year, at New Delhi in February at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, at Nairobi in June at the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, at Algiers in April at the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries on the Question of Namibia, and in Paris in May, where, under the aegis of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the United Nations, the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa was held—in short, everywhere—Africa and the non-aligned countries have unanimously supported resolution 435 (1978).

15. By allowing the South African Government to impose its delaying tactics and its policy of refusal and procrastination, the countries of the contact group are bearing a heavy responsibility, both in the tragedy in Namibia and in the invasion of Angola by South African troops. That is why they must pull themselves together and proceed actively to have Pretoria agree to implement the United Nations settlement plan so that the Namibian people can freely exercise its right to self-determination.

16. For its part, Gabon, which has, in an official statement by its Head of State, Mr. Omar Bongo, strongly condemned the invasion of Angolan territory, reaffirms its unreserved support for the United Nations plan and remains convinced that on that basis Namibia will soon achieve independence in its entirety, including its vital port of Walvis Bay. It is in the interests of the entire international community for this to be the case, because there can be no doubt whatsoever that the problem of Namibia carries the seed of generalized conflict which brings to bear upon mankind the threat of nuclear war. While it may be comforting from some angles to note that the Western countries have never opposed resolution ES-8/2 adopted at the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, convened here in September of this year, none the less, those countries must respond positively to the request made of them by the broad majority of the international community by imposing against South Africa the mandatory global sanctions stipulated in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. They

must exert upon that country any other pressure necessary to ensure that it will comply.

17. That is the meaning of the appeal which, on behalf of the Head of State of Gabon, I would address to the Assembly. May this appeal be heard in the interests of safeguarding peace and security in Africa and in the world.

18. In South Africa itself, "our brothers . . . are continuing to be afflicted by domination, oppression and humiliation imposed upon them by the Pretoria régime which has inscribed in its institutions in letters of gold the fact that *apartheid* is the best way to organize economic, social and political space, and the recent electoral consultation constitutes its latest shameful demonstration. That extract from the message from the President of the Gabonese Republic, addressed to the President of the International Conference on Sanctions Against South Africa, on Africa Liberation Day, on 25 May last, demonstrates the extent to which Gabon stands in solidarity with the fraternal people of South Africa in its struggle for liberation. That is why my country considers that the international community should support the legitimate struggle of the freedom fighters, while continuing to seek any peaceful solution which may lead to the rapid eradication of the shameful system of *apartheid*.

19. In central Africa, the situation in Chad, by reason of a long fratricidal war, concerns us deeply. At Nairobi, OAU once again considered this problem and Gabon responded to the appeal for solidarity which was made at that time.

20. With regard to an improvement of the situation in Chad, my country considers that this is a problem which should interest all of us. It hopes very much that the international community will rally to support this fraternal country to help it to rebuild its economy.

21. Unfortunately, Africa is not the only part of the world in which confrontation continues, or where efforts to achieve the peaceful settlement of conflicts, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, have as yet been unsuccessful.

22. The situation in the Middle East appears to be a matter of increasing concern since the continuing tension in that part of the world, which in three decades has experienced three lethal wars, constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. The atmosphere of violence, as well as Israel's refusal to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, frequently reaffirmed by relevant resolutions of the United Nations, are hardly conducive to settling the conflict by peaceful means. Gabon believes in the virtues of dialogue as a privileged weapon for the settlement of conflicts among States and will continue to encourage any initiative to achieve a settlement of the Palestinian problem by means of negotiation.

23. That is why it considers that the search for a just and lasting peace in that part of the world requires the effective participation of the Palestinian people in any peace process, as well as the full and unconditional with-

drawal by Israel from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, and the exercise by the Palestinian people of its national rights.

24. That is also why Gabon will continue to condemn the Hebrew State as long as Israel—which, it must be recognized, does have the right to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized boundaries—refuses to abide by Security Council resolutions, in particular resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

25. At this point it seems quite appropriate to refer to the bloody and prolonged tragedy in Lebanon. I should like to state here that my country vehemently condemns foreign aggression and acts of intervention, of whatever form or on whatever pretext, which would threaten the integrity, independence and sovereignty of that State.

26. These principles are valid wherever tensions or conflicts exist. In addition to the problems that we have mentioned, we have in mind in this connection, the following: the situation in Cyprus, where talks between the communities should continue; the Korean problem, with regard to which Gabon supports any action leading to reunification of the peninsula by peaceful means, without any foreign interference; Kampuchea and Afghanistan, where the peoples must be able to express their views freely to decide the system of government they desire; and, finally, Iraq and Iran, two fraternal countries at war, to whom we renew the appeal that the Head of State of Gabon, Hajji Omar Bongo, made to them to put an end to their conflict.

27. The establishment of peace in these regions of tension and upheaval should reinforce the process of generalized détente that the world seeks and should put an end to the arms race, a race of increasingly sophisticated and lethal weapons. The senseless accumulation of weapons may at any moment provoke a planetary cataclysm. In a world of anxiety and intolerable, destabilizing pressures, a simple error or thoughtless action may lead to a nuclear apocalypse.

28. In such circumstances, we must all strive to put an end to this accumulation of weapons, so as finally to eliminate this danger. The matter is to be considered at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which is to be convened soon. The huge sums so far devoted to weapons could be allocated to financing humanitarian activities, that is to say, the advancement of the developing countries, the improvement of health and education and a reduction in social inequalities.

29. That was the principal aim of the Disarmament Decade decreed in December 1969 by the General Assembly [see resolution 2602 E (XXIV)].

30. Since it is now time to prepare a balance sheet, let us at the outset say that this decade has been a negative one. This year, according to the best informed sources, more than \$500 billion have been devoted to military expenses, that is, an expenditure of approximately \$1 million per minute. At the same time, thousands of men,

women and children continue to die every day of hunger and poverty, in the face of almost total indifference.

31. That is why we consider that the question of disarmament is closely linked to the question of development; it is so true that the maintenance of the *status quo* consolidates inequalities, is a factor of tension in the world and also of deterioration of the world economic situation.

32. The economic development of States remains the best guarantee for general and lasting security and true and total freedom.

33. It must be noted that the world economic crisis has assumed unprecedented dimensions. No one can doubt that the world economy is currently experiencing the most serious crisis since the Second World War. The substantial slow-down in economic activity, the increased deterioration in terms of trade, runaway inflation and the rising costs of the foreign debt of the third world countries surely point to an extremely disturbing situation; at least that is true of most of us—and some of us are already familiar with the critical phase of zero growth.

34. That is why Gabon was particularly interested in the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in September this year, which endorsed the concerns expressed by those countries.

35. That is why we are pleased to note that the developed countries accepted what is self-evident when they stated their readiness to increase their bilateral and multilateral aid to the least developed countries, by doubling their contributions in order, as they emphasized, to avoid any increase in the international economic imbalance.

36. Moreover, it must be recognized that the desired return to normal growth has not taken place and there has been a general disorganization of the world economy, thereby confirming the urgent need for a structural modification that would be in the interests not only of the developing countries but also of the developed countries.

37. This evolution has led to a wide-ranging awareness among all peoples of the fact that the current international economic situation is inequitable as far as the benefits of economic relations between the developed and developing countries are concerned.

38. The structural changes that we seek must be made with regard to production, consumption and world trade so as to enable the developing countries to exercise effective control over their raw materials and to participate fully in the international decision-making process.

39. Gabon places high hopes in the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, to be held soon at Cancún. In any case, it hopes that the high-level officials participating in that conference will take that opportunity to establish a new atmosphere that will make it possible for global negotiations to be initiated as speedily as possible.

40. If there is a problem that is of particular concern to my country it is that of new and renewable sources of energy, a problem which was taken up at the conference held last August at Nairobi, under the aegis of the United Nations.

41. On that occasion, Gabon, which has several sources of energy, the most important of which are water energy, solar energy, biomass and wood, and which has therefore always attached particular importance to the post-oil period, demonstrated its interest in the advent of this new era.

42. The industrialized countries and international organizations must concentrate on finding sources to finance programmes to promote and develop new and renewable sources of energy recognized as indispensable for the world economy. This is a matter that was left in abeyance at Nairobi.^a

43. I do not wish to conclude my statement without referring to the serious question of the food and agriculture situation throughout the world, particularly in Africa, where the food outlook appears to be extremely grave.

44. The international community must actively contribute to solving this extremely important problem and to defining new directions regarding food and agriculture.

45. It must be recognized that the picture of the international situation that we have just drawn, both politically and economically, is hardly a matter for rejoicing.

46. Nevertheless, it is comforting to note that the Organization, however well founded criticism of it may be, has since the last war provided a privileged framework for the safeguarding of peace throughout the world and the definition of new strategies for multilateral co-operation.

47. Let us transcend our selfish interests and bear in mind only the interests of mankind as a whole by translating the decisions of the Organization into political and economic facts so that this new world order for which we tirelessly call may finally be established.

48. Mr. BEDJAOUI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it was my privilege to convey to you from this rostrum the congratulations and best wishes of the group of African States, which I represented on the day you were elected, as well as the congratulations of my own country. I particularly expressed at that time Algeria's deep satisfaction with this choice, a tribute both to a fraternal country and to a highly esteemed person. It is indeed, a great pleasure for me to reiterate our satisfaction today.

49. The general debate which marks the opening of each of these sessions provides us with an opportunity to draw up a critical balance sheet of past action. Through the dynamic process of comparing ideas, it calls upon us to demonstrate the necessary collective ambition for major efforts, and to ensure that it becomes a reality. This year once again one conclusion must be drawn: the situation is serious and entails great risks.

50. In an extremely sombre international atmosphere, there are abundant reasons for concern. Anxiety is rooted in the hearts of men and societies. The confusion of some, the anguish of others, the poverty of the majority, claim our attention from all corners of the world. It is indeed a global crisis that is facing our world.

51. This crisis is fed by a large number of conflicting power relationships. It is increasing the gap between the affluence of a small number of countries and the poverty suffered by the vast majority of mankind. World disorder and the absurdity of the present system of international economic relations are strikingly apparent. To have the strength and the will to act, we must first try to understand.

52. It is appalling when this indifferent world is told that, in less than two decades from now, we shall have to find the means of life, employment and food for 2 billion people, the equivalent—to give a striking illustration—of 2,000 cities with 1 million inhabitants each. The mind reels when we invert this line of reasoning and see that with the way the world is going, those 2 billion people will be doomed to perish in less than two decades. Our understanding and our awareness seem to have become so anaesthetized that we seem no longer able to react to what is inconceivable today, but is the horrifying reality of tomorrow.

53. It has been estimated that in 1980 50 million human beings died of hunger—a world-wide holocaust resulting in no outburst of collective indignation. It took the Second World War five years to achieve that macabre result. One may legitimately speak of non-assistance to endangered peoples, when more than \$500 billion are spent annually on armaments throughout the world, and when the report *Global 2000*,¹ produced by a commission established by Jimmy Carter, informs us that the quantity of cereals needed to eradicate malnutrition throughout the world has a value equivalent to the price of only five submarines.

54. In the year 2000, practically 1 billion people will be living below the absolute poverty line—a scientific euphemism which is far from describing everything that that subhuman condition means.

55. The foreign debt of the developing world exactly equals the amount spent on arms each year by a human society which seems unable to imagine its own future, unless it be to waver between a boundless fascination with destruction and the irresistible temptation to commit collective suicide. It is a striking fact that the increase in this indebtedness is not, as one might imagine, the logical result of economic development but results simply from debt servicing costs, which in 1981 will surpass the staggering figure of \$100 billion.

56. Should there not be an effort to explain how, contrary to misleading appearances, the industrial nations receive in reverse aid from the proletarian nations almost seven times the amount that they invest there?

57. High interest rates are a heavy burden on our fragile economies. A merciless trade war is being waged against

our exports. The restructuring of world industry is at the discretion of transnational corporations, at the whim of their strategies and their profits. In an unequal confrontation, our countries cannot even control the abuses of the system. The international monetary system is completely destroying what we are so laboriously building.

58. At a time when the world structure is revealing inherent flaws, the importance that is finally being attached to international economic relations should be accompanied by an examination of conscience. That would have the merit of placing development and peace not only in their relationship of cause and effect, but in a close dialectical relationship which shows them to be interdependent. There can be no peace without development and no development without peace. Peace and development will be the characteristic features of the Identikit portrait of the new international relations so ardently desired by the international community.

59. In denouncing the iniquities on which the present system of international relations is based, the countries of the third world have underlined the fundamental truth that development is indeed the new name for peace. Like war, underdevelopment is not inevitable. It is the product of an organized system of domination and exploitation. By its very nature, this system thwarts the prospects for prosperity of two thirds of mankind. It denies their legitimate right to development. Furthermore, it generates insecurity, even for those who built the system. Creating frustration and alienation, the prevailing system is the negation of peace.

60. We have already said that there is no peace without development, but development has its rules—certainly not those, recently reinstated, of the market economy.

61. The regressive note which can be discerned in the philosophy underlying international economic co-operation causes us concern. New ideas in the global approach to the problem of development are in many ways disquieting. The virtues of bilateralism are praised for ulterior motives with which we are all familiar. A whole series of proposals has been built up on the basis of the concept of individual co-operation founded on political and strategic considerations. Today we also hear praise of the free play of private market forces as a means both of restarting growth and ensuring development.

62. It must be said that the present world crisis—a structural crisis, above all—has been engendered precisely by the uncontrolled and unforeseeable actions of those private enterprise forces. In a system characterized by inequality of opportunity and of the means of development, the free play of market forces heightens dependency and the spread of underdevelopment.

63. The laws of the market and of competition are manipulated to serve the interests of major world capital and transnational corporations. The facile glorification of these laws is a result of mystification. Liberalism is a doctrine developed by the powerful and the strong. The free, spontaneous and beneficent functioning of the natural laws of the market is a grim illusion.

64. These are the realities. The market economy is at the end of its tether. It completely fails to take into account the complexity of economic interdependence and the profound aspirations of the human being to more freedom and more humanity. The world economy is not a blind movement of objects and things. The natural laws of the market, in their anarchic haphazardness, are themselves condemned, as they in their turn condemn to failure growth *per se*, liberal growth, that which alienates man as a producer and as a consumer and which downgrades his social environment and his natural environment.

65. To give free reign to private actors in the world economy is tantamount to allowing them to develop according to their own rationality, that which prompts them to acquire even greater power, which is the very negation of international co-operation. Therefore how can we acquiesce in allowing the lives of billions of persons to be played with in this way, how can we agree to allow the future of the globe to be left to the uncertain vicissitudes of chance through the liberal laws of *laissez-faire* in this great world casino in which the great majority of inhabitants of the world are deprived? In this very dubious operation, the winners themselves will in fact gain only a Pyrrhic victory for, in the final analysis, our entire planet will be the loser in this immense game with marked cards.

66. I need hardly add that we find very suspicious this strong recommendation we are being given to create in our own countries political and material conditions which will make it possible for transnational corporations to operate freely there. Are these to be the agents of our development, as has been suggested to us? At least we may be permitted to have doubts on that score. Since we have long suffered exploitation by a system of which we form part as the objects of the market, the countries of the third world are well aware that the transnational corporations could hardly today give up their vocation, ignore their strategic objective, their profit motive, and work for their own destruction.

67. Today we are being reminded of the virtues of self-reliance. Self-reliance is part of ourselves and undoubtedly the most demanding part. It is indeed the affirmation of our identity. It is the expression of our becoming responsible for the aspirations of our peoples. Finally, as we are aware, it is the inevitable and only way to national reconstruction. But what weight can be given to such a national mobilization for development if the international environment itself impedes it and nullifies its effects through the laws of a world-wide jungle?

68. This paradox has to be removed. The free interplay of the so-called natural market laws may well result in an exacerbation of the feeling of frustration that is felt by the starving masses. The paradox is that such laws organize anarchy, as it were, and at the same time are fraught with violence. The paradox is that, in the course of the fight against man's alienation, they themselves become transformed into actual manufacturers of violence. Thus, they are not by any means the appropriate remedy for the problems we are experiencing, for it is impossible to

combat anarchy with anarchy; it is impossible to eliminate violence by bringing about even more violence.

69. In fact, the world crisis is so profound that a reinstatement of the so-called natural market laws as a panacea would produce a ridiculous situation. There is a pressing need for development. Undoubtedly what is required is more than a simple glorification of the merits of *laissez-faire*. We prefer responsible dialogue to the vain rehabilitation of archaic liberalism. Global negotiations are an integral part of such dialogue. We want such dialogue; we believe in it. As we see it, it is both the condition and the means of orderly work directed towards collective well-being.

70. This necessary dialogue is not only something that is made imperative by the world crisis; it represents for mankind a gamble on the future. It is an act of faith. For that reason, its outcome is of historic importance. It is the work of building of peace.

71. In this context, we regret that the global negotiations have not yet been started. We reaffirm our support for such negotiations because we believe in their worth. Through these global negotiations, by means of dynamic, concerted action, a restructuring process to serve the interests of all could be undertaken. It is our hope that at the Cancún meeting, the necessary political impulse will be given to the initiation of such a process.

72. There can be no development without peace. If the process of development is the desired culmination of efforts for peace, an improvement of the international political climate is quite obviously an essential stage in that process.

73. There can be no doubt that international relations during the past two decades have undergone a qualitative evolution which can be seen in terms of the relative relaxation of tension between the major blocs and in the striking achievements of the liberation movements of peoples; but it remains true that the foundations for peace have not been solidly laid.

74. The persistent manifestations of a spirit of confrontation and the increasing number of hotbeds of tension in the third world can be seen to be rooted in the very logic of a system which spawns crisis while at the same time trying to maintain it below the level of general conflagration.

75. The policy of spheres of influence, the doctrines of intervention based on a so-called vital interest, the installation or reactivation of military bases and the formation and deployment of armed forces for rapid intervention are all part of a firm desire to make the countries of the third world sites for the application of the global strategies directed fundamentally at the independence of those countries and their legitimate aspirations to peace.

76. The resurgence of gunboat policies and the feverish search for positions of strength are accompanied by efforts to block disarmament negotiations and to call into question freely contracted commitments in the field of arms control. Furthermore, the refinements of the tech-

nology of death have today given rise to a new weapon of mass destruction which, we are aghast to learn, is designed to kill men while leaving equipment intact. The production of the neutron bomb sheds a harsh light on the tragic absurdity in which technological civilization has gone astray; the consecration of things in a spirit of contempt for life.

77. Such an initiative is part of the spirit which underlies that concept of the readiness to use arms to protect security. It can only add fuel to the arms race and further impede the effective pursuit of the major objective of general and complete disarmament, the ultimate and absolute guarantee of the principle of the non-use of force.

78. The deterioration of the international political climate is part and parcel of the intrinsic logic of the system, even if the phenomenon of détente might have led us to believe, at one time, because of the promises of indivisibility which it gave us, in a dynamic spreading of a wave of peace which would extend its benefits to ever broader spheres of international relations.

79. Since it has not generated any such dynamic flow, particularly in the third world, détente has revealed all the limits of its role in history.

80. From the geostrategic standpoint, the third world is covered with relay States and hotbeds of tension. This tends to perpetuate the subjugation of peoples. The attempts to distort the basic nature of the Palestinian, Namibian and South African problems are aimed at containing the upsurge of the peoples' liberation movement by trying to make it appear in an East-West context with which it is in no way concerned.

81. In the Middle East, the deterioration of the situation which arose as a result of the Camp David agreements has now entered a crucial phase. At the present time, we see increased manifestations of the aggressiveness of the Zionist entity directed against the Palestinian people and other peoples of the region. The repeated acts of aggression against martyred Lebanon, which is thus threatened with criminal dismemberment, the bombing of Iraq's nuclear installations which were set up for peaceful purposes, the unbridled repression of the Arab populations of the occupied territories—all that allows us to gauge the very strange concept of peace which, from the outset, was intended solely to liquidate the cause of the Palestinian people and reshape the entire Middle East for foreign purposes. In that respect, the strategic co-operation which has just become official doctrine is fraught with danger for that sorely tried region.

82. As long as the Palestinian people are not enabled to exercise their national rights, as long as a genuine process of peace has not been initiated, with the full participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole and legitimate representative, any attempt at a solution which is not mindful of the origin of that crisis and merely dwells on its manifestations will be pointless.

83. In southern Africa, the Pretoria régime, through its practice of *apartheid*, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its acts of aggression against States in that region, is

seriously damaging the United Nations by undermining its foundations and defying its authority.

84. The eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly will undoubtedly have strengthened the international consensus on the need for the immediate independence of Namibia on the basis of the strict implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), applied in its entirety. That consensus must prevail. It must bring about the independence of Namibia which will be the culminating point in the heroic struggle of its people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], its sole authentic representative.

85. The same battle must be waged against *apartheid*, the most retrograde and unacceptable system.

86. Whether overt or potential, other crises need to be resolved. Whether it be Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq conflict, Korea or Cyprus, full and frank dialogue is the preferred way to promote political solutions through which, in accordance with international norms, the rights of each individual to live in peace and dignity will prevail.

87. In the context of the tireless efforts which have been made by OAU, the eighteenth session of its Assembly of Heads of State and Government has defined the elements of a just and final settlement of the question of Western Sahara [see A/36/534, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII)].

88. In deciding to organize and hold a general and free referendum on self-determination among the people of Western Sahara and to work towards bringing about a cease-fire, and in creating the Implementation Committee for that purpose, the African Heads of State intended to make every effort to achieve the final decolonization of that Territory. This desire to put back on the rails that process which had long been impeded and to bring it to completion can be seen through the intricate machinery which was defined by the Implementation Committee, such as the establishment of an impartial interim administration, the constitution of an international peace-keeping force and the imposition of a cease-fire by both parties to the conflict by means of negotiations undertaken under the auspices of the Implementation Committee [see A/36/512, annex].

89. The direct responsibility and the authority of the Implementation Committee in carrying out that process, as well as the involvement of the United Nations in bringing it about, are the best guarantees that it will be properly conducted.

90. Here I wish to pay a tribute to the OAU and to the Heads of the States members of its Implementation Committee for their laudable efforts with a view to a solution which will be freely determined. Algeria, whose position on that question is the same as that of the OAU and of the United Nations, can only reaffirm its availability to help both belligerent parties, Morocco and the POLISARIO Front,² to undertake full and frank negotiations with a view to establishing a cease-fire in order to create the required impetus for the establishment of peace.

91. Peace is the pre-condition for development. However, it is by no means sufficient in itself. Peace and development are inseparable and must be part of a clear-sighted and ambitious perception of a future for mankind which is characterized by solidarity. It is precisely that perception of the world which the non-aligned movement brings before the international community.

92. This year, our movement is celebrating its twentieth anniversary. It bears within itself the aspirations of mankind to peace and progress. It invites us collectively to devote ourselves, through democratic dialogue, to the task of rationally planning the new political and economic space of our times.

93. That undertaking has peace and development as its key words. It requires that the unjust and tension-producing structures of the present system of international relations be replaced by an egalitarian order, built with the assistance of all and for the benefit of all. It is designed to promote an international order which would be an authentic product of universal civilization and a common intellectual effort to ensure the common good.

94. The dialogue which the third world is today proposing takes on the connotation of an historic dialogue; dialogue which will generate a universal era of peace; peace which will enable each people to take charge of its own affairs and which will make of our planet a true land of men.

95. Mr. ADDERLEY (Bahamas): Before I begin my statement, I wish to make reference to the news this morning of the attempt to assassinate President Sadat. I wish to convey our regret to the Government of Egypt, with our hope for his speedy recovery. It is unfortunate that the world should again be traumatized by such an act of violence against a man perceived as a man of peace.

96. Sir, it is a pleasure for me on behalf of the Bahamian delegation to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. You assume office with high qualifications for the post, and with the acquired experience and stature which you possess you are especially well equipped to guide the affairs of this troubled session. I wish you success in that demanding office and pledge the support of my delegation to you and your colleagues in the General Committee, and I add to that wish our hopes for a realistically productive thirty-sixth session.

97. I also wish to pay a tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, who presided over the thirty-fifth session, which at times appeared unending. We are indebted to him for the tact and skill, the patience and tolerance with which he carried out the functions of his office.

98. I wish to take this opportunity to express the profound appreciation of my delegation and of the Government of the Bahamas for the unceasing efforts which the Secretary-General has exerted in the pursuit of the goals and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations over the past years. Within the limits imposed upon him by institutional restraints as well as by an absence of either

will or desire on the part of some States to reach the consensus which I believe the peoples of the world want in the pursuit of peace, economic security, self-determination and racial dignity for all people, he has preserved the integrity of his office and the credibility of the Organization.

99. It is a pleasant duty to welcome the new Member States of Vanuatu and Belize. Their admission is further evidence of the universality which the Organization is approaching, albeit at a "glacial" pace—although that goal is resisted, sometimes fiercely, by a powerful minority that would still deny men freedom. In the case of Belize, particular pleasure is experienced by us in the Bahamas because of the small part which we were able to play in the final stages of its attainment of independence. It is to be expected that it will not be long before the lingering shadow cast over the universal acceptance of Belize by the international community, with one exception, will be dispelled by that one, which, though bigger and more powerful, was itself once an object of colonialism, a colonialism long since removed.

100. I wish to recall the following words spoken at the twenty-eighth session, on the occasion of the admission of the Bahamas to membership of the United Nations, by the Prime Minister of the Bahamas then and now, the Honourable Lynden O. Pindling:

"We believe that we can make a contribution to a better international understanding by sharing our experiences in human relations, in effecting change without disorder and revolution without bloodshed, and in developing a stable economic and social order. We of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas are aware that it is indeed unrealistic to think that nation-States can exist in isolation. No man is an island unto himself, nor is any nation. There is need for perpetual interdependence of the big and the small which will guarantee the perpetuation of the United Nations as the centre for the harmonization of the actions of nations concerned with international peace and security, equality and freedom, economic and social justice, for all peoples.

"While man is reaching dramatically into the infinite limits of outer space and the fascinating confines of ocean depths, he is also prosaically reaching into his own mind to reassess his global value-system, which has yet to acknowledge that a world dominated by power politics and calculated alignments of self-interest and fear is less important than a world morality as expressed in the Charter of the United Nations. The Commonwealth of the Bahamas subscribes to the concept of alignments of States having in common respect for human and spiritual values rooted in belief in the absolutely indivisible freedom of the mind of man."
[2119th meeting, paras. 179 and 180.]

101. Those sentiments, expressed eight years ago, encapsulated then and continue to encapsulate the morality by which we in the Bahamas believe the international community ought to be guided.

102. It is not inaccurate to suggest that there are some few States which would prefer that the United Nations did

not exist at all and there are some which do not care whether it exists or not—those to which it would not matter whether it existed or not. All of those collectively are fortunately in a minority, but unfortunately they constitute a minority which includes those who are rich and those who are powerful and those who are both rich and powerful.

103. It would not be accurate to suggest that the United Nations has failed to satisfy the objectives of its Charter, neither would it be accurate to suggest that it has succeeded. But in the scales of assessment, we must weigh the fact that the Organization has provided a forum which has helped to avert a major world conflict for over 30 years; moreover, the major positive feature of world affairs must be recognized to be the continuing functional co-operation of the organizations of the United Nations system with its Member States in the pursuit of practical solutions of social, educational and economic problems with the aim of improving the quality of life for all the world's people. But it also needs to be said that, in our experience, it is evident that a disproportionate part of the total assistance provided is allocated to administrative costs which help to maintain the enormous administrative establishment of the United Nations, with too little being allocated to technical assistance in each recipient country.

104. It is also a very unfortunate reflection on some Member States that some of those that are best able to carry a less disproportionate share of the cost of technical assistance persist in deferring their obligations to bear the level which they ought to be bearing. The level of such contributions needs to be increased in direct relationship to the legitimate demands being made for technical assistance and economic development, without which there will be no stability in the world. Yet those who ought to be in the forefront of the battle, leading the way, invite us to stand still and to be patient, thereby encouraging the political forces of extremism of both the political right and left.

105. However, the scales of assessment must also take into account the fact that the agenda of the present session faithfully reflects political and ideological conflicts that have characterized the United Nations for over 30 years, the intransigence of Members, and the failure collectively to recognize that all the people of the world are not yet free.

106. It is a geopolitical fact which is recognized in few places apart from the Bahamas that we occupy a peculiar geographical position in the world in which our closest neighbour to the south is the Republic of Cuba and our closest neighbour to the north is the United States of America.

107. No country in the world prizes its freedom, independence, sovereignty and parliamentary democracy more fiercely than the Bahamas. The legacies of the former colonial slave societies which also evolved as multiracial societies have implicit in their existence some fundamental cultural contradictions and problems which have yet to be eradicated. The Bahamas is not unique in this; neither is it peculiar to us that the most urgent post-colonial task of our society is its economic and social reconstruction

and development. It is therefore to be expected that our priorities must of necessity be somewhat different from the priorities of those countries whose colonial histories are different and more remote or countries that never really had any.

108. Ideological conflicts which to some seem vital, to us take on less awesome significance as the difficulties to be overcome in the course of economic and social development are further impeded by ideological conflicts, which do the greatest damage to the preservation of sovereign independence in our region.

109. Unless there is agreement by all relevant States to accept the ideological plurality of the Caribbean region, including both its island and mainland States, our region will be plagued by friction, potential military conflicts and the constant threat of political instability.

110. We are rightly proud of the level of liberty and freedom enjoyed by the peoples of the Bahamas, but we are not unmindful of the fact that that level of sovereignty is still denied large numbers of persons in the world. Yet everywhere there is today some movement, sometimes overt and sometimes less open, where people are attempting to secure a larger measure of political freedom and more real control over their own affairs. No super-Power, armed might or economic authority can defer indefinitely the peoples' movements, which we support everywhere, in which man claims freedom from minority rule and economic oppression. These movements may take the form of peaceful revolution, such as we were able to achieve in the Bahamas; others may be less fortunate and may choose a separate route. But so long as the ultimate objective is greater freedom through giving the people the unfettered right to choose their own form of government, who could find fault with that?

111. One of the cultural and social phenomena of some States of our region is that their unique history has produced some special ethnic mixtures. It is an embarrassment to some and an affront to others that it is still true that, while the descendants of the sons of Africa in our part of the world are always among those for whom the greatest measure of social and political freedom and justice needs to be attained, they continue to be denied them because of the social and ethnic intransigence of both the ideological right and left.

112. It is not trite to inquire here who speaks with a powerful, clear and credible voice for human rights today. The old order of the world of the ideological right and left has failed to provide either leadership or hope for mankind. Super-Powers feed us unrelentingly with a morality of physical confrontation, and our hope for peace and tranquillity is balanced on the scales of nuclear parity and deterrence. I do not believe that mankind is ennobled or that the people of the world are impressed or their lives enriched by the magnificent means of world destruction which are being accumulated, but I do believe that all people are dismayed, frustrated and frightened by them. Those who value power over principle and political ideology over ideas and reason occupy the seats of the controllers of our destiny. Freedom and democracy are on the defensive.

113. Those who have the voices, the power and the riches to mobilize those forces which do exist and which are in pursuit of democracy, political freedom, territorial integrity and economic and racial justice are silenced completely or subdued.

114. The recognizable power centres of the world are locked in the bondage of power politics as they are held hostage by their histories and cultures, which time is passing by.

115. Is it too much to hope that during this thirty-sixth session of the Assembly of the nations of the world some tangible signs will be evidenced that will touch the conscience of mankind, inspire in the mighty some vision, reason and courage to promote and encourage and indeed lead those who cry out for more freedom, more democracy, more regard for human rights and more economic and racial justice?

116. In the view of the Government of the Bahamas, the most intractable and urgent issues which have to be approached during the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly include decolonization; disarmament; persistent international conflicts, especially in the Middle East, Kampuchea and Cyprus; development and the need for international co-operation without discrimination in the related fields of human rights, economic and social development, energy and the environment, the law of the sea, drug control and refugees. Indeed, for the Bahamas, drug trafficking, economic refugees and the threat of economic discrimination are of crucial importance as they represent at this time immediate obstacles to our continued development.

117. How much longer will South Africa be allowed to violate the dignity of the Namibian people and the directives of the United Nations, which embody, *inter alia*, some of the most sacred principles of the Charter? South Africa not only continues to practise with virtual impunity a colonialist policy over the people of Namibia but is prepared with similar impunity to pursue a militaristic aggression adding a new dimension to the problem. The Bahamas further condemns, once again, the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa. The Bahamas also wholeheartedly supports military, economic and cultural sanctions against South Africa. The Government of the Bahamas further reiterates its support for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as the basis for democratic rule and independence for Namibia.

118. Nothing in modern world history has affronted the dignity of so many people in the world as the racial policies of the Government of South Africa. The overwhelming majority of the people of the world are at war with the soul of South Africa as it is at present governed. Outside the African continent, there is a preception that in South Africa a white racist minority discriminates against and oppresses a black South African majority. That part of the picture is, to be sure, true, but it is incomplete in so far as it is a perception which does not recognize that *apartheid* goes beyond discrimination and oppression. For the Government of South Africa, locked as it is in the cocoon of its perversity, *apartheid* is a religion, the soul

of their nation which gives it strength, the psychology of its people which gives them courage and a culture which gives meaning to their existence. We ought also not to underestimate the extent to which the Government of South Africa and the philosophy which it promotes represents an acceptable symbol to powerful ethnic forces in the world that cling to the belief that some men are more equal than others.

119. Nothing which I say ought to be interpreted in such a way as to weaken our resolve to persist until this unique evil is destroyed, but the philosophy of *apartheid* and its fellow-travellers will not be destroyed unless we are collectively prepared to revise some of our tactics in order to achieve our objectives. Most important of all, we have to destroy the illusion which it is seeking to create that South Africa is governed by normal people capable of conventional reason and intelligence and that in the fullness of time their own enlightened self-interest will force change upon them, for it will never happen that way. We ought never to indulge in the self-delusion that there are conventional means by which *apartheid* will be renounced and abandoned voluntarily by South Africa because that régime will ultimately come to the conclusion that that is the right thing to do.

120. This South African Government's religion and philosophy can only survive, too, because it has so many friends outside South Africa to give it aid and comfort. The war against *apartheid* must therefore be intensified outside South Africa against people who are capable of reason and intelligence and who ought to know what enlightened self-interest is.

121. As the Assembly is aware, the question of disarmament has been before the United Nations since its first session. While it would be unfair to say that no progress at all has been made towards reduction in arms build-up, both nuclear and conventional, it is clearly evident that this world body and its constituent Member States have a long way to go before the theory that a world without arms is a world without war can even be a credible proposition.

122. However, because of the circumstances in which we find ourselves today, the current Disarmament Decade is, in the final analysis, an expression of hope, a new opportunity which we ought not to miss. It is in this spirit that the Bahamas looks forward to the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. For the hopes underlying the Disarmament Decade to become realities, it is imperative that the second special session devoted to disarmament build on the solid foundation of the Programme of Action contained in the keystone Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament [*resolution S-10/2*]. The second special session must also fashion a structure for armament control and peace which faithfully reflects the important and laboriously obtained compromises and solutions affecting disarmament arrived at in the resolutions of the First Committee between States of varying stages of development, with or without nuclear capacity.

123. Unfortunately, man's perception of himself and his surroundings has not changed much in the years since his

principal weapon of destruction was a bow and arrow. Those super-Powers and others who take such pride in their nuclear weapons and other means of national destruction have absolutely no idea how the rest of us feel about them. It would be a lot less frightening if it were possible for them to use their magnificent weapons on one another and if their wars affected no one else but unhappily this is not to be. Sovereign as such Powers are, it is a vain hope to expect that what they perceive to be their needs will be unduly influenced by what the rest of the nations of the world perceive their own needs to be.

124. Our age is at present consumed in a contest between the major Powers and their allies for the allegiance of the world, either through friendship or through fear. At the core of the contest are the competing ideologies of the major Powers, which they see as representing the sources of their cultures and civilizations. Grossly oversimplified, this is no more than a perception of the need for self-preservation. That which sovereign nations conceive to be their needs, in the interest of their national security, will continue to constitute a serious obstacle to disarmament. This does not mean that the goal of disarmament is impossible to attain, but rather that a fuller realization is needed that armaments are the effects of other perceptions which may in the end not be too difficult to overcome.

125. The situation in the Middle East is another part of our collective efforts towards international peace and security, which has taxed the energies of the Organization since its inception. The right to self-determination of the Palestinian people and of Israel remains the major issue of this complex conflict. A peaceful settlement in which the United Nations is a principal actor is therefore all the more urgent. Following from this basic premise, the position of the Government of the Bahamas, as has already been stated before this Assembly, consists of the following points: the acquisition of territory by force is unacceptable; Israel must end the occupation of territories it has held since the 1967 war; 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 the establishment of a just and durable peace must take account of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians.

126. The situation in Kampuchea represents a further test of the will of the Organization to uphold the principles, enshrined in the Charter, of sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence, non-use of force and non-intervention. The Government of the Bahamas again condemns the violation of these principles in Kampuchea and further reiterates its call for the implementation by all Member States, particularly the principal parties to the conflict in Kampuchea, of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and endorses the establishment and aims of the *Ad Hoc* Committee called for by the recently concluded International Conference on Kampuchea.³

127. Cyprus is another area of tension which the Organization has an obligation to defuse. In this context, my delegation concurs with the statement—and even warning—of the Secretary-General when he observed in his report on the work of the Organization with respect to the

situation in Cyprus that "continued delay [towards an agreed solution] . . . only serves to consolidate the *status quo*, which both parties have found to be unsatisfactory" [see A/36/1, sect. IV]. My delegation therefore exhorts the parties concerned to intensify their negotiations via the intercommunal talks. It also calls for full respect for and implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations on this question, particularly those provisions which affirm the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus, demand the withdrawal of foreign troops and urge the voluntary return of refugees to their homeland in safety.

128. There has never before been a greater need to find the means to reconcile the perceived needs of sovereign nations and the known needs for greater international co-operation in economic development. But there has never been a time for greater co-operation, not confrontation, in finding the means to such a reconciliation. There are powerful voices in the world which would, perhaps without understanding, lead us to confrontation. The Bahamas firmly supports the launching as soon as possible of the global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development on the basis of the consensus to be found in resolution 34/138, in which the General Assembly emphasized "the imperative need to establish a new system of international economic relations based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit and also to promote the common interest of all countries".

129. There is an obvious relationship between political independence and economic independence, and there is an equally obvious relationship between political independence and the global ideological conflict in which, willingly or not, we are caught up. So it must follow that a failure to reach agreement on the means by which economic independence will be achieved is bound to influence political and ideological considerations. Hence it requires that those of us who wish to preserve our freedom and our political independence persist by means of the reconciliation of legitimately conflicting points of view among developed and developing countries.

130. Freedom and political independence are rich harvests to reap, but they become a poor feast at the table of economic dependence. The economic philosophy of development which dictates that the rich should get richer and let riches trickle down to the poor is an affront to national dignity and sovereign independence. It is a philosophy of dependence worse than colonialism. The evolution of a more equitable system of economic relations among nations must not be deferred by those who fail to realize that total interdependence of the world requires, paradoxically, that the road of self-sufficiency and economic independence is called co-operation.

131. I wish to state that my Government has been encouraged by the progress made at the last session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, particularly by the adoption of a programme of work which envisages the completion of the work of the Conference next spring, and by the choice of Jamaica and the Federal Republic of Germany as the seats of the future International Sea-Bed Authority and the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, respectively. The Bahamas

regards the compromise text submitted by the President of the Conference on the delimitation of the exclusive economic zone and the continental shelf between States with opposite or adjacent coasts as a major step towards the settlement of the complex issue of delimitation.

132. The problem of drug control and, in the case of the Bahamas, that of trafficking in drugs are among the primary social problems facing the Bahamas today. The geography of the Bahamas itself and its geographical location are contributory factors in the incidence of the traffic in drugs through our archipelago. The Bahamas covers an area of almost 100,000 nautical square miles of water with many isolated islands where ships and aircraft engaged in drug trafficking may seek haven to elude detection. The geographical location of the Bahamas also makes it a convenient transit country for illegal drugs destined for the big and profitable markets in North America.

133. The Bahamas is not now and has never been a producer of drugs and is not, in the international context, a major consumer, but consumption in the Bahamas has increased in direct relation to the volume of traffic passing through. Producer countries are generally south of the Bahamas; a major consumer country is to the north. This puts us in an unenviable position. Drug trafficking through the Bahamas is straining the economic, moral and social fabric of the islands of our Commonwealth. What is important to the Bahamas is the effect the traffic in drugs is having on small Bahamian communities where a high percentage of the adult male population may find it economically advantageous to become involved in this illicit business. This is a moral and cultural threat the long-term ramifications of which could be devastating to us.

134. The major participants in this trade are not Bahamian nationals. They are almost all nationals of producer and consumer States. It can therefore be readily understood why the primary concern of the Bahamas in this matter is for greater involvement of the United Nations system to internationalize the approaches to these problems of trafficking so that those who contribute the most to the traffic, that is, producer and consumer countries, should be required to bear a greater share of the burden of law enforcement and eradication.

135. The resources of the Bahamas, a developing country, are not unlimited. Narcotics control should not have to be in competition with social services for funding from the national budget. What is urgently needed is adequate international co-operation among all States: the producer States, the consumer States and transit States such as the Bahamas. To this end, my Government supports the inclusion in the agenda of the Assembly at this session of the new item entitled "International campaign against traffic in drugs" [item 129].

136. The Bahamas wishes to see the problem of international drug control in all its aspects given priority in the United Nations system. As a new member of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, my Government pledges itself to do its utmost to work for the speedy implementation of the suggested international measures which have been discussed and recommended in this and other bodies.

137. Successive Governments of the Bahamas over almost 30 years, before and since its independence, have had to contend with the social and economic problems associated with the continuing movement of economic refugees. We are not unmindful of the problems of refugees and displaced persons in other parts of the world perhaps in even more distressing circumstances. But after having had to deal alone with this problem for such a length of time, it is not inappropriate for us to draw attention to the urgent need for the United Nations system to reappraise the criteria now used to define refugees and to determine eligibility for emergency assistance for refugees. Some nations have the capacity to absorb large numbers of immigrants, whether as refugees or as illegal immigrants, and among big nations some are more generous than others. But it is evident that, even among the physically big and exceptionally endowed nations with skill and resources in abundance, some remedies must be found and some limits placed upon the influx of refugees.

138. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the problem has assumed and will continue to assume proportions which place enormous burdens on developing countries attempting to improve the quality of life for their people.

139. We in the Bahamas have had more than our tolerable share of economic refugees, who have come to our shores in flight from despair and desperately dehumanizing economic circumstances. The record will show that over almost 30 years we have provided a safe haven for numbers greater than our small country ought to have been required to accept, but we have done so with tolerance. Nevertheless, the problem remains and persists, and with varying degrees of intensity it will continue to impinge upon the development of countries in the area. Those countries from which such persons are refugees are in the unhappy position of not being able to keep pace with their own needs, which requires a separate international effort, but I am concerned here with drawing international attention to the urgent need to re-examine the role which the United Nations ought properly to play in the relief of the human tragedies which plague these people.

140. The tourist trade is the virtual life-blood of the small country which I have the honour to represent here. Indeed, we have been the pioneers in travel and tourism in our part of the world, and such progress as we have made in the economic development of the Bahamas can be attributed for the most part to the success which we have achieved in an industry which was begun in the Bahamas in the last century.

141. That industry has served to create in the Bahamas a positive awareness of the need for better human relations between people of different nationalities. We have a reputation for tolerance and the acceptance of foreign nationals and foreign cultures in the Bahamas. We know that contact and communication at the level of the individual human being does more to build a world of understanding than political or diplomatic speeches, or even resolutions of the United Nations. We have come to regard tourism as a bridge for understanding between people. It is also the principle source of our national income. The example which we have set has been an inspiration to

the States of the Caribbean region, which have taken heed of the success we have made of the travel and tourist industry as it has become, at the same time, an international industry of the twentieth-century world.

142. Freedom of travel in a non-discriminatory fashion has therefore not only made us a leader in the industry, aided the economic and social development of our people and made us a community of many nationalities but also created in us an international consciousness and made us a promoter of one world. The Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations enjoins us "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". How better to live as good neighbours than to know one another; how better to know one another than to meet one another; how better to meet one another than to travel?

143. We have therefore to reject as inconsistent with the purposes for which the United Nations was founded any attempts which have the effect of restricting peoples' freedom to engage in lawful travel and any measures which have the effect of discriminating between one tourist destination and another.

144. The Bahamas therefore hopes that the United Nations system will give high priority to the promotion of the travel and tourist industry as the most effective means of developing better understanding among people and at the same time giving greater stimulation to international trade and economic development.

145. I am aware of the hymnal direction to "beware of easy speeches", so during the course of this session the Bahamian delegation will seek to put to the relevant committees of the Organization, where appropriate and possible, those ideas for practical implementation which may contribute to the production of realistic solutions to our many problems.

146. My delegation wishes to reaffirm its full support for the United Nations system, which for us represents the only international hope for the honourable resolution of the problems of mankind, which, after all, are not of the making of the majority of States represented here.

147. In conclusion, I would refer to some words spoken at the eighteenth session by a former representative of our host country to the United Nations upon the death of his President, in November 1963, which I respectfully commend to the Assembly:

"We shall not soon forget that he held fast to a vision of a world in which the peace is secure; in which inevitable conflicts are reconciled by pacific means; in which nations devote their energies to the welfare of all their citizens; and in which the vast and colourful diversity of human society can flourish in a restless, competitive search for a better society.

"We shall not soon forget that by word and by deed he gave proof of profound confidence in the present value and the future promise of this great Organization, the United Nations." [1264th meeting, paras. 193 and 194.]

148. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): It is my privilege, Sir, to proffer my delegation's sincere congratulations on your elevation to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We fully share the conviction repeatedly expressed by those who have spoken before us that under your eminent stewardship this session will undoubtedly be crowned with success.

149. We take off our hats to your equally illustrious predecessor for the brilliant manner in which he steered the deliberations of the thirty-fifth session. May he continue to shine in his new endeavours.

150. We are also in no small measure beholden to the Secretary-General, who has selflessly continued to spend sleepless nights and restless days in the service of mankind.

151. It is with great pride and a sense of achievement that we welcome to our midst the Republic of Vanuatu. Every addition to the membership of this family of nations represents to us an additional nail in the coffin of colonialism.

152. We are equally proud to welcome to independence and freedom the new State of Belize, which came into being only 16 days ago. The people of Belize are free at last and we all have every reason to rejoice. We wish them a very happy future.

153. Botswana continues to attach great importance to the annual sessions of this great assembly of nations. There is, in our view, some virtue in the ritual of speech-making, in the festival of words in which we engage every year, for we know only too well that when nations stop talking they start fighting.

154. Gathered here today, as in the past, are nations big and small, rich and poor, weak and strong, brought together by their common desire and determination to nurture and preserve their collective freedom, independence and security under the protective umbrella of the United Nations. Of necessity, every year scores of presidents, prime ministers and foreign ministers come on a pilgrimage to this meeting-place of nations to speak of peace and the brotherhood of man. This is as it should be, for the United Nations was founded precisely for the sole purpose of maintaining peace and security and fostering the growth of a spirit of mutual understanding among nations in a world scarred by two wars in this century alone.

155. And yet a quick glance at the agenda will reveal that the foundations of peace are as weak as ever. Old issues still crowd the agenda of every session of the Assembly. The world in which we live, 36 years after the founding of the United Nations, continues to be poised precariously on an increasingly fading borderline between peace and war, between order and chaos, between sanity and madness. The cold war between the East and the West has been given a new lease of life and is threatening to heat up as the two super-Powers resume their deadly and wasteful competition for nuclear arms superiority. Billions of dollars are being wasted on a suicidal arms race at the end of which there will certainly be no winner. The super-Powers already have in their possession a lethal

arsenal more than sufficient to destroy each other and the rest of us many times over.

156. Inevitably, the escalation of the cold war has heightened tension all over the world, particularly in areas of endemic conflict such as southern Africa. That turbulent region of our continent has in recent months become a viciously contested area for contending seekers after geopolitical spheres of influence and may yet provide the spark to start the conflagration we have always feared and tried to avoid.

157. The problems of southern Africa are not insoluble. A racial conflagration is not necessarily inevitable in that area. For Namibia we have a plan which has been accepted by the parties concerned and endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978) and which must be implemented without any further delay if the patience of the oppressed is not to run out. There is still a great deal of goodwill among those who have waited so long for their freedom. The front-line States and Africa as a whole have invested a great deal of hope in the United Nations plan, not out of fear of the alternative path to Namibia's freedom but as a demonstration of our abiding faith in peaceful change and the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

158. It would be unfortunate, therefore, if our goodwill and our good faith were to be mistaken for capitulation or weakness. The five Western Powers, in particular, which laboured so hard three years ago to produce the United Nations plan, ought to realize that within their grasp lies a golden opportunity to play an historic role in the peaceful liberation of Namibia before it is too late. They ought to realize that the permissiveness with which they have treated South Africa thus far can only stiffen that country's resolve to continue to gnaw at the very soul of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) until the resolution resembles some Bantustan plan. South Africa must be compelled to show good faith if SWAPO is to be expected to continue to be as reasonable as it has always been.

159. There has been a great deal of speculation in the media in the past few weeks about the imminence of a breakthrough in the stalemate that has characterized the period since the Geneva pre-implementation meeting. On 24 September, the five Western Powers met here in New York in an atmosphere of heightened expectation. Twelve days later we are still in a state of anticipation because what transpired at the meeting on 24 September remains shrouded in mystery. We have not lost hope, but there is up to now nothing to encourage us in our stubborn hopefulness. The onus is on the Five Powers to deliver South Africa and there is very little time in which to do so. The road of silent agony is by no means endless.

160. The stalemate in the Namibian negotiations has created a dangerous situation in our area. The recent invasion of Angola by South Africa, using Namibia as a launching pad, has not only betrayed Pretoria's sinister intentions vis-à-vis the whole situation in southern Africa; it has also in no small measure showed how close the area is to becoming a cockpit of super-Power confrontation.

161. South Africa has been very much encouraged by Washington's popular song about the presence of Cubans

and Russians in Angola. The reported capture by South African terrorist troops of one Russian in southern Angola and the discovery of one bottle of vodka in the house he is alleged to have occupied seem to have been received well in the capitals of the Western world. Frantic attempts are now being made to blame Angola for acts committed by South Africa. Efforts are being made to blame the Soviet Union and Cuba for acts of aggression committed by South Africa.

162. Neither the Cubans nor the Russians in Angola have ever posed a threat to the security or stability of southern Africa. On the contrary, they are in Angola precisely because, using Namibia as a military base, South Africa invaded Angola in 1975 and has continued to violate the territorial integrity of that country with impunity. Angola had every right to seek assistance from its friends and will continue to exercise that right so long as South African acts of aggression continue.

163. South Africa has itself to blame for the political pollution in southern Africa. Angola is what it is because of the abortive attempt by South Africa in 1975 to destroy that country at birth. Namibia is in the mess it is in because for more than 60 years South Africa has used the Territory as if it were part of South Africa, in blatant defiance of the decisions of both the League of Nations and the United Nations. Southern Africa is in a state of turmoil because South Africa has decided to destabilize any country in the area which refuses to be cowed into submission in the struggle against *apartheid* and Pretoria's illegal occupation of Namibia.

164. And yet all these provocations have not deterred and will not deter us from pursuing the cause of peace in Namibia as far as we possibly can. There can be a solution to the Namibian problem and, indeed, the plan exists to produce such a solution. The front-line States, Africa and SWAPO are more than ready to co-operate with the five Western Powers and the United Nations in the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) and thus end once and for all the sad Namibian saga.

165. The liberation of Namibia is, of course, inextricably bound up with the struggle against the pernicious ideology of *apartheid* in South Africa, where a stubborn white minority régime has elected to resist with all the power at its disposal every effort aimed at persuading it to abandon the suicidal course on which it set itself 33 years ago. The past four years have witnessed frantic attempts by the South African régime to convince the world that the white man cannot survive in South Africa without institutionalized racism. In other words, we are told that for the white man to survive in South Africa there must be racial discrimination in the country; blacks and whites must have separate toilets, separate bars, separate schools, separate residential areas and, indeed, separate cemeteries.

166. No, *apartheid* is inimical to the survival of the white man in South Africa. By refusing to recognize the aspirations of black South Africans, by depriving the black majority of its heritage, the citizenship of its own country, white South Africans have jeopardized their own survival in South Africa.

167. So have the people of Israel in the Middle East; they seem to have vowed never to live in peace with their neighbours, whose lands Israel has forcibly added to its own and continues to occupy in arrogant defiance of United Nations decisions. There can be no peace in the Middle East so long as Israel refuses not only to end its occupation of Arab lands, but also—and this is crucial—to recognize the right of the people of Palestine to live as a free nation in its own independent sovereign State.

168. There can be no peace in the Middle East as long as Israel believes that its survival in that area depends entirely on its military might. The destruction of Iraq's nuclear reactor does not in any way enhance the prospects for peace in the Middle East, nor does it ensure the survival of Israel. The systematic bombing of Lebanon by Israel can only accelerate the dangerous drift towards a bloody regional confrontation in the Middle East.

169. Yes, we remain committed to the survival of the State of Israel, but only within its pre-1967 boundaries. We also, with equal tenacity, remain committed to the struggle of the Palestinian people for freedom. It has every right to have a country it can truly call its own.

170. On the question of Korea, we believe it is only fair and just that we should leave the two parts of the divided country alone to solve, in peace and without any external interference of any kind, the problem of reunification. Both Koreas want reunification; it is only in the method of achieving the objective that the two sides may differ. The important thing, however, is that we should leave them alone to resolve their differences.

171. Asia has its own problems. Afghanistan is still where it was when we met here last year. Soviet troops are still in the country in spite of our urgings that they be withdrawn. We insist that they be withdrawn so that the people of Afghanistan can decide on their own system of government.

172. Kampuchea also remains a tormented country. Vietnamese troops have no right to be there and must withdraw to Viet Nam, where they belong.

173. My delegation has no illusions that when we meet here at the thirty-seventh session some of the items we are dealing with this year might not be on the agenda of that session. Our earnest hope is that next year the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will conclude its work and that global negotiations on international economic co-operation will have been launched and will have made some progress. Otherwise, the struggle for the creation of a safer, saner and more just world must continue.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Gerald O. Barney, *Global 2000 Report to the President: Entering the Twenty-first Century*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1980.

² Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

³ See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea*, New York (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex II.