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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. OULD MOHAMED LAGHDAF (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I cannot begin my statement without first extending to you the warm congratulations of the Mauritanian delegation on your election as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. Familiar as I am with your experience and your human and intellectual qualities, I am convinced that our proceedings will be conducted in the objective and business-like manner necessary for work such as that of the United Nations.

2. I wish also to express to your predecessor, Mr. Mojsov of Yugoslavia, our esteem and our appreciation of the remarkable manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the past session. On this occasion I wish also to pay a tribute to the exceptional qualities of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose constant efforts and vision provide invaluable leadership for our Organization.

3. The United Nations was intended, as our Secretary-General so aptly put it [*see A/33/1, sect. II*], among other things to be the guarantor of justice and peace most especially for small countries which otherwise would have no recourse in a world dominated exclusively by power politics. In addition, our Organization, for all its shortcomings, has become, in this modern era, when the interdependence of nations must be understood by everyone without any distinction as to race or ideology, a necessity without which the proper conduct of international affairs would be inconceivable.

4. For all these reasons Mauritania, which is a peace-loving country, whose goal has always been to serve the cause of rapprochement and understanding, is deeply devoted to all the principles of the Charter, which we have all signed, and to the objectives that we have all set for ourselves in this Organization. Thus it is that my country has come before this Assembly, through me, to promise loyalty to our Organization in the most solemn manner possible.

5. Because we belong to Africa, a continent where economic injustice and political domination are still very burning problems, our country is in a very good position to assess the importance of those principles, especially the principles which make of peace, freedom and economic development the priority issues of our day.

6. To this collective effort to attain these priority goals, my Government is determined to make its contribution, a modest one perhaps, but sincere and disinterested none the less.

7. The success of this common undertaking here in the United Nations clearly depends on the establishment of peace wherever it is in danger. After all, how can one conceive of the full exercise of political freedoms and economic rights without peace, on which any effort to bring about economic development and social, political or cultural advancement depends?

8. It is only natural, then, that the Mauritanian people, the Military Committee for National Recovery and the Mauritanian Government, each assuming its part of the joint responsibility for seeking peace, should have set as their goal the achievement of concord and understanding among peoples, especially the peoples of the western Maghreb subregion, to which we are proud to belong.

9. That is why Mauritania decided, immediately after 10 July 1978, to embark on dynamic action for peace and involve therein the Organization of African Unity [OAU], the League of Arab States and the United Nations.

10. We want a comprehensive peace, because only the voluntary and sincere commitment of all the parties to the dispute can bring about a final settlement of this distressing fratricidal conflict.

11. In that part of the world a state of tension has prevailed for nearly three years now, dividing countries and peoples which are brothers and which, because of their history, geography and common destiny, must live together forever in a state of interdependence. These same countries and these same peoples have fought, side by side and hand in hand, during the colonial era but now they are, regrettably, fighting each another, thereby endangering the stability of the subregion, jeopardizing their own economic development and damaging the cohesiveness of the OAU and the Arab League. Such an abnormal situation, to say the very least, cannot continue without seriously jeopardizing any possibility of finding viable solutions for the problems of the subregion.

12. If we all really and sincerely want peace and stability in our subregion, then this is no time for recriminations or

mutual accusations. We in Mauritania want to turn this dark page of our history and commit ourselves resolutely to the search for peace, which requires that the protagonists in this drama clearly understand that they share the same ineluctable destiny.

13. This position of our people, the Military Committee for National Recovery and the Mauritanian Government is based on our firm belief that our country, which enjoys freedom and sovereignty, should play only a balancing role in the interests of the stability of our subregion.

14. The incalculable effort that has been made, the waste of human and material resources, our ingenuity, our courage, our fighting spirit must henceforth be directed to producing concord among our peoples, to promoting their development in all areas and to achieving all their aspirations. That is the firm belief of the Mauritanian people and its Government. Our people, the Military Committee for National Recovery and our Government believe that in this way we are moving with history and the force of logic. We refuse to consider any possibility for the people of the western Maghreb but their living together as they have for centuries in cultural and social symbiosis and in their profound similarity within an enriching differentiation.

15. In a word, my country, through me, wishes solemnly to reiterate its desire for peace and invites its partners to join it in devoting our efforts to the attainment of this goal.

16. The OAU and the United Nations can, of course, make a positive contribution to this end. The OAU has already appointed a "committee of wise men", an *ad hoc* Committee of Heads of State of countries members of the OAU, [see A/33/235 and Corr.1, annex II, AHG/Res.92 (XV)] which, we are convinced, will fulfil the hopes that it has aroused. The United Nations can also play a useful role by avoiding anything which might harden positions and make the task of the "committee of wise men" any more difficult than it is. Mauritania is determined to co-operate loyally with all parties and will not reject out of hand any responsible proposal which might lead to a settlement of this unfortunate conflict, that is to say, a comprehensive settlement acceptable to all the parties concerned.

17. I have dwelt on the question of the Sahara and the tension in our subregion precisely because these are problems which directly concern my country. My delegation is no less aware of the gravity of the many important economic and political questions which we shall be tackling in the course of this session: for example, the one of the Middle East, southern Africa and the new international economic order. Mauritania's position has not changed on any of those three questions. It remains what it has always been, a firm position based on real solidarity and a common destiny.

18. First of all, we are at one with the Palestinian people represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization, a people driven from their homes, deprived of their property, and made refugees living on international charity. We are also at one with the Arab countries neighbouring Palestine which, with the passage of time, have seen their lands contract and their sovereignty diminished as a consequence of Israel's constant aggression and military occupation. In

this connexion, my Government remains convinced that a just and lasting peace in the area is inconceivable without the complete evacuation of the occupied Arab territories and without the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination. We express solidarity also with the peoples of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe which, notwithstanding their sacrifices and the unanimous support of the international community, have not yet freed themselves from the racist colonialism of South Africa and the rebel régime of Ian Smith.

19. That situation, which is anachronistic to say the least, must come to an end, and in this respect the United Nations—in particular the major Powers—has a responsibility to shoulder and a rôle to play. My country has followed with interest the efforts of the Western countries members of the Security Council in connexion with Namibia. But the South African régime, by challenging the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia by its claims to Walvis Bay, has demonstrated its bad faith and its determination to oppose a united and really independent Namibia.

20. Finally, Mauritania shares common interests with all the developing countries members of the Group of 77. Our common interests are based on a common desire for greater justice and equity in international economic relations. With the creation of the Committee Established Under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, known as the Committee of the Whole, at the last regular session of the Assembly, it seemed that some tangible progress would be possible in the efforts that began with the adoption of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)]. However, we must say that we are disappointed that that Committee is today still busy with organizing its work and defining its task. Once the General Assembly has redefined its mandate, we hope that the Committee will find itself in a position to start negotiations on the major issues on its agenda.

21. Similarly, the results of negotiations elsewhere in the United Nations hardly encourage much optimism. The common fund for commodities has yet to see the light of day and the ministerial session of the Trade and Development Board devoted to the question of indebtedness¹ has not yet fulfilled the expectations of the developing countries. In contrast to that generally gloomy picture, the fourth session of the World Food Council² represents a positive achievement.

22. We might add to the common problems of the developing countries the problem of the countries of the Sahelian region, the solution of which requires a major effort by the international community. I am, of course, referring to the widespread drought that has lasted for the past 10 years in our countries. The General Assembly at its last regular session and the Economic and Social Council at its summer session showed an understanding of the gravity of this new situation and of its repercussions on the

¹ The third (Ministerial) part of the ninth special session of the Trade and Development Board was held in Geneva from 6 to 11 March 1978. For the report on the session, see document A/33/15, part two.

² Held from 12 to 14 June 1978 in Mexico City.

economies of the countries of the Sahelian region as a whole. The texts adopted by the Assembly [resolution 32/159] and by the Council³ speak very eloquently, as indeed do the replies of the donor countries and bodies. In this connexion, the Mauritanian people and Government wish, through me, to express their profound gratitude to all those countries and governmental and private organizations which responded to the appeal which was issued on behalf of the Sahelian region.

23. Mauritania, for its part, is determined to bring about a radical and lasting solution to that and all other problems, regardless of their nature, on the basis of a comprehensive inventory, a sound and realistic management of its own resources, and a policy guaranteeing the freedom of foreign investment in all sectors of our national life.

24. That, then, was the message that I wished to deliver to this Assembly on behalf of the Mauritanian people. It is a message of peace and understanding, those two fundamental objectives in the United Nations Charter, to which my country remains profoundly devoted.

25. Mr. NASE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the important post of President of the General Assembly.

26. I wish also to take this opportunity to welcome the State of Solomon Islands to our Organization.

27. The events which have occurred since the last session of the General Assembly attest that the situation in the world remains serious and complex, and fraught with threats and dangers to freedom, independence and the sovereignty of various peoples and countries.

28. Today we see increased aggressiveness on the part of the super-Powers, constant intensification of their expansionist and hegemonist policy, and their feverish preparations for wars and aggression. Their fierce rivalry to divide and redivide the world and to ensure for themselves zones of influence, markets and sources of raw materials, has increased. In numerous parts of the world hotbeds of tension and conflict, wars and aggression exist and are being created.

29. Events such as those occurring in the Middle East, in Africa and in South-East Asia prove that ancient and modern imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will stop at no crime to regain their lost positions, and to prevent peoples from devoting themselves to strengthening their political independence, and their independent economic and social progress.

30. The American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and other imperialists are trying to submit peoples of sovereign countries to their domination, to make them subscribe to their doctrines of bondage, and to make them renounce their freedom, their national independence and their liberation struggle. In order to achieve these ends they stop at no action—however reprehensible it may be, and however much it may run counter to the norms of

moral and international law—from sabre-rattling to treacherous attitudes and the brutal breach of agreements officially concluded between States.

31. While they have recourse to pressure and violence, the super-Powers are waging an intense propaganda campaign to delude world public opinion, and to pass off their aggressive stratagems as actions serving the cause of peace, the settlement of major international problems and the defence of the interests of other countries. They are not lost for words to express their desire to see “harmony and understanding established”, “détente”, and “general and complete disarmament”, “to avert nuclear wars”, and to see the world becoming a mosaic of “zones of peace and denuclearized zones”, and so on.

32. The consequences of the policy and aggressive activities of the imperialist super-Powers are obvious in many parts of the world. Much has been said about détente and peace and security in Europe. But the facts show that Europe is not a continent of solved problems, tranquillity and stability. In Europe the dangerous confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union and their aggressive political and military blocs of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty Organization continue as hitherto. In Europe the two super-Powers have massed considerable military forces and have further strengthened their military bases and their nuclear arsenals. They continually organize offensive manoeuvres and make feverish preparations for war. The American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists use every political, economic and military means to strengthen their positions in their respective zones of influence and to undermine the positions of their adversaries. The accusations they level at each other concerning the non-observation of the so-called “spirit of Helsinki” decisions and the deadlock in the Vienna negotiations and deals are attempts to justify the maintenance of their influence and their hegemonistic policies. The *status quo* established by the United States and the Soviet Union has harmed and is harming very seriously the sovereignty of the peoples and States of Europe.

33. Today in Europe other imperialist forces which show much zeal in fanning the flames of conflict in that continent are seeking ever more overtly to gain a foothold. They are doing their utmost to increase the possibilities of conflict and war in Europe between the two super-Powers, between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, to give rise to as many confused situations as possible in Europe.

34. The Albanian Government has long expressed its view that détente and the establishment of genuine peace in Europe are attainable not through illusions and hopes based on the promises of the imperialists and the social imperialists, but only by unmasking and countering resolutely their misleading diplomatic manoeuvres. In order that genuine steps may be taken towards the establishment of peace in Europe, first and foremost the military bases and the foreign troops stationed in various countries of that continent must be withdrawn and the aggressive military blocs headed by the super-Powers must be dismantled.

35. The imperialist Powers have always striven to create and maintain a tense situation in the Balkan peninsula and

³ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1978, Supplement No. 1, resolution 1978/37.*

to stir up quarrels and conflicts between the States of that region. As a result of the policy of intervention of the super-Powers a number of disquieting factors have accumulated today in the Balkans; there are problems which hamper the normal development of good-neighbourly relations between the various States in that region; and there still prevail conditions which prevent the Balkan peoples from feeling secure and sheltered from danger.

36. The most recent events show that the imperialists, far from having renounced their plans in the Balkans, are stepping up their provocative actions to turn that region into a "powder keg," an armed camp and a bridge-head for their warlike strategies. It is to this end that the various visits by delegations have been made at the highest possible level by the imperialist Powers to various Balkan countries. It goes without saying that whoever goes along with the game of the super-Powers in the Balkans is harming the interests of his own people and at the same time creating dangers for other peoples.

37. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always taken principled and constructive attitudes on problems which concern genuine peace and security in the Balkans. By its actions it has shown its will to contribute to improving the situation in that zone. It is and always has been in favour of good-neighbourly relations, and has declared that it will never allow any evil or danger to neighbouring States to come by way of its territory.

38. The Albanian Government holds that the Balkan peoples are capable of acting resolutely to bar the way to any intervention, to any intrigue by the imperialist Powers. It considers that the interests of peace and security in the Balkans require that the Balkan States act responsibly, that they not allow themselves to be involved in the dangerous plans of those who do not wish them well. The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, once said:

"The Balkans have never in themselves been a 'powder keg'. They were made so in the past by foreigners and imperialists, who held all the detonators and who wish to maintain that situation even today. The Balkan peoples are in duty bound to cut all the fuses with the sword, so that peace and security may be firmly established in the Balkans. It goes without saying that our peoples need friends. But they must never become the tools of foreigners to the detriment of the interests of any people or of all our peoples jointly."

39. As a Mediterranean country, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always attentively followed the complex situation which has been created in the Mediterranean by the aggressive aims and activities of the United States of America and the Soviet Union and in particular by the presence of their navies in that sea. The situation in the Mediterranean would change for the better—which would contribute to the maintenance of peace in the region—were the Mediterranean countries to take specific measures against the presence of the navies of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, to forbid the establishment of American and Soviet military bases on their territories, and to refuse port facilities to the warships and air corridors to the military aircraft of the two super-Powers. The concessions being granted to one or the other super-Power,

or to both, are fraught with grave consequences not only for the country which grants them but for other countries as well.

40. The earliest and most just possible solution of the problem of Cyprus would eliminate one of the hotbeds of tension in the Mediterranean and one of the factors which has a negative influence on the situation in the Balkans. Cyprus must be an independent and sovereign State where the two communities can live in understanding and harmony. The Albanian Government's view has been and remains that this problem can and must be resolved in a just manner by the people of Cyprus itself, on the basis of its free will and without any foreign intervention.

41. The effects of the imperialist-Zionist aggression and the rivalry of the United States of America and the Soviet Union in the Middle East continue to weigh ever more heavily on the Arab peoples, first and foremost the Palestinian people. The Israeli Zionists have until now enjoyed numerous advantages from the constant military, political and economic support they have received from the American imperialists and from the anti-Arab manoeuvres of the super-Powers. The tragic events in Lebanon show that they have stepped up even further their aggressive actions against the Arab peoples and countries. Life and the facts have confirmed the warnings given by the true friends of the Arab peoples with regard to the danger and the grave consequences of the numerous plots hatched by the imperialists for years on end to sabotage the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples, to divide them and to draw them into the trap of so-called political settlements, of conferences and mediations of the imperialists, which can only lead to the sacrifice of the fundamental rights of the Arab peoples, first and foremost the Palestinian people. The imperialists strive to impose humiliating conditions on the Arab States and partial solutions to the Middle East problem. But as long as its legitimate rights are denied to the Palestinian people, as long as Israeli troops occupy even one inch of Arab land, peace in that world trouble-spot cannot be assured.

42. We are confident that, whatever the difficulties, the Arab peoples, whose energy is great, will finally attain their rights, thanks to their resolute struggle and their unity. The people and the Government of Albania have supported and will always support with determination the just cause of the Palestinian people and the other fraternal Arab peoples.

43. This year has been marked by a sharp increase of tension in the African continent. The African peoples, which have after a long struggle, arduous efforts and many sacrifices broken the chains of centuries-old colonial domination and now aspire to consolidate their independence and national sovereignty, are now confronting difficult political, economic and military situations brought about by the interference of the super-Powers and imperialist Powers in Africa. The imperialist super-Powers stir up disputes and conflicts among the African countries and incite among them hostility that has its roots in the problems which they have inherited from colonial domination. Africa is flooded by arms, countless advisers, specialists and military instructors from the West and the East, who seek to induce the Africans to fight among themselves for the benefit of foreigners. The hotbeds of war

and armed conflicts kindled by the United States, the Soviet Union and other imperialist Powers in various parts of Africa are causing great tragedies to the African peoples. In order to befuddle the African peoples and countries as much as possible, the super-Powers make a great show of being the friends of the African peoples and accuse one another of "intervention" in Africa or of "disrupting the balance". Others, on the pretext of struggling against Soviet social-imperialism, strive to intervene themselves in Africa and advise the African countries to unite with American imperialism and the former colonial Powers. In fact, all have the same goal—to dominate, and carve up Africa, to create or extend zones of influence and to bring the African States into the orbit of their policy of bondage.

44. But the African peoples can no longer allow the imperialist Powers to act as they see fit in Africa. They can no longer allow them to oppress the peoples, to pillage and to establish the borders of a State according to their whim. Their struggle to defend their sovereign rights against the interference and intrigues of the imperialist Powers and to wipe out colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism enjoys the sympathy and support of the whole of progressive world opinion.

45. The victories which the African peoples have won thus far in their struggle for liberation and the consolidation of their national independence, the struggle of the peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia against *apartheid* and the racist régimes, the efforts of freedom-loving countries of Africa to exercise complete sovereignty over their natural wealth for their own free and independent development prove that the process of great changes which has begun in Africa cannot be stopped.

46. The Albanian people and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania express their complete solidarity with the African peoples in their just struggle against brutal intervention by the imperialist Powers in Africa. They staunchly support the struggle of the peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia against the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the existence of which continues to inflict a serious wound on Africa.

47. A serious situation fraught with dangerous consequences has been created once again in South-East Asia. The armed conflict between Viet Nam and Cambodia is saddening, especially to freedom-loving peoples who for years followed with great admiration and supported the heroic struggle for national liberation waged by the peoples of those countries, shoulder to shoulder, against American imperialism and its lackeys. The conflict between these two countries is stirred up by the imperialist Powers which, in order to intensify their expansionist policy, continue their interference and their plots to prevent those peoples from living in peace, developing and advancing on the road to progress.

48. The Albanian people and its Government, sincere friends of the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples, have followed with sadness the development of events and are grieved at the grave consequences of the fratricidal war between those two peoples. They have expressed and still express their conviction that the bloodshed can be stopped

and the disagreements resolved only through joint efforts and goodwill on the part of the two countries, through friendly negotiations and by barring the road to any foreign interference.

49. But unfortunately we note that the conflict in South-East Asia, instead of progressing towards a solution in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, is tending to worsen. The Vietnamese people who have waged a heroic war and have made a great contribution to the peoples' struggle, have now become the target of open blackmail and pressure from outside, which horrifies honest people. No one has the right to interfere in their internal affairs and to dictate to them what they should do internally.

50. As a result of the American occupation of South Korea the situation in the Korean peninsula remains complicated. The Albanian people supports the just demand of the Korean people for the withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea and for the independent reunification of the country.

51. In the turbulent situation which prevails in the world today, the peoples are confronted by the imperative task of fighting resolutely to foil the plans of the imperialist super-Powers and reactionary forces designed to cause a new world conflagration.

52. The danger of that war breaking out remains real. The super-Powers and the imperialist Powers by their various policies are heading for war. It would be an illusion to think that the military balance between the super-Powers eliminates the possibility of another war breaking out. The world cannot escape that danger by leaving it to the imperialists to settle problems of war and peace as they see fit.

53. The demagogic words and slogans of the imperialist Powers do not bring about disarmament; they mask armament. The tenth special session of the General Assembly showed once more that the super-Powers are not thinking about disarmament at all but are striving by all means in their power to increase and improve weapons of all kinds, speed up the arms race and increase their military budgets. Weapons are not being reduced or eliminated and war cannot be avoided by pinning hopes on the discussions and bargaining of the super-Powers, such as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and many other negotiations arranged by the United States and the Soviet Union, or by decisions such as those taken at Helsinki,⁴ or by resolutions and documents, which are often adopted under the pressure and the manipulation of the imperialist super-Powers.

54. Peoples and sovereign States which want peace and genuine security support genuine and effective disarmament and hate imperialist war. Their interest demands that they struggle resolutely against the aggressive policies and plans, the armament and preparations for war and the deceitful demagoguery of the super-Powers.

55. The imperialists, social-imperialists and other reactionaries greatly fear the intensification in breadth and depth of

⁴ See Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

the struggle of the peoples and the strengthening of their solidarity and fighting unity. Therefore they strive by all possible means to stifle the liberation and revolutionary struggles of the peoples in order to destroy, by co-ordinated force and methods, the unity and solidarity of the people, to divide them, to isolate them from each other or to lead peoples and sovereign countries into misguided and dangerous paths.

56. The strengthening of the unity and solidarity of people is of major importance today. The peoples need a genuine and healthy unity, directed against their enemies, not a false unity in line with the stratagems and slogans invented by the imperialists and the opportunists.

57. The super-Powers have now intensified to the maximum degree their efforts to create a psychosis according to which no people and no country can guarantee its freedom and independence except under the umbrella and the tutelage of a large State. The American imperialists, who have always played and still play the role of the international policeman and who spread the policy of oppression and exploitation to the four corners of the world, have spread the idea that they alone can guarantee independence and progress for other countries, and that, if other States rely on them, they can feel themselves sheltered from the danger of the Soviet social-imperialists, or the Warsaw Pact, or any other dangers. The Soviet social-imperialists, for their part, endeavour to pave the way for their policy of expansion, domination and *diktat*, by offering to defend countries against the danger of American imperialism and of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. They trumpet the slogan of the "anti-imperialist front" under their guidance.

58. Accepting the "protective umbrellas" of the super-Powers is tantamount to accepting the elimination of the freedom, independence and national sovereignty of one's own country, and accepting bondage.

59. We are opposed to the imperialist and social-imperialist super-Powers which engage in various forms of neo-colonialism, exploit and oppress peoples, deny them freedom and independence, and pit them one against the other in bloody conflicts to satisfy their own rapacious interests. Among the fallacious means used to ensure exploitation and domination we find a certain theory of "the three worlds", the authors of which preach to the proletariat and the oppressed peoples that they should enter into monstrous alliances with the imperialists and the capitalists. They do so to justify their hegemonistic designs, which they camouflage by the alleged need to fight one of the super-Powers.

60. The policy of our party and our State is and always will be directed against any hostile action which would endanger the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples. We expose, as we have always exposed, all enemies of the people and their reactionary ideological ideas and expansionist actions, whether overt or covert. The policy of our Government is to support the aspirations of peoples and to combat policies of oppression and exploitation no matter who practises it.

61. The peoples of the world must be vigilant, because a tragic game is being played out behind the backs of us all.

We think, therefore, that no country and no people ought to stand idly by, accepting the frauds and malevolent actions of the super-Powers and of various imperialists.

62. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always staunchly supported the just struggles of the peoples for their national and social liberation, the right of sovereign peoples and countries to live freely and independently, to develop, to make progress in conformity with their own legitimate will and aspirations.

63. The Albanian people and Government are vigorously opposed to any reactionary concept, any concept of enslavement, which the imperialist Powers seek to impose in international relations in order to force the small peoples and countries to submit to the *diktat* and policies of the big Powers, and they reject that concept. In our view, all countries and peoples, whether large or small, have their contribution to make to the development of human society. The weight of that contribution cannot be measured by geographical size or the size of the population of the State concerned but, first and foremost, by the path it is following, the ideas it holds and the positive or negative role which it plays in international relations.

64. We consider that international policy should not be the preserve of the large States. To us it is inadmissible that other countries should be denied the right to hold and openly express their points of view and their positions on major political problems of concern to peoples and to mankind as a whole, and to participate actively in finding solutions to those problems.

65. The Albanian Government has always pursued a just policy of principle in its relations with other countries. It has always been, and still is, in favour of the development of normal and friendly relations with all countries which respect the principles of equality, sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of others. Faithful to that policy, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has constantly maintained, developed and extended good normal relations with an ever growing number of States. It has rejected the attempts made by various imperialist and chauvinist Powers to exploit relations or agreements as a means of pressure to dictate their will and impose their positions and views on Albania.

66. With the same determination, the Albanian Government has rejected the efforts of the Chinese leadership to dictate to socialist Albania its own policy and its big-Power attitudes. As the Assembly knows, on 7 July last the Government of the People's Republic of China engaged in an overtly hostile act against socialist Albania and the Albanian people by cutting off aid and credits which it was committed to supply under the terms of official bilateral agreements. That was an arbitrary and a perfidious act by the Chinese Government, a flagrant violation of the obligations it has assumed on the basis of official agreements and the most elementary rules of relations between sovereign States and laws governing international relations. The real reasons for those agreements being rescinded were not purely technical, as the Chinese Government claims, but were profoundly political and ideological. The only reason for the Chinese Government's decision to violate the agreements concluded and extend ideological differences to

the sphere of inter-State relations was that socialist Albania never agreed to go along with the chauvinist great-Power policy of the Chinese leadership.

67. The Albanian people has always appreciated sincere friendship. Our history has taught us to be vigilant, to distinguish between friend and foe, not to fear the attacks and threats of enemies or be deceived by the hypocritical smiles of those who pretend to be friends but whose actions are prompted by evil intentions towards us. Albania has never held out a begging hand to anyone, nor will it do so. We are not alone or isolated, as our enemies would wish or as they would have other people believe. The so-called isolation is a concept spread by the propaganda of the imperialist and chauvinist Powers, which see the position of other States according to their ideology and describe as "isolated" anyone who refuses to toe their line.

68. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has declared that no imperialist Power whatsoever should whet its appetite or cherish illusions by thinking that Albania, under the pressure of international circumstances, may change its course and rely on one super-Power or another. Anyone who thinks that a so-called vacuum has been created in Albania and dreams of filling it is greatly mistaken and will suffer defeat. There has never been and will never be in our country any vacuum waiting to be filled by the imperialists or social-imperialists.

69. In its free and completely independent homeland, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Labour Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, is working selflessly to build a completely socialist society and to defend the freedom and independence of its country. Albania has seen uninterrupted development in all fields and is a country of progress, social justice and work for all.

70. The Albanian people will continue to advance with determination along the path of socialism, relying on its own forces. Self-reliance does not mean that we are in favour of autarchy or introversion. On the contrary, we have always been and still are in favour of extending international co-operation. We favour the development of trade and cultural relations and relations in other fields with different States on the basis of the recognized principles that govern relations between sovereign States.

71. We base the defence of our country not on political expediency or on the various aggressive military alliances but on the strength of our people, which is prepared as one man to defend with determination its achievements and its socialist homeland.

72. In the future, too, the Albanian people and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will strengthen their solidarity with freedom-loving peoples and with the democratic and progressive countries. They will staunchly support the struggle of the peoples for national liberation against the old and the new imperialism and against reaction.

73. During the work of this session of the General Assembly the Albanian delegation will spare no effort to make its modest contribution to the discussion of the problems on the agenda, in the interest of the cause of the peoples and of international peace and security.

74. Mr. BOUCETTA (Morocco) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure, Mr. President, to express to you on behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco and on my own behalf sincere congratulations on the great trust placed in you by our great international family represented in this hall in unanimously electing you to the presidency of this thirty-third session of the General Assembly in appreciation of your unique political acumen. The Assembly conferred on your country, our friend, Colombia, the honour of the presidency, as an acknowledgement of its abilities and as a tribute to the leading role it plays within the Latin American group of States and at the world level as an active member of the vanguard of the third world.

75. The weight of the responsibility vested in you, Mr. President, is exemplified by the gravity of the situation in the world today, which is fraught with momentous consequences—more than at any time in the past—concerning peace or war in various parts of the civilized world, coexistence or destructive confrontation between blocs, and the achievement of economic justice or the continuation of unjust encroachments at the international level on the rights of the poor peoples of the world.

76. In spite of the clouds on the international political horizon, the international community puts its hopes in your wisdom and experience, your profound knowledge of international problems and your skilful guidance of our work, so that we may overcome the intricate problems and conclude the work of our current session with results that will dispel the dark clouds on the horizon and open up new prospects of hope, peace, justice and well-being for all mankind.

77. I must not omit to express also on this occasion to your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, our recognition and appreciation of his wise guidance of the work of our last regular session and the three special sessions held this year.

78. Allow me also to pay a tribute and to bid a warm welcome to Solomon Islands, which has just joined the United Nations. We hope that that country will contribute, with us, to the creation of a better world of peace, security and prosperity.

79. I should like also to express our thanks to the Secretary-General for his valuable efforts at the head of our Organization. I am thinking in particular of the many initiatives which he has taken in the past year in the service of peace, justice and the promotion of the principles of the Charter.

80. Since our last session the world has remained in the throes of political, social and economic interactions with various negative and positive effects. Unfortunately, those interactions have failed to satisfy the aspirations of mankind or even its minimum expectations that the international community would come closer to the security and peace which generations have sought unceasingly since the dawn of history.

81. Since the beginning of this century, and particularly in recent years, man has reached the zenith of brilliant

scientific triumphs, which have extended his reach and his vision beyond his planet to the far corners of the universe, given him insight into many mysteries and carried him further along the path of progress and civilization.

82. However, unfortunately, twentieth-century man has been unable to achieve any victory or progress in the field of international relations and has been unable to change the nature of relations between the States and nations or to enhance those relations at the level of international justice. The characteristics which marked relations between primitive nations and peoples based on the logic of might and the exploitation of man by man still prevail. Wars are still regarded as an acceptable means of resolving international conflicts, and aggression and the logic of coercion and oppression are still political instruments which are brought to bear on nations to make them follow a specific political or ideological line. Proclivities to hegemony and political blackmail still remain as disgraceful blemishes on the face of human civilization and diminish the value of what progress it has made.

83. What is perhaps worst is the fact that man is employing his scientific achievements to bring all mankind to the brink of the abyss of collective annihilation and to place within the reach of some the means of destroying the world through the invention of the most lethal, the most crushing and the most destructive instruments of war, unchecked by his civilized conscience and undeterred by any ideals of progress for science.

84. It is indeed regrettable that our hope for the attainment of a genuine era of international harmony and détente is being dashed by misgivings about the return of certain manifestations of the cold war in East-West relations.

85. Similarly, it is regrettable that the achievement of genuine world disarmament is still not practicable and that we are still as far from it as we were at the beginning of the negotiations on disarmament 16 years ago, despite all the efforts expended to that end and despite the tenth special session convened some months ago at the highest international level.

86. The African continent, to which Morocco has the honour to belong, is, by reason of the very nature of its recent political history and its subjection until recent decades to the forces of colonial exploitation, a living example of the tumultuous political interactions taking place in our present-day world, for the forces of hegemony, domination and exploitation are still assailing it, and this young continent has not yet been able to enjoy the benefits of its independence and liberation from the bonds of colonialism.

87. While the great Powers have reached agreement among themselves—or made a show of such mutual agreement—to follow what is called the policy of détente, the ideological and political struggle of which the African continent is the theatre are no more than a species of cold war between the two major camps, with all the bitter political conflicts, the collapse of the security of interests, the heated flare-ups and the wars by proxy that that war entails.

88. During the past year Africa has witnessed what no other continent has witnessed with regard to foreign

intervention, because a certain element, in an endeavour to establish a foothold for itself on African territory and seeking to expand its sphere of influence and broaden its authority, has set about inundating some regions of the continent with massive supplies of the latest instrument of ruin, destruction and annihilation and to this end has brought in tens of thousands of foreign troops from overseas and endeavoured to use them and exploit them to destabilize the legitimate régimes which do not act in accordance with its wishes in certain parts of the continent.

89. This foreign intervention is being perpetrated in the name of certain ideologies or slogans; but the first task in Africa is to liberate Pretoria and Salisbury from the despotic racist cliques, which do not acknowledge the humanity of Africans, refuse to recognize their status as human beings and trample their dignity under foot.

90. The true liberation of Africa must inevitably come in Pretoria, Salisbury and Namibia before anywhere else in Africa.

91. What Africa needs most today, after the succession of the long, oppressive eras of exploitation, colonial pillage and alien subjugation it has suffered, is to be left to tend its wounds, to build its homelands and to develop its independence, not to become a seat of war, cold or hot, and not to have its territory transformed into a set of strategic points fought over by the great Powers.

92. The time has come for the international community to proclaim that Africa belongs to the Africans and to demand that all parties, of whatever colour or creed, desist from imposing their tutelage on it on the pretext of any slogan or in any guise. All must recognize that Africa itself, with its rich human resources, is capable of confronting and resolving the problems of Africa within a genuine African framework.

93. Morocco, placing its faith in its character as an African country and loyal to the historical role it has played in the African arena, especially since the dawning of its independence, and seeking the higher interest of the continent and the people of Africa, calls upon the peoples of the United Nations to strive for the achievement of the following goals: first, the exclusion of the African continent from the scope of the escalations of the cold war between the East and West, to spare it the evil effects of the struggle between the great Powers and their world rivalry for the gaining of strategic, political and economic advantages; secondly, the prohibition of outside intervention, from whatever source and from whatever motives, in African affairs and African disputes, as called for by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU at its fifteenth ordinary session held in Khartoum last July; thirdly, the immediate withdrawal of all non-African forces from the African continent; fourthly, encouragement of the solution of all African problems by purely African means; fifthly, the promotion and development of means of economic and technical co-operation between African States; and sixthly, assistance to Africa in eliminating and liquidating the racist régimes in Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia through positive aid consisting of the provision of all types of assistance to the joint African effort to liberate those countries, including support for the front-line States in

strengthening their capacity to resist, oppose and confront the acts of military aggression inflicted upon them, and through indirect aid consisting of the strict observance of the application of economic sanctions against the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes and the tightening of the military blockade decided upon by the United Nations.

94. There is no doubt that the world has now become aware of the despotic, inhumane and racist character of the régimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa through the negotiations which took place between the leaders of those two régimes and the parties concerned with solving the problems of Namibia and Zimbabwe, inasmuch as futile dialogue and blind bigotry gave the rulers of Pretoria and Salisbury another opportunity to convince those Western States that needed convincing of the disdain of those rulers for fundamental human values and of their persistence in violating the rights of Africans.

95. In Namibia itself, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] demonstrated after a bitter struggle its political maturity and its appreciation of the historic national responsibility which it bears when it decided to accept, on behalf of the people of Namibia, the democratic process proposed by the five Western States in the Security Council as a basis for the settlement of the Namibian question,⁵ thereby enabling the international community, as represented by the Security Council, to arrive at the desired solution.

96. However, the racist régime in South Africa disavowed, as is its wont, the promises which it had made regarding its agreement to that process and exploited this interval to strengthen its military position in the region and to take measures to ensure that it would be able to misrepresent the will of the Namibian people.

97. The Kingdom of Morocco believes that no progress can be made towards the solution of the Namibian problem except on the basis of respect for the territorial integrity of Namibia, which is incomplete unless Welvis Bay is regarded as an inseparable part of Namibian territory, in accordance with Security Council resolution 431 (1978) on this subject, and except on the basis of agreement with the legitimate representatives of the Namibian people, namely, the leaders of SWAPO, all that to take place under actual United Nations supervision.

98. In addition, Morocco declares its support for Security Council resolution 432 (1978), which indicated a starting-point for the democratic process which could, given goodwill on the part of the leaders in Pretoria, put an end to the state of tension in the region by according the people of Namibia their inalienable right to freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within the framework of a united Namibian State.

99. The Kingdom of Morocco will, as it has in the past, stand by the struggle of the Namibian people until they achieve their final victory. Morocco has always demonstrated its readiness to participate in the efforts expended at the African and the international levels to create appropriate circumstances to increase opportunities for

peace and for ending states of tension, and today it declares once again its full readiness for effective practical participation in such efforts as the United Nations may undertake within the framework of the liberation process in Namibia, prompted in that by the spirit of African solidarity and its awareness of its international responsibility.

100. Morocco assured the Secretary-General of our Organization a few days ago that His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco is prepared to provide such troops as the United Nations may request to rally to the flag of the international Organization in order to perform their African and international duty to put an end to the racist-colonial presence in Namibia and to enable the sister people of that country to have self-determination and exercise its right to independence and sovereignty.

101. In Zimbabwe the obduracy and efforts at deception of Ian Smith's régime have gone to the extreme in an attempt to avoid that country's entry into the era of majority rule. We believe that the Zimbabwe crisis cannot be resolved without the active participation of the Patriotic Front, which we hope will keep its ranks united in order to extirpate the seat of racism from its country, eradicate discrimination on grounds of colour, raise the voice of the African majority and affirm its established right to independence and sovereignty under a just and democratic régime.

102. Morocco calls upon the States of the world to come to the assistance of militant Zimbabwe and to support the front-line States in southern Africa and help them to resist the aggression directed against them by Ian Smith's régime, and to stand fast against the campaigns of terrorization and intimidation.

103. The past year has been marked also by the convening of a meeting unique in the history of the United Nations, the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. That gathering took place in response to the request of the group of non-aligned States, which had expressed their collective international desire for a halt to the terrible arms race and for an endeavour to achieve general and complete disarmament throughout the world.

104. The mere fact of the convening of that special session and then the determination of the role and responsibility of the United Nations in the field of disarmament constituted definite progress towards the achievement of disarmament, although we were, and still—alas—are, very far from attaining that lofty goal which we must reach if we wish to save mankind from the evils of nuclear suicide and collective annihilation.

105. The session was at all events able to establish the basis and the machinery which will enable the international community, provided that it makes good use of them, to make a fresh start in the search for a solution to the problems of disarmament.

106. We welcomed the adoption of that wise resolution which states the necessity of establishing a deliberative body open to all Member States, giving them an opportunity to make their voice heard on the problems of disarmament [see resolution S-10/2, chap. IV, para. 118]. Without question, the establishment of close ties between

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

the deliberative body and the negotiating body will strengthen the position and enhance the effectiveness of the latter.

107. Morocco, which the international community honoured in 1969 by appointing it a member of the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, is pleased to see that the special session agreed on certain reforms in the procedures of the negotiating body which Morocco, together with certain other States, had already proposed at that Conference. We hope that those reforms will lead to the participation of all the nuclear States in the work of the negotiating body, for all are aware of the grave responsibility of the nuclear States, particularly the United States of America and the Soviet Union, in this regard.

108. We also were pleased that the special session reaffirmed the priority which must be accorded to the subject of nuclear disarmament, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the right of those States which by their accession to the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, have of their own free will renounced the acquisition of nuclear weapons to obtain firm guarantees of security and to avail themselves fully of the peaceful use of nuclear power. Nor did the special session neglect the subject of the problems relating to conventional disarmament and its repercussions on the peace and security of States. The special session emphasized, further, the close link between disarmament and the problems of development.

109. Morocco, as a member of the Committee on Disarmament concerned with negotiation, will spare no effort in the endeavour to implement the recommendations of the special session. It appeals to the States of the world, and in particular those possessing nuclear weapons, to co-operate in this laudable endeavour in order that those recommendations may be translated into genuine action which will prepare the way for the world conference on disarmament and the forthcoming special session devoted to disarmament, with a view to achieving positive results that will turn into reality mankind's aspirations to life in a world in which peace and security prevail.

110. With regard to Morocco's position on the subject of control over the proliferation of nuclear weapons, I wish to recall that, when the Government of the Kingdom of Morocco decided to undertake the necessary studies for the construction of a nuclear centre designed to meet the country's increasing needs for electric power, and since the considerable phosphate reserves in Morocco make it possible to produce uranium, His Majesty the King proposed to the United Nations that a special committee be established to ascertain that uranium was not enriched and processed for use for military purposes, thereby proclaiming Morocco's voluntary resolve to respect the right of annual or biannual control.

111. With regard to the question of disarmament and the halting of the arms race in the Maghreb region, Morocco was among the first to be concerned with this goal and to endeavour to place it within a binding contractual framework in order that this region may devote itself to constructive work in the field of economic development and social well-being.

112. This position of Morocco is of long standing. It was not conceived on the spur of the moment or dictated by current circumstances. As early as 28 February 1967 His Majesty King Hassan II sent a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations proposing the establishment of a committee, under United Nations supervision, to deal with two important matters:

“Firstly, to ensure that both Morocco and Algeria renounce any increase in their armed forces, in order to avert the hazards of an arms race in North Africa;

“Secondly, to undertake, on the spot and by appropriate means, supervision of the quantity and quality of weapons acquired by Morocco and Algeria and to specify the amount necessary for the preservation of security in both countries.”

113. Nevertheless, tension in the region of north-west Africa has again become exacerbated recently, since both Morocco and Mauritania regained, more than two years ago, their Saharan provinces. On 14 November 1975, an agreement was signed at Madrid between Morocco and Mauritania on the one hand and Spain on the other,⁶ whereby full sovereignty in the region which was known as Western Sahara was restored to Morocco and Mauritania. That agreement put an end to all Spain's responsibility in the area and Morocco achieved its full territorial integrity with regard to its Saharan region with the completion of the implementation of the provisions of this agreement. Thus the colonial presence was removed from that usurped portion of Moroccan territory.

114. It should be recalled here that this agreement was signed on the basis of urgent recommendations by the Security Council and endorsed by the General Assembly less than a month after its signing, which demonstrates its close links with the views on law and legality held by our Organization.

115. Thereafter, the political situation in the Maghreb region witnessed a new development, marked by tension arising from aggression plotted against Morocco and Mauritania and armed, financed and directed by a neighbouring State for the purpose of encroaching on Morocco's territorial integrity.

116. Morocco, in rejecting the logic of hegemony and the tendency of expansion at the expense of its territorial integrity, wonders, with others, what right a country has to guarantee what it calls respect for principles while at the same time interfering in the internal affairs of other States and organizing flagrant aggression in violation of all international principles and conventions, which condemn aggression and violation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States.

117. Affirming forcefully that the recovery of its territorial integrity is an irreversible process which cannot be negotiated or made the subject of dialogue, Morocco declares that now as in the past it keeps an open mind on the subject of any fruitful co-operation on the question of the Maghreb.

⁶ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975, document S/11880, annex III.*

118. Recently, in an address on 20 August, His Majesty King Hassan II stated:

"Morocco is a peaceful nation which wants only peace, and it strives, in complete co-ordination and consultation with its sister State Mauritania, to keep the peace with those who act peaceably towards it and to fight against those who fight against it. Let none venture to raise a hand against it. Any solution to the problem of tension in the region must take into account two fundamental points:

"Firstly, this solution must not encroach on a single inch of Moroccan territory;

"Secondly, this solution must not create alien boundaries between Morocco and Mauritania."

119. Morocco has more than once shown its goodwill and positive readiness to alleviate the causes of tension in the area. Within the framework of respect for its sovereignty and territorial integrity, Morocco sincerely co-operated with the African endeavour being made by our regional organization to that end. It will be recalled that the United Nations Charter gives priority to regional organizations, such as the OAU, in the search for solutions and the reduction of tensions in the area under consideration.

120. The recent Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Khartoum last July decided to establish a "committee of wise men" composed of certain African Heads of State to study the subject of tension in the Maghreb region, inasmuch as the primary responsibility for putting an end to that state of tension lies with Africa.

121. Morocco was the first State to declare officially its acceptance of the first steps initiated to that end by President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, Acting Chairman of the OAU Assembly.

122. The joint communiqué published on 18 September by Morocco and Mauritania at the conclusion of the visit of the Head of State of Mauritania to Morocco specified the position of our two countries. That communiqué says, *inter alia*:

"The two parties welcome their excellent co-operation and the effectiveness of the agreements concluded between the two countries.

"Aware of the permanence of the relations between the two countries, the two Heads of State affirm their resolve to strive to remove tension and to restore peace and tranquillity to the Maghreb region on the basis of mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of both countries.

"The two Heads of State have expressed their hope that within a short period of time the 'Committee of Wise Men' will be established, as was decided at the recent summit of the Organization of African Unity, and we wish success to their mission."

123. This clearly demonstrates the urgent desire of Morocco and Mauritania to see the cause of tension

removed from the Maghreb region and to see peace prevail there, with the preservation of their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

124. In order to achieve that, Morocco now places full confidence in our OAU, which is directing its attention to a careful study of ways and means of finding a solution that will put an end to the causes of tension in the region.

125. The recent session of the Assembly held at Khartoum made a solemn appeal to all States in the area to refrain from any action likely to hamper the search for a fair and peaceful solution to that problem.

126. In this connexion, we cannot but condemn the blatant violation of the letter and spirit of that appeal by Algeria which, in the course of one month, launched two attacks on Moroccan territory carried out by units of the Algerian regular army. The first took place on 27 August 1978 and was directed against a point in the heart of Moroccan territory in the Tata region. Morocco sent a note to the Algerian authorities protesting that act, which constitutes a breach of the principle of the inviolability of its national sovereignty and its territorial integrity. The second took place only four days ago, on 30 September 1978, and was directed against the village of Hassi Tilemsi in Tantan province. His Majesty King Hassan II subsequently sent a letter of protest to the President of Algeria condemning that blatant act of aggression, which is likely to increase the causes of tension in the region and hamper the search for a peaceful solution to this problem.

127. Morocco's membership in the Arab family automatically makes it a deeply involved party in an issue which has been with the United Nations since its early days. By this I mean the question of Palestine. That issue still constitutes a model of international bigotry and injustice, and has involved the uprooting and expulsion of an entire people from their territory, followed by attempts to liquidate their political and physical existence.

128. The Israeli policy of expansion thereafter increased the dimensions of that problem and multiplied its dangers when in 1967 Israel occupied the rest of the territory of Palestine and the territories of two other Arab States, thus exacerbating the explosive situation in the Middle East.

129. The Kingdom of Morocco, which condemns the logic of aggression, injustice and coercion, has maintained a clear and unequivocal position on the question of Palestine and the Middle East. This is a fundamental position based on the unanimous Arab resolutions of the historic seventh Conference of Arab Heads of State or Government, held at Rabat in 1974. Morocco regards itself as a guardian and custodian of those resolutions, which affirm that the bases for a solution of the Middle East question rest on essential conditions without which the achievement of peace there is not possible, the first of these being Israel's complete withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem.

130. Morocco believes that the Palestinian problem lies at the very heart of the Middle East crisis, and that no acceptable solution can be reached there until that problem is resolved by according the Palestinian people—represented

by the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is its sole legitimate representative—its established right to self-determination and its inalienable right to establish its Palestinian State on Palestinian soil.

131. In addition, Morocco stresses that the solution to these problems—as stipulated in the resolutions of the Rabat Conference—must be a general and comprehensive solution in order to guarantee that it will lead to the establishment of a general and comprehensive peace in all parts of the region and will remove all hotbeds of tension from the Middle East.

132. As for the sister State of Lebanon, which was the flower of the Arab countries and a centre for fraternization and coexistence between sects and creeds, and which has been linked with Morocco by human and cultural ties since the dawn of history, it is now—following the blatant Israeli aggression to which it has been exposed and the occupation of parts of its territory—become, more than at any time in the past, a target for intervention in its internal affairs and the violation of its sovereignty. Morocco calls upon the peoples of the world, which have expressed more than once their solidarity with the Lebanese people, to continue their endeavours to preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon so that it might treat its injuries, dress its wounds and regain the human and cultural role which has distinguished its history.

133. Morocco's strategic geographical position at the cross-roads of continents, civilizations and the waters of the ocean and the sea has made it a distinctive centre in the international arena. Because of this, throughout its long history Morocco, as a Mediterranean State, has been instrumental in affecting political circumstances around the Mediterranean, the cradle of most of the world's civilizations, and has, in its turn, been influenced by the events taking place in the Mediterranean.

134. This situation remains in the give-and-take stage, in a state of influencing and of being influenced, as it has been in the past. Thus Morocco has become a party directly or indirectly involved and has been forced to remain on the alert for any occurrences.

135. In addition to the chronic crisis that has prevailed on our eastern coast for more than 30 years, namely the Middle East crisis which I have mentioned earlier, the Cypriot problem is still a major source of tension in the Mediterranean. The Kingdom of Morocco hopes in this connexion that the Turkish and Greek communities in Cyprus will be able to devise a just and lasting solution to this problem through negotiations which will take into account the higher interests and legitimate rights of those two communities within an independent non-aligned State.

136. We wish to express once again the hope that the agreements reached at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will succeed in removing from the Mediterranean the rivalry between the two super-Powers, so that that sea will become an area of peace and co-operation among coastal States.

137. In the economic field, the setting of the sun on the age of colonialism denotes the world's entry into a new era

of international relations. It is thus incumbent on the international community to establish a new international economic order based on new principles and inspired by new concepts.

138. The actual economic relations between the countries of the South and those of the North has never been viewed as a whole. On the contrary, bilateral relations come about as a result of the pressure of economic situations which have grown up throughout the world. That means that relations as a whole are determined by the historical weight of colonialism. Throughout the world there are relationships based on or revolving around the capitals of former colonial States, or around certain new centres noted for their economic strength.

139. I do not think that there is any need to demonstrate the futility of this unjust system. It is an obstacle to the development of the poorest countries. All the difficulties of the developing countries, such as chronic deficits in the balance of payments, inflation and debt problems and technological backwardness are but the direct result of a system rendered obsolete by time.

140. The replacement of this system and the transition from it to another stage requires of us not only a new way of looking at those relations, but also, first and foremost, a new and honest awareness on the part of the industrialized countries.

141. The sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly made it quite clear what tasks must be undertaken and what goals must be achieved for the establishment of a new international economic order. Unfortunately, achievements to date in this area give us no grounds for gratification. The terms of trade have continued to deteriorate. Developing countries have not escaped the detrimental consequences of the inflation which has beset the industrialized countries and, with one or two exceptions, those industrialized countries have not responded to the decision of the General Assembly that they should devote 0.7 per cent of their gross national product to development assistance. This proves that the industrialized countries have not yet realized the true meaning of the concept of international interdependence.

142. It is henceforth no longer possible for us to continue in a situation where relations between industrialized countries and developing countries are governed by the law of the exploitation of the weak by the strong, a law based on egotistical and short-sighted considerations.

143. When the General Assembly, at the thirty-second session, decided to set up the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, or the Committee of the Whole, and assigned to it a specific task in anticipation of the convening of the 1980 special session, we hoped that a frank and fruitful dialogue between the States of North and South would immediately be initiated. But the dilatoriness and the reluctance of the industrialized countries has disappointed our hopes and brought us back to the bitter reality. This reality is that the political will which must exist on the part of the industrialized countries and which is an essential prerequisite for the establishment of a new international economic order has not yet emerged. That is

why all the appeals which we have made for the initiation of a dialogue designed to serve the interests of all have fallen on deaf ears.

144. We are beset by apprehensions lest the appointed time for the 1980 special session should come without our having made any progress towards the establishment of the new international economic order. This makes it imperative for us to realize here and now the grave dangers which bode ill for mankind if we fail to implement the measures called for at the sixth and seventh special sessions. Economic issues must be accorded pre-eminence if we wish to advance towards the attainment of an era of justice, equity and peace for mankind.

145. In view of the special geographical location of our country, lying as it does on the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean, it is natural for us to accord special attention to the development and to the future of the law of the sea.

146. The codification of the new law of the sea is one of the most important tasks and responsibilities with which the United Nations has been entrusted. Negotiations on the new law for the seas and oceans began eight years ago when at its twenty-fifth session the General Assembly stressed the necessity of establishing that body of law and laid down the fundamental principles on which it should be based [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*]. Within the framework of those fundamental principles, which have long since attained the force of universal customary norms, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has held seven successive sessions. Needless to say, the hopes and expectations which the international community has placed in this diplomatic endeavour do not admit of any hesitancy or procrastination, nor do they admit of any precipitate individual action that might frustrate the efforts expended to arrive at the comprehensive agreement sought.

147. There is no longer any cause for precipitate action, for diplomatic negotiations gained fresh momentum at the last session of the Conference, held in Geneva in the spring of 1978, and, moreover, world requirements of the sea-bed minerals intended for exploitation can currently be met by the output of minerals available on land, especially since the recent discovery of a considerable reserve of them in North America.

148. At all events, at this critical juncture, we can only reiterate our conviction that the application of the concept of the common heritage of mankind to the international zones of the sea-bed may be regarded as one of the most outstanding and noble steps taken by the General Assembly since the founding of the United Nations in its fulfilment of the purposes of the Charter.

149. It would be unwise for any State to underestimate the role of full adherence to this lofty principle in safeguarding the stability of the new law of the sea. Naturally, this stability can be established only on sound bases of complementarity, co-operation and justice, in the interest of the international community as a whole.

150. Human happiness, respect for man's humanity and the safeguarding of human rights has been the clear goal of

all civilizations and legislative systems since time immemorial. This goal is still the focus of the aspirations of mankind, however much systems and beliefs may vary. It is axiomatic, in order to achieve this goal, that man's essential basic needs must be met, that he must be freed from the shackles of poverty, want, ignorance and disease and that he must be liberated from the bondage of fear, oppression and coercion.

151. It is perhaps a good augury that in a few weeks we shall be celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—these rights for the respect and reverence of which Morocco is distinguished in the world community and without which human dignity, happiness and freedom of expression and association cannot be fully attained.

152. The first prerequisite for human happiness is the guaranteeing of all man's economic and financial needs within a broad framework of political freedom, whereby he lives far from want and fear and vistas open up before him for creativity and originality and for the advancement of human civilization.

153. This requires us to set to work seriously—and immediately—to effect the national and international economic and political changes in our world that will ensure the achievement of this goal. So let us make the initial work easier. Let us all choose—of our own free will—the path of co-operation and fruitful dialogue. Let us cast aside ephemeral egotistical interests and regard our participation in this valuable human endeavour with comprehensive and far-sighted vision, so that mankind can live on this small planet in peace, security, justice, happiness and prosperity.

154. Mr. AFSHAR (Iran): I should like first of all, through you Sir, to congratulate Mr. Liévano on his election to the high office of the presidency of the General Assembly. His election is not only a recognition by the Assembly of his great knowledge and experience in international relations but also a tribute to the prominent role played by his country in world affairs.

155. I should also like to extend my gratitude to Mr. Lazar Mojsov, the outgoing President of the General Assembly, for the effective manner in which he guided the Assembly during its regular and special sessions of the past 12 months. The Iranian delegation was gratified to have enjoyed with Mr. Mojsov, with whose country Iran enjoys friendly relations, the closest co-operation during his tenure of office.

156. I wish also once again to express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his dedication and untiring devotion to finding solutions for the various problems facing the United Nations. I should also like to note that we enjoyed having the Secretary-General in Iran during the early part of this year, when he had constructive and useful discussions with him.

157. I welcome into the community of nations the State of Solomon Islands, which has taken its rightful place among the Members of the United Nations. We are confident that the membership of Solomon Islands will add

a new dimension to the universal character of this Organization.

158. The current session of the General Assembly is being held a short time after the convening of the eighth, ninth and tenth special sessions. It also follows the second session of the recently created Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, known as the Committee of the Whole, which is entrusted with the task of reviewing the implementation of decisions and agreements reached on the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

159. Many of the issues on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly were considered in those previous sessions, but they still remain unresolved. This lack of progress, coupled with rising expectations and frustrations, as well as the increasingly frequent recourse to violence, urgently calls for a new effort for the solution of these problems. I wish therefore to address myself briefly to some of these issues before us.

160. The question of the Middle East remains uppermost in our mind. The suffering with which the people of the area have long been afflicted has given rise to a situation which is naturally of great concern to us. We have accordingly followed with great interest the recent developments which have taken place with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict. If the long-cherished hopes and aspirations for a comprehensive peace with justice are to be realized, Israel must withdraw from all the territories it has occupied in compliance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), as well as other relevant United Nations resolutions, in particular those dealing with the Holy City of Jerusalem, to which the whole Islamic world attaches the utmost importance. Similarly, no lasting peace could be established without taking fully into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. We earnestly hope that a comprehensive peace with justice on a durable basis will soon prevail in the Middle East.

161. Another disquieting problem is the situation in Cyprus and the persistent tension which continues to frustrate international efforts aimed at bringing peace and tranquillity to that country. We still believe that a just and long-lasting solution of this problem can and must be achieved by negotiations between the two ethnic communities of Cyprus, with a view to preserving the territorial integrity and the independence of the country, taking into account the legitimate interests of the two communities.

162. The Indian Ocean is another area of particular concern to us. The United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean is continuing its task with a view to ensuring that that area will be established as a zone of peace. As a bordering State, Iran will continue its efforts within and outside the United Nations system to contribute to the achievement of that objective and will assist in keeping the zone free from great-Power rivalry. The Persian Gulf, which extends through the narrow straits of Hormuz into the Indian Ocean, is of vital importance to Iran. In fact, all the States bordering the Persian Gulf attach singular importance to its security. As this strategic waterway represents a major lifeline to the area it is imperative that responsibility for the maintenance of its security remain

solely with those States. It is most fortunate that the Persian Gulf States are bound together not only by this important common interest but also by bonds of fraternity, which have been formed and cemented through centuries of cultural, religious and historical ties.

163. The universal aspiration to free the world from the fear of war and the terror of nuclear weapons is the foundation on which the United Nations was established and has impelled us to search for a means to achieve a climate of peace and security through disarmament. With the holding of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, a special effort, involving participation by all the Members, was made to bring us closer to the objectives of disarmament.

164. Unfortunately the results of the special session fell far short of the hopes and expectations that had been aroused. Nor did they reflect the monumental efforts and preparations which had preceded its convening. However, our immediate disappointment must be tempered by an appreciation of some positive steps. A major thrust of the session was to stimulate thought and interest in vital and principal areas of disarmament. The Final Document of the session [*resolution S-10/2*], adopted by consensus, reflects a fair measure of achievement in that and other important areas. Agreement has been reached on setting up new machinery for deliberations and negotiations on disarmament. We now seem to possess the essential elements of a new international strategy for disarmament which we hope can be made a reality through collective efforts, goodwill and perseverance.

165. The fears and anxieties as well as the hopes and expectations which led to the convening of the special session are still with us. The world still lives under the ominous shadow of enormous stockpiles of the ultimate weapon. The factors and forces that help perpetuate the arms race are still at work.

166. If we are to save present and future generations from extinction, the universal message is loud and clear: in the disarmament process obviously first things should come first and disarmament should start with the halting and reversing of the nuclear arms race.

167. My country and, may I say, the majority of States Members of the United Nations have held all along that nuclear Powers, in particular the super-Powers, have primary and particular responsibility for the promotion of genuine disarmament. Those States can and should break the self-perpetuating cycle of the arms race by adopting concrete and tangible measures, so that other States can feel more secure and encouraged to follow the road to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.

168. Another problem which is a source of serious concern to the international community is the spread of international terrorism. It is our firm belief that resort to acts of violence, which is causing the loss of innocent lives, jeopardizing fundamental human rights, and threatening the very fabric of organized societies, must be brought to an end. Here I should like to stress once more that my Government has always been in favour of international co-operation against terrorism. In that context, we have

also noted with satisfaction the decision of the recent Bonn Economic Summit Conference on the campaign against terrorism and hijacking.⁷ We stand ready to lend our full support to any international effort in this field.

169. Concerning southern Africa, some positive developments have taken place during the past few months. The convening by the General Assembly of the ninth special session on Namibia and the endorsement by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978) of an independence plan for that Territory represent a step forward in the direction of the transfer of sovereign power to the people of Namibia. In that connexion, I must reaffirm that the territorial integrity of Namibia should be protected in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

170. My Government has remained steadfastly opposed to *apartheid*, a policy under which the people of South Africa continue to languish. We have joined with others to condemn policies of *apartheid*, which troubles the conscience of man by its indignity and violation of human rights. The Government of Iran, in pursuance of its policy towards *apartheid*, has decided, in accordance with the relevant decisions of the General Assembly, to carry out appropriate measures, including dissemination of information, in observance of International Anti-*Apartheid* Year. Thus once again we wish to demonstrate by word as well as by deed our solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

171. In Zimbabwe, unfortunately, the confrontation between the illegal minority régime and the freedom fighters continues to cause heavy loss of life. We hope that the accord on Namibia will assure a brighter prospect for a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian problem and the early transfer of sovereign power to the majority in Zimbabwe.

172. In the field of development and international economic co-operation, we believe that the world economy is still prey to the same fundamental difficulties as those that confronted it a year ago, when we last reviewed the situation in this Assembly, and that the persisting uncertainties surrounding the economies of both developed and developing countries continue to frustrate the attempts aimed at resolving divergent views and policies on those issues. The policy framework adopted by the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly for the establishment of a New International Economic Order is still far from materializing.

173. The dialogue commenced at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation and followed up in other forums has fallen short of the needs and aspirations of the developing countries. Moreover, the prospects for the ongoing negotiations are not entirely bright. It is indeed discouraging that the developing countries as a whole are now realizing a rate of growth in total output less than the rate they achieved in the early days of the 1970s; that the rate of growth in their agricultural products is still little

over half the target rate of 4 per cent set forth in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]; that the growth of their industrial production has been noticeably slackening; and that the imposition of import restrictions and other protectionist measures in certain developed countries has considerably hampered the development of even a modest industrial base, which represents a major source of export earnings for a number of developing countries.

174. The slow-down trends have affected the developing oil-exporting countries more than others. For them, the decline in the growth of export earnings has been accompanied by a continued erosion of their purchasing power.

175. The decline in the value of export earnings has affected other developing countries also. In spite of some increase in their export earnings as a whole and an improvement in their balance of payments during the past two years, the long-term prospects for their sustained upward movement are still dim. A number of those countries are still suffering from deteriorating terms of trade. The servicing of external debts is also weakening their economies.

176. The present trends, if unchecked, are bound to have a disruptive effect on the growth and prosperity of the developing countries, with all the consequences that would attend such disruption; therefore there is an urgent need for closer co-operation between the developed and developing countries. As long as the world is divided into a house of fortune and a house of need, global development is not genuine and cannot last long. Indices of growth or improvement are essentially meaningless.

177. In the field of human rights, a particularly interesting and positive development may be discerned today within the international community. On the one hand, there is increasingly unanimous agreement to condemn categorically the most flagrant violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms of the individual. On the other hand, it is recognized that massive violations of human rights affect not only individuals but also entire peoples, as in the case of those suffering from *apartheid*, colonialism and foreign domination.

178. The realization of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for everyone is a long process, a long road filled with pitfalls but one which my country, despite recent and unfortunate events, is determined to continue to travel unrelentingly. Under the guidance of my enlightened sovereign, we have started a chapter in our history in which measures are being taken to ensure full protection of freedom of expression within the Constitution and the law of the land.

179. In the international arena, Iran will continue with unflagging determination to support all sincere efforts to promote and ensure fundamental freedoms.

180. In conclusion, I should like to reiterate our basic position that peace and security, at both the international and the national level, can be obtained primarily through

⁷ See "International Terrorism: Joint Statement, July 17, 1978", *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1978), vol. 14, No. 29, pp. 1308-1309.

the promotion of freedom and the dignity of man. Our national efforts through the years have already yielded significant results. With the grace of God Almighty, and the implementation of policies and programmes designed to

bring about social justice, we hope we shall succeed in creating the conditions necessary for peace and security.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.