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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. KHADDAM (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me pleasure to extend to you my felicitations on your election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, and to wish you complete success in that most important task. I am confident that your efficiency and experience will enable you to guide our session to a successful conclusion. My delegation will do its best to co-operate with you towards this end.
2. May I express my appreciation to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the President of the previous session, during whose presidency the General Assembly held three special sessions. Mr. Salim conducted the work of the Assembly with exemplary efficiency.
3. I take this opportunity to welcome the admission of Zimbabwe to membership of the United Nations, following a long and bitter struggle waged by the heroic people of Zimbabwe against the racist colonialist régime, thus proving that peoples fighting for their right to self-determination and independence are bound to win. I also congratulate Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on its admission to the international community.
4. Our faith in the Charter and its principles, and in the United Nations as an international forum for all peoples of the world, is steadily becoming stronger, despite the complicated problems and acute crises facing the world today. Guided by this faith, we rely on the Organization to examine such problems and crises, and we are prepared to co-operate in seeking solutions conducive to security, stability and progress for humankind.
5. The first development during the past year was the severe shock that rocked the process of international détente. Détente had succeeded in keeping the world temporarily free from the cold war, on the one hand, and in

creating a new atmosphere of international co-operation, on the other. World imperialism has reverted to its previous practices of seeking to achieve the greatest possible domination by creating spheres of influence, acquiring military bases and facilities, massing troops in specific regions and deploying destructive nuclear missile networks. All those acts have plunged the world anew into the climate of cold war and have created hotbeds of conflict that may explode at any moment. Consequently, we are witnessing growing international tension and a struggle for spheres of influence, as well as resistance to those actions by peace-loving peoples.

6. From this rostrum, we have warned the Assembly on several occasions that the process of détente cannot be universal and world-wide unless its framework is enlarged, encompassing the whole world and enabling us to solve the great international crises. The most significant proof of this is the question of Palestine and the Middle East. The United States, a super-Power and a permanent member of the Security Council with specific responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security, has removed the question from the United Nations and has sought to take action itself, with Israel and the Egyptian régime, without involving the remaining parties concerned, in particular the Palestinian Arab people, and their legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*].
7. The continuing existence of such problems and of imperialist practices stresses the need for all nations to participate, on an equal footing, in defining the policy of détente based on right and justice, to give it the comprehensive international dimension it requires so that it may become a positive factor in guaranteeing international peace and security, and in setting up a new order of international relations.
8. Complete and comprehensive disarmament is a major objective which the international community is continually striving to achieve. There is no clearer proof of this than the fact that the agenda of the present session includes more than 20 items related to disarmament, and that the United Nations has held several special sessions and conferences devoted to it. Nevertheless, the arms race grows and intensifies. We are witnessing growing activity by the imperialist forces in establishing military bases in some regions, which represents a challenge. It is therefore high time for the Assembly to make every effort to curb the arms race and the establishment of foreign military facilities, so that the world may feel that the Organization is working seriously and sincerely to spare it the tragedies of a destructive world war.
9. In this connection, we wish to emphasize, as a result of the current situation in the world, that disarmament can be realized only through the elimination of colonialism, racism, zionism and all aspects of aggression, usurpation,

occupation, domination and foreign exploitation. It can be realized only if all peoples come to know that security is based on right, justice and equality, and if they are reassured of respect for their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty and their right to self-determination and to select the régime they want.

10. Among the major issues which are still burning and dangerous is the problem of the racist régimes, which are still adamant in defying world public opinion and the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. They are still practising racism in southern Africa and in Palestine and the occupied territories. These régimes are pursuing their expansionist, aggressive policy, consolidating collaboration among themselves in the various fields, particularly in manufacturing nuclear weapons. Owing to weak international deterrence, the regions dominated by such régimes have become hotbeds jeopardizing international peace and security and directly imperilling the peace and independence of the African continent and the Arab world. We reaffirm our complete support for the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia in their struggle for the rights of their peoples to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty. We also wish to stress our support for the resistance of the African front-line States in the face of the savage racist aggressions and schemings against the aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa.

11. We cannot but express our deep regret for the explosive situation in several regions in Asia, owing to the imperialist plots and attempts to dominate those regions.

12. In addition, the Korean problem remains unsolved. This prompts us to stress the need for withdrawal of all foreign troops and for a dialogue between the two parties, in implementation of the North-South Joint Communiqué signed in 1972,¹ in order to reunify the country peacefully and independently without any foreign interference.

13. The situation in Cyprus remains tense and calls for concern. We laud, in this connection, the efforts of the Secretary-General, who was able to revive the negotiation process between the two communities, with a view to finding a solution based on the relevant United Nations resolutions and within the framework of respect for the sovereignty of Cyprus, its independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment.

14. The United Nations, through the General Assembly, conferences and committees, has exerted strenuous and benevolent efforts towards setting up a new international economic order. Though five years have elapsed since the foundations of such an order were laid, the industrial nations are still placing obstacles in the way of this order, clinging to the advantages afforded them by the present economic, trade and monetary system, which is based on exploitation and is far from being just. As a consequence, the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and various international bodies are at a deadlock and such efforts have failed so far.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

15. This will inevitably lead to a widening of the gap between rich and poor countries and will deprive the developing countries of the means of economic and social development, and especially the means of acquiring the modern technology needed for such development. It will also lead to intensifying the blockade imposed by some developed industrial nations, in collaboration with the transnational corporations, on developing countries to compel them to sell their raw materials at very low prices, while the developed industrial nations are raising the prices of their industrial products in a manner that threatens with collapse the economies of the developing countries.

16. We stress the need for initiating a basic change in the current structure of economic relations and for setting up a new international economic order, thereby consolidating the economic independence of the developing countries, securing prosperity and stability for the peoples and contributing to the maintenance of international peace and security.

17. In our review of some of the international issues and problems, we cannot but touch upon the issue of human rights and the specific interpretations given by certain countries seeking pretexts for interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, mainly the third world countries.

18. We can only caution against the dangers of such attempts and interpretations, especially in view of the fact that their authors belong to countries that do not cease to extend material and moral help and support to the régimes of oppression, aggression, occupation and racism to enable them to persist in violating the human rights and the dignity of man and even his very existence.

19. Proceeding from our faith in the rights of individuals, groups and peoples, big and small, we deem it necessary to confront this artificial offensive aimed at diverting the attention of world public opinion to the rights of individuals in this or that country, rather than focusing attention on the basic rights of millions of peoples still labouring under the yoke of colonialism, occupation, zionism and racism, and even deprived of their right to life. No human right can be preserved under conditions of the exercise of force, coercion and colonialist and racist oppression, where the human being is deprived of his nation, land and home. A most prominent example is provided by the sufferings of the Arabs under the yoke of Zionist racist colonialism in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories and the sufferings of the Africans under the yoke of the racist régimes in South Africa and Namibia.

20. If the first function of the Organization is the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, addressing the explosive situation in the Middle East must rank at the top of the priorities in the United Nations. The Assembly is well aware of the strategic importance of the Middle East region and its impact on international peace and security. Thus, addressing the situation in this region is fundamental to the work of the Organization and its purposes.

21. Our region is suffering and facing dangers because of the Zionist entity in Palestine, as a result of the racist and aggressive nature of this entity, and its persistent defiance of

the United Nations and the latter's determination to preserve peace and security. This proves that the prevailing dangerous situation may explode at any moment. This situation has been further aggravated by the tripartite conspiracy concocted by United States imperialism, in collaboration with Israel and the Egyptian régime, at Camp David, designed to realize the following objectives: first, to weaken the Arab nation by embroiling the Egyptian régime in a policy that runs counter to the interests and future of the Arabs and to the interests of peace and security; secondly, to liquidate the cause of Palestine and undermine the national unity of the Palestinian people and their aspirations to liberation and self-determination and to establish their independent State on their national soil; thirdly, to perpetuate the Israeli aggression in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories and to use Israel as a base endangering and imperilling the security, peace and future of the region; and fourthly, to spread United States hegemony in the region, notably military, economic and political hegemony. This trend is manifested in the setting up of a series of United States military bases in some countries of the region.

22. It was natural for the Arabs to reject and oppose this conspiracy, for they refuse capitulation to the same extent as they are eager to realize peace based on right and justice. Peace that is not based on right and justice is no more than a phase towards a new war. The continuous feeling of oppression and injustice is bound to increase the drive towards eliminating the causes of oppression and injustice.

23. The Camp David policy has realized some of the objectives of Israel and the United States by isolating Egypt and embroiling the Egyptian Government in a policy that runs counter to the Arab nation and the interests of the Arab people of Egypt, by setting up United States military bases in some countries of the region and by the adoption of a decision by the Israeli Government to annex Jerusalem and continue with the policy of settlements. However, despite these extremely dangerous objectives, which have rendered the region a field for a fierce international and regional conflict, the Camp David policy has failed to realize one of its main objectives, namely, to liquidate the cause of Palestine, because of its failure to find a Palestinian negotiator and because of the firm Arab opposition to such a policy.

24. For this reason, attempts are being made by some international circles here and there, which are directly linked to the United States policy and strategy. These attempts are designed to find a breakthrough for the Camp David policy to enable it to pursue its course under another title. While cautioning the world public of the dangers of such attempts, we stress that they are bound further to complicate and aggravate the situation in the region.

25. We shall never accept any manoeuvres or conspiracies with respect to our right to liberate our occupied territories and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, recognized by the United Nations, namely the right to return, to self-determination and to establish their own independent State.

26. The Assembly has defined in many resolutions the bases for a just and lasting peace in the region. Such bases may be summarized as follows: first, complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territo-

ries; and secondly, recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. The General Assembly has defined the nature and limits of these rights.

27. However, the Camp David accords have transformed the process of establishing a just and lasting peace into obstacles in the way of achieving peace. These obstacles are: first, the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty, and hence the Egyptian-Israeli-United States alliance and the objectives it aims to achieve in the region; secondly, the establishment of American military bases, which reveal the hegemonistic intent of the United States of America in the region; and, thirdly, the Israeli decisions and measures related to Jerusalem, the establishment of settlements and the alteration of the characteristics of the occupied territories.

28. These aggregate results have created an imbalance in the region, thereby immobilizing the peace process and creating a major deadlock. Such a situation requires that all peace-loving peoples stand at the side of the Arabs in order to eliminate these obstacles. That is the only course that would create normal circumstances for the establishment of peace in the region.

29. That is the situation in our region. The dangers grow day after day because of Israel's continuing policy of aggression in the occupied territories and against brotherly Lebanon, which include ground, air and sea raids that jeopardize the peace and security of Lebanon and the entire region. It has become urgent for the General Assembly to assume its responsibilities by imposing sanctions against Israel, since the United States of America has succeeded in paralyzing the Security Council by the abuse of the right of veto.

30. Thus, there is a pressing need for the world community to re-examine Israel's membership in the United Nations, because Israel not only systematically rejects the United Nations resolutions but also defies them and persists in its defiance. Is there a situation that more warrants attention and the adoption of serious resolutions? We urge the General Assembly to adopt resolutions imposing sanctions against Israel and suspending its membership in the international Organization, to ensure respect for the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations and to stress the significance of working for peace.

31. Mr. ALI (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to convey to you, an able, creative and experienced diplomat representing a great country with recognized distinction, my delegation's heartfelt congratulations upon your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. It attests to the increasing role played by your country in Europe and in the European community as a whole. We are confident that your country will thus contribute to a better future for mankind.

32. I should like also to pay a special tribute to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim for his skilful leadership of the deliberations of the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session. He represented not only his great country, the United Republic of Tanzania, but also the whole African continent, with admirable competence.

33. May I also take this opportunity to welcome, on behalf of Egypt, the admission of a sister African country, Zimbabwe, to the United Nations, an event of particular significance. Zimbabwe's success in its heroic struggle stands out as glowing testimony to the triumph of a just cause—namely, the exercise of the inalienable right to self-determination, a right that, notwithstanding the viciousness of colonialism, foreign occupation and racism, will always triumph and assert itself in every corner of the world. The independence of Zimbabwe is a valid example of how perseverance in struggle, coupled with wisdom, can bring about a peaceful solution that satisfies the legitimate rights of peoples, while not losing sight of the practical considerations involved.

34. I should also like to extend Egypt's congratulations to the people and Government of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on its admission to the United Nations.

35. In reviewing the present international situation—in particular, the events of the past year since we met at the thirty-fourth session of the Assembly—the delegation of Egypt would like to single out a number of major issues that pose serious threats to the world and which require particular attention and continuous sincere efforts so that we may be able to safeguard the very essence of international relations.

36. International economic relations, particularly in the light of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, were given primary importance at the special session and at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] held at Lagos in April. However, we must intensify our efforts in order to establish a new international economic order based on justice and efficacy.

37. The eleventh special session was convened with a view to evaluating the present stage of international economic relations. It was hoped that agreement could be reached to begin serious global negotiations to resolve the acute economic crisis that confronts our contemporary world, in particular, the developing nations, which suffer from such serious problems as increased indebtedness and the obstacles which hinder socio-economic development. There is no doubt that the special session of the General Assembly showed how much we need dialogue in order to resolve the difficulties inherent in present economic relations.

38. Whether in the African or international sphere, Egypt upholds the position espoused by the developing world that economic development is both a right and an obligation; it should be one of the basic results of rational and equitable relations. As a member of the Group of 77, Egypt realizes full well that its economic salvation must ultimately lie in self-reliance. Nevertheless Egypt realizes that certain complementary factors, such as economic co-operation among developing countries and interdependence between developed and developing countries, are essential. There exists, in fact, a wide area in which developing countries can satisfy one another's needs, thereby effecting change in the pattern of international economic relations.

39. In that connection, I wish to cite as an example Egypt's latest endeavour in establishing a fund for technical co-

operation designed to launch a new era of multilateral co-operation with its sister African countries. That fund started operating following the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, which was held at Freetown from 1 to 4 July. While giving priority to enhancing its indigenous capabilities, Egypt at the same time considers that the role of the developed countries, particularly their political will, is essential in bringing about genuine solutions to the present economic crisis.

40. By dealing first with international economic relations and, in particular, the new international economic order, I have merely sought to emphasize the important role the economic situation plays in contemporary international life. I am, however, of the view that it is primarily political will that can bring about change in the present pattern of international economic relations. Political will derives from and is closely related to the existing international political order, which, in my view, requires our serious consideration.

41. The recent alarming developments that have challenged the Charter and the international order that we have subscribed to and adhered to since 1945 have not only created a perilous situation of political upheaval sometimes even bordering on chaos, but have also accentuated the disparities between the powerful and the weak countries. Moreover, such challenges have resulted in the continuance and exacerbation of racist policies and ideologies, the use of force in international relations, the acquisition of territory by war, the denial of legitimate national rights—foremost among them the right to self-determination—and last but not least the aggravation of the situation which has caused the efforts to achieve disarmament to become locked in a vicious circle.

42. The continuance of such policies and the situation resulting therefrom have had a negative impact on the conduct of international relations. The time has therefore come for us to intensify our efforts to put an end to the problems posed by such policies and to explore means of satisfying the requirements of the international community and therefore the interests of the peoples and nations.

43. Suffice it to mention that, although the Charter has existed for over 35 years and despite the purposes and principles embodied therein, the Palestinian people have not been spared the yoke of occupation and the agony of the denial of their rights; the invasion of Afghanistan has not been prevented and the people of southern Africa have not been protected against the evils of occupation, racism and *apartheid*. It is relevant to note that full-scale war has been avoided thus far not as a result of respect for the Charter of the United Nations and its purposes and principles but rather as a result of the existence of a balance of nuclear deterrence. If this balance were disturbed or if development drastically altered the *status quo*, the world could be threatened by a nuclear holocaust.

44. Unfortunately, the use of force in international relations has recently emerged once again, to resume a prominent place in the conduct of contemporary international relations. If the international community does not take a firm stand on this issue, the events that have taken place in Afghanistan could be the precursor of similar happenings

elsewhere in the world, and in particular in the third world. By taking such a stand, the peoples and nations of the third world can defend themselves against a massive invasion similar to that to which Afghanistan has fallen prey.

45. Events in Kampuchea are a further manifestation of recourse to the use of force in international relations. Regardless of the excesses attributed to one régime or another in that country, no justification of military intervention and external interference to impose a certain régime on a people is acceptable.

46. I should like also to refer to what is taking place in southern Lebanon, where Israel continues its armed attacks on the people of that sister country. Its policies constitute a grave threat to the security of the region and a serious obstacle to peace.

47. The policies of the Government of South Africa, whether in Namibia or in South Africa itself, and South Africa's recurrent attacks on Angola bear witness to the use of force for the purpose of the subjugation of a people.

48. The use of force has proliferated in such a way that it has now come to constitute a definite pattern of conduct in inter-State relations, a fact attested to by recent conflicts between Iran and Iraq and between Morocco and Algeria.

49. In this connection, we wish to emphasize the importance of adhering to the principles on which the United Nations is based and implementing the United Nations resolutions on the question of Korea so that the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people may be realized.

50. Another most disturbing phenomenon, parallel to the use of force, that undermines the fabric of international relations is subversion—the flimsy pretext of an invitation to foreign troops, inciting armed conflicts, and the intensification of the arms race for the narrow benefits of the armaments manufacturers and merchants. In various parts of Africa we see attempts at foreign intervention, which we deplore regardless of its origin. It is not our intention, however, to confine ourselves merely to condemnation but rather to focus attention on the dangers that surround the international situation.

51. After 35 years of a unique international experiment, the time is ripe to undertake an objective appraisal of the existing political order and, in particular, of the role of the existing international machinery. Accordingly, the Government of Egypt will in the near future propose the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to take up this whole matter.

52. In making that proposal we are not forgetting that progress towards international détente, which is of such importance, is halted because there is no firm foundation on which to build. Détente must apply to all countries so that the aspirations of all the peoples of the world may be realized and their rights guaranteed; it should not be for the benefit of the two super-Powers alone.

53. In this connection, I would call upon the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to initiate a dialogue on the present international situation. The timing of this initiative

is all the more appropriate in that it coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Bandung Conference, which called for the end of colonialism and was therefore a milestone in the development of the international order. May the memory of Bandung inspire this group of nations to agree on a common position for the third world in preparation for the proposed special session and in order to protect coming generations from the ordeals of an uncertain future. It is, after all, the responsibility of those peoples to unite in the defence of their sovereignty and freedom in the face of the dangers confronting the world today.

54. We call for political interdependence, economic co-operation, recognition of the need to establish justice on the basis of sovereign equality in international relations and for détente not to be pursued to the detriment of the third world. We solemnly urge that the renewed strategic conflict should not be carried out at the expense of small countries and the aspirations of their peoples.

55. This brings me to the question of the polarization in the present international situation. The increasing competition between the super-Powers brings the threat of a new cold war, which would consolidate the policy of occupation and sacrifice the interests of the peoples to those of the world strategists.

56. In the Middle East we suffer from a volatile situation resulting from dangerous strategic rivalry which day by day comes clearly and aggressively closer. In the Arabian Gulf looming external threats are endangering the freedom and sovereignty of the Arab people in the region. By such threats I do not mean the reported threat to the oil wells, for in Egypt we espouse a different approach based on our keen interest in safeguarding the integrity, rights and riches of the Arab nation. From this rostrum I declare most solemnly that Egypt is willing and able to carry out its historic role and shoulder its responsibility for safeguarding the sovereignty of the Arab people in the Gulf in accordance with their wishes.

57. In this regard, we are following with the utmost concern and dismay the ongoing war between Iran and Iraq. This outbreak of armed hostilities not only adds a new dimension to the already precarious situation in the Middle East, but has resulted in much bloodshed and destruction in two neighbour countries to which Egypt is bound by history and the common heritage of Islam.

58. The situation in the area is fraught with inherent danger, compounded by clear external strategic ambitions detrimental to the interests of its people. We therefore urge self-restraint and call for collective action to bring about a climate conducive to the resolution of the problems that resulted in the present conflict that would take into account the necessity of bringing the bloodshed to an end and safeguarding the stability of the region.

59. As a littoral State of the Mediterranean Sea, Egypt is closely following, in conjunction with efforts undertaken within the context of European security, the effects of the serious international developments on the security of the States in the region. Egypt therefore urges that at the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to be held at Madrid, a greater role be

accorded to the non-European Mediterranean States so that those States may present and be able to discuss their security problems, thereby protecting their legitimate interests in the face of the ongoing rivalries and in order that no international agreements should be concluded without their active participation.

60. The issues of polarization and the stagnation of détente lead us perforce to the role of the non-aligned movement in the relaxation of global tension and safeguarding the interests of the people of the third world. Egypt, as one of the founding members of the movement and a pioneer in projecting, elaborating and developing its principles and underlying concepts, is determined to strengthen and bolster the movement through active and responsible participation. The rapid international developments, the heightened international tension and the challenges that confront non-alignment necessitate joint and sincere efforts by all its members.

61. The non-aligned movement was established to secure the freedom and independence of States at a time when the cold war and the rivalry between major Powers dominated the international scene. The movement is now called upon to pursue its goals without distraction and to perform an increasingly more decisive role in defending mankind against the spectre of polarization.

62. Unfortunately, at present the non-aligned movement is the target of vicious and sinister attempts—oblivious either to the genuine interests of the movement as a whole or even to its possible extinction—to divert it from its true and original path and to inject alien concepts capable of turning the movement into a weapon to be exploited by a super-Power. Such attempts cannot but undermine the basis of the movement and wipe away its accomplishments realized through many years of struggle in defending freedoms and safeguarding the security and sovereignty of the peoples and countries of the third world.

63. The non-aligned movement was conceived and has been developed at Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers and Colombo as a movement that embodies great and lofty ideals. Non-alignment calls for peaceful coexistence, the realization of justice and peace, intensification of co-operation among peoples, an end to interference in the affairs of States and respect for human rights. In essence, the movement was designed to protect nations against recourse to force and the evils of polarization. It is on this premise that we cannot tolerate the manoeuvres of certain forces from within the movement to transform it into a tool of a certain super-Power, thereby defeating the very purpose of its existence.

64. We did not establish the non-aligned movement so that it might be exploited by either of the rival blocs or end up as part of the system of competing political alliances, or for that matter as an appendage to a particular military pact. Rather, we established that movement as a sound moral and spiritual force to play a positive and effective role in international affairs. On behalf of Egypt, I declare that we shall resist with all vigour the destructive roles that countries play within the movement. The non-aligned movement will not be permitted to be a tool in the hands of any bloc—I emphasize “any bloc”. It will continue to be a vigorous and

free force. Whoever aspires to lead the movement, or merely to assume its leadership, not only should possess the political skills and moral values to prevent him from being a puppet of either super-Power but also should retain his intellectual independence and his political and economic freedom.

65. The time has come for the non-aligned movement to resist sliding into the abyss of polarization and to confront the negative forces that seek to push it into the labyrinth of regional conflict and use it for settling petty accounts or serving ambitions to leadership, and should energetically pursue its genuine goals. The movement should overcome attempts to destroy it from within and safeguard its existence. Its creation should be considered as a landmark amongst the greatest political developments that have effectively contributed to peace and progress in the last two decades.

66. I should like now to turn to one of the most important fields of international activity, namely, disarmament. The continuation of the present arms race, whether in the conventional or nuclear sense, poses grave dangers for both the present and the future. It is a foregone conclusion that the exacerbation of the arms race, in particular in the nuclear field, in the present areas of potential conflict and the escalation of strategic rivalry enhance the possibilities of global war.

67. Nuclear disarmament, because of its implications for mankind, should be accorded the greatest priority. Therefore, during the Second Disarmament Decade the utmost attention should be given to arresting the qualitative development of nuclear weapons, ceasing the production of fissionable materials for military purposes, preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and destroying stockpiles of such weapons. In this connection, we call for a collective commitment to the goals and objectives of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. By such a commitment the nuclear-weapon States would discharge their obligations to undertake accelerated measures for nuclear disarmament and co-operate with the non-nuclear-weapon States in the field of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, while the latter fulfilled their obligations under that Treaty.

68. The position of the nuclear States at the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons² in refusing to take positive steps towards nuclear disarmament made it imperative for the non-aligned movement to respond by requesting firm guarantees for the security of the non-nuclear-weapon States and to reject the restrictions imposed by some nuclear fuel exporters, restrictions that have impeded the international transfer of nuclear technology for the benefit of the development of the countries of the third world.

69. In this context we should also like to emphasize the importance of creating nuclear-weapon-free zones. To complement the efforts undertaken to that end in Latin America, where a treaty is in force,³ and in Africa, whose leaders, with the support of the United Nations, have declared it a

² Held at Geneva from 11 August to 7 September 1980.

³ Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco).

nuclear-free zone,⁴ Egypt strongly urges the adoption of practical and effective measures for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.

70. Effective international supervision and an unambiguous legally binding commitment by the States of the region to respect the provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty under international supervision and control and international safeguards under the auspices of IAEA are the only guarantees against a nuclear arms race in the area—a race which, if not arrested in good time, may negatively affect the chances of realizing a comprehensive, just and lasting peace and stability in the area.

71. Nuclear technology is no longer the monopoly of some. Egypt, a country that has produced a substantial crop of nuclear scientists, will work towards saving the Middle East from the perils of nuclear destruction. In this regard, Egypt will submit to the First Committee a draft resolution which we hope will continue to command the unanimous support similar resolutions have enjoyed during the past six sessions.

72. Egypt would also like to declare, in the clearest terms, its total support for the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. Such a zone should be created only after a careful and integrated study of the situation in central and west Asia, so that we may avoid the strategic rivalry we are now witnessing in the waters and shores of that area. We are fully aware of the implications of such developments. Our primary concern is the interest of the peoples and States of the region, their independence and their non-alignment and with safeguarding them from hegemony and domination and keeping them out of the arena of rivalry and conflict. It is therefore our hope that the Conference on the Indian Ocean, which is expected to take place at Colombo in 1981, will result in agreement to safeguard the interests of the region.

73. I have dealt with the major problems that face the world in its quest for peace. I shall now deal with the problems of southern Africa and Palestine, problems that continue to pose serious dangers that by far transcend the confines of their respective regions and thereby endanger international peace and security.

74. The situation in southern Africa will continue to be explosive as long as the racist régime in South Africa persists in its vicious policy of *apartheid*, a policy doomed to failure. The racist policies of the Government of South Africa must be totally eradicated so that an acceptable and humane order may emerge.

75. On the same basis, the situation in Namibia should not be permitted to continue. The obstacles South Africa scatters in the way of the implementation of the United Nations plan make it imperative to employ the stern and effective measures called for in the Charter so as to force that country to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions. Egypt's position in this regard is a matter of principle: it is total support for the Namibian people in their struggle for

self-determination and independence. On the basis of this position of principle, Egypt strongly deplores the request made by the Government of South Africa to the Secretary-General on 13 May⁵ for the United Nations to withdraw its recognition of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. Egypt views this request as a useless effort by South Africa to disregard reality in a futile attempt to stop the wheel of history.

76. The question of Palestine was considered by the General Assembly only a few weeks ago at the seventh emergency special session. At that session an international consensus was vividly manifested in support of the national legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. A just resolution of this problem is urgently required.

77. The problem of Palestine, more than any other problem, has suffered over the past quarter of a century from international indifference. It was only after the Ramadan October 1973 war, and as a direct consequence of it, that definite and effective movement on the road towards a peaceful settlement of this problem occurred.

78. Notwithstanding the unanimous support on the part of the international community, obstacles continue to obstruct the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. On the other hand, attempts persist to drown meaningful efforts in a sea of rhetoric. As a result of these attempts and in spite of the principles enshrined in the Charter and the various resolutions of the United Nations on this question, the Palestinian people continue to be deprived of their rights, to suffer under the yoke of oppression and the agony of displacement and foreign occupation, without a glimmer of hope of the feasibility of their freedom and the exercise of their inalienable and legitimate right to self-determination without foreign interference on their own land.

79. Egypt considers the Palestinian question an Egyptian, Arab and African problem—a problem that relates to and affects the third world as a whole. Consequently, Egypt has embarked on the solution of this problem, first by shattering the *status quo* which some have tried to perpetuate and then by ushering in a transitional period which could be utilized as a preparatory phase for a comprehensive negotiation of the final settlement in which the Palestinian people will participate on an equal footing with the other concerned parties.

80. This has been the rationale of the successive Egyptian initiatives over the past 13 years, starting with the acceptance of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), then the welcoming of and co-operation with the Jarring mission, the war of attrition, the acceptance of the Rogers plan of 1970, the mission of the African Wise Men in 1971, the glorious October war, President Sadat's initiative in November 1977 and the signing of the Camp David accords.

81. In all its endeavours, Egypt has never overlooked or ignored the fundamental premises laid down by the international community in the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement for a settlement of the Palestinian

⁴ Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa, adopted in 1964 by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13935.

problem. The essence is always the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and return.

82. On these fundamental premises there can be no compromise. No one has the right to make concessions in their regard for they constitute the only real guarantee for achieving a just peace, as well as being the core of the peaceful settlement.

83. It is universally recognized that the Palestinian problem is a complex one, comprising many intricate and intertwined components. All efforts for its resolution must therefore focus, first of all, on terminating the foreign occupation of Palestinian territories in the West Bank, Arab Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, and the restoration of the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Egypt's signing of the Camp David accords is a step in that direction. The Camp David accords represent a concrete step towards the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), a step that would usher in a transitional arrangement in preparation for the exercise of self-determination by the Palestinian people. The accords are also designed to foster Palestinian-Israeli coexistence. Once Israel respects the rule of international law and legitimacy, the two peoples can appreciate the mutual advantages of peaceful coexistence and co-operation in the future. When we embarked on the negotiations to establish the transitional arrangements, we had much hope that despite the vilification campaign, it would be possible to proceed to alleviate the plight of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and to enable them to exercise full authority over their territory and later participate on an equal footing with the Israeli Government in negotiations aimed at determining the present as well as the future. However, Israel's vacillation and obstructionism, together with its settlements policy and the illegal measures it is undertaking in Jerusalem, have all, more than once, resulted in stagnation and stalemate. Egypt, in spite of being the first to condemn such Israeli policies, still believes that an opportunity exists to achieve tangible progress towards a comprehensive settlement.

84. To surmount the obstacles posed by Israel's procrastination in the negotiations and its policies in the occupied territories, obstacles that impede any meaningful movement towards the interim objectives stipulated in the Camp David accords, namely, the establishment of full autonomy in the West Bank, including Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, for a period not exceeding five years, President Sadat proposed the convening of a summit meeting with the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Israel after the United States presidential elections. The purpose of the summit is to discuss these obstacles with a view to resolving them and thereby paving the way towards the establishment of the interim period in which the Israeli military Government will be replaced by a Palestinian authority, and the Israeli armed forces will commence their withdrawal from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

85. Egypt's perseverance in resolving the Palestinian problem within a practical and effective framework, away from irresponsible rhetoric, stems from its conviction that security, peace and stability in the Middle East hinge upon solution of the Palestinian problem. Egypt in no way suggests that it monopolize the settlement of this problem but,

on the contrary, it encourages all efforts towards that end. We encourage and support the European initiative, a sentiment transmitted to Mr. Thorn, the Chairman of the European fact-finding mission, on his recent visit to Cairo. Equally, we support the ideas advanced by the Romanian President, Mr. Ceausescu, which call for the convening of an international conference, a proposal previously put forward by the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim. I take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to him for his tireless efforts and dedication to enhance the cause of peace. Egypt's Vice-President, Mr. Mubarak, has only recently concluded a tour of Europe in which he presented Egypt's position and expressed its total support for any initiatives that might contribute towards a just settlement of the Palestinian problem.

86. Meanwhile, it is relevant to recall that since the efforts of the African Wise Men in the early 1970s, the question of Palestine, since it is also an African problem based on the unity of struggle for liberation and independence, has been and continues to be the subject of intensive contacts among African leaders.

87. It is necessary to state in the clearest terms that all these initiatives, ideas and proposals should take two basic considerations into account, namely, completing the efforts made and those to be made for the peaceful settlement of the problem; and basing those efforts on the following principles: first, the legitimate and inalienable right of the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination without external interference; in addition, the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to establish their own independent State in Palestine as an undisputed right, equal to that of all peoples, to independence; secondly, any settlement should provide for the implementation of all the principles embodied in Security Council resolutions, and in particular resolution 242 (1967), which stipulates the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region; thirdly, the right and the obligation of the Palestinian people to participate in all the stages of negotiations leading to a just settlement; fourthly, the rejection of all the Israeli measures which are contrary to international law, the Charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the binding international conventions, in particular those measures relative to the building of settlements in occupied territories; fifthly, the security of the area is indivisible and therefore does not relate to Israel alone; genuine security cannot be realized for one party at the expense of the security and rights of the others; and sixthly, the necessity that Israel immediately undertake certain confidence-building measures to bring about a climate of understanding and coexistence between the Palestinian and Israeli peoples, a climate that would, on the basis of international legitimacy, pave the way towards friendly relations between the two peoples in the future.

88. As stated by President Sadat, if the question of Palestine is at the center of the Middle East conflict, Jerusalem is the essence of it. It has become absolutely clear that any attempt on the legal status of Jerusalem will be rejected and any bilateral attempt to change it will be denounced and rejected by world consensus. Security Council resolution 478 (1980) on the inadmissibility of the measures taken by Israel affecting the status of the City of Jerusalem, states that

those measures are null and void. The resolution best represents the unanimous opinion of the world on the subject. We in Egypt are strongly opposed to any measure taken by Israel to integrate Jerusalem and express our gratitude to the countries which have withdrawn their embassies from Jerusalem as a sign of opposition to Israel's policy and in compliance with that resolution. We call upon all States to affirm the inadmissibility of any measures taken by Israel to dominate Jerusalem or likely to strengthen its claim thereto.

89. Egypt has chosen the path of peace. Egypt will spare no effort in its quest for peace because it believes in the lofty principles and objectives of the United Nations and the principles of non-alignment, for which it has struggled and will continue to struggle until they have become the established norms for the majority of nations.

90. Egypt's foreign policy should be seen as a manifestation of the historical role it has played since the dawn of civilization.

91. Egypt will continue, together with other peace-loving nations, to strive for the elimination of the spectre of war, the development of friendly relations and fruitful co-operation among nations in order that an international order with justice and peace may prevail.

92. Mr. NASE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all, I should like, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to convey to you our greetings and best wishes on your election to the high office of President of this Assembly.

93. At the same time, I should like, on behalf of the Albanian Government, to welcome the Republic of Zimbabwe to membership of the United Nations and to express our best wishes for the progress and happiness of the friendly people of that country who, through bloodshed and sacrifice, won their freedom and national independence. We also welcome the admission to the Organization of the free and independent State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

94. The course of events during the period which has elapsed since the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly corroborates the fact that the military, economic and ideological aggression and expansion of the imperialist Powers and the constant intensification of the inhuman and neocolonialist oppression and exploitation of various peoples and countries have always been an integral part of the hostile policy and strategy of imperialism in its fight against peoples and revolution. This dangerous expansionist and hegemonistic activity by the imperialist super-Powers and their military blocs has created throughout the world a very serious and explosive situation and has more than ever before endangered the freedom and independence of peoples as well as international peace and security.

95. The capitalist-revisionist world is in the grip of a serious economic, political, military, ideological and moral crisis. From within it is being eroded by very acute contradictions. Unable any longer to dominate through the old forms of exploitation and oppression, the international bourgeoisie is ever more overtly bringing the most reactionary forces into play and, in various countries, it is moving in

the direction of fascism. The economic and financial crisis is becoming even more acute and has taken on unprecedented proportions. Inflation, skyrocketing prices, the constant increase in unemployment, the serious energy crisis and other harmful phenomena of a similar nature show the major proportions which this crisis has assumed. These phenomena are based on a huge and ever-growing avalanche which very seriously affects the broad working masses.

96. The capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie is striving to shift the heavy burden of this economic crisis on to the shoulders of the proletariat and the other peoples and countries, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where it has undertaken a true crusade of neo-colonialist expansion, plunder and exploitation.

97. As clearly emerged also at the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, on economic questions, the peoples and the developing countries in various regions of the world are experiencing more and more the grave consequences of this unrestrained economic aggression. Through their so-called aid and credits, through their so-called technical co-operation, through the existing neo-colonialist exploitative system of exchange imbalance and discrimination in economic and trade relations, the super-Powers and the other imperialist Powers are striving to step up the plunder and exploitation of these peoples and countries and hinder their efforts to place their natural wealth and resources under their own control and national sovereignty and to crush the struggle they are waging to consolidate their economic and political independence for their free and independent development.

98. Just as in the past, the Albanian people and Government express their full solidarity with the struggle and the efforts being waged by the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America radically to change the inequalities existing in world economic and trade relations, to put an end to the neo-colonialist plunder and exploitation by the imperialist Powers and to forge ahead independently on the road to their all-round development and progress.

99. The fierce rivalry between the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, not to exclude social-imperialist China and the other imperialist Powers—their deals and machinations to monopolize markets and to preserve and extend their respective zones of influence, elbowing one another out of those areas where their presence and influence have been shaken—has intensified and taken on serious new and still greater proportions. Examples of that are threats by the United States of America and its overt preparations for interference in Iran and the further intensification of the aggressive policy and activity of the social-imperialist Soviet Union and its expansion towards the oil-rich regions and surrounding waterways. One of the most concrete and overt steps of this hegemonistic policy was the Fascist aggression by the Soviet social-imperialists against Afghanistan and the military occupation of that sovereign country.

100. At the same time, we notice a new escalation of the political, diplomatic and military activity by the United States of America and the other imperialist Powers in the Middle East and neighbouring areas, where a very tense

situation and a psychosis of war have been created. This finds expression in the unprecedented growth of the military establishments, navies and armaments of the super-Powers, the so-called rapid deployment force near the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean and the intensification of blackmail, threats, pressure and the blockade against Iran. Concurrently, both the United States of America and the Soviet Union have increased their diplomatic efforts and pressure to procure air and naval bases in various countries of that region and consolidate their presence and influence in them. In this bitter struggle and rivalry between the two imperialist super-Powers for zones of influence, the United States of America for its part has brought into play the new aggressive alliance it has formed with the Chinese social-imperialism and the other reactionary forces of the Asian continent. Hence a very dangerous and explosive situation has been created in that continent and, in particular, in the Indo-Chinese region.

101. In Europe, too, we witness an ever-greater number of turbulent elements fraught with threats and the danger of war. The two imperialist super-Powers have intensified the arms race to the limit and bolstered the striking power of their aggressive blocs—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and the Warsaw Treaty—in whose member countries have been stationed today in a state of permanent alert military forces three to four times greater than those present there on the eve of the Second World War. The new plans for increasing military budgets and deploying the most sophisticated American nuclear weapons in NATO countries, the development of new Soviet nuclear weapons and modern war-planes and the concentration of navies, military bases, stockpiles of weapons, tanks and missile units, as well as the “rapid deployment force” near possible areas of military confrontation that are the targets of the expansionist aims of the super-Powers are certainly factors which directly influence the deterioration of the situation in Europe and have seriously endangered the freedom and the independence of European peoples.

102. One of the fundamental features of the situation today in the European continent is the constant sharpening of contradictions and disagreements between the two super-Powers and their partners in their respective alliances over a number of important economic and political questions. Hence the United States of America and the Soviet Union are trying to alleviate and eliminate numerous disagreements and to neutralize the centrifugal tendencies in their alliances so as to strengthen their control and *diktat* over them and force their allies to support their aggressive policies and activities in various regions of the world. The United States of America is requesting solidarity from the Western European countries and asking them to follow it in its aggressive activities, pressure and blockade against Iran, in the Middle East, and in its sanctions against the Soviet Union because of its occupation of Afghanistan. The Soviet Union orders its allies to support the aggression in Afghanistan as well as its policy of “*détente*” with the West.

103. At the same time, the two super-Powers have undertaken a series of endeavours, with each resorting to every means to widen the division in the alliances of its rival. Thus, while the Soviet social-imperialists are striving to exploit in their own interests the disagreements that have emerged between the United States of America and some Western

European countries, United States imperialism and its European allies are doing their utmost to weaken the links between the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and the former's dependence on the latter and also to increase their own influence on them. A clear example of this is the active role the West has played in the development of recent events in Poland, which are a consequence of the counter-revolutionary line approved by the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet revisionist party and of the policy being pursued by the Soviet Union towards its allies to keep them under its domination, and a typical expression of the ever-greater rotteness of the revisionist world.

104. In other areas of Europe, the United States of America is exerting pressure on some allied countries to make them accept its conditions in connection with agreements on new military bases, surveillance stations and forces it wants to station in the territories of those countries, while the Soviet Union is dispatching new forces and weapons and building airports and stockpiles of weapons in the territories of countries members of the Warsaw Treaty.

105. These dangerous activities of the two imperialist super-Powers are also seen today in the Balkans in their attempts to intimidate and demoralize the Balkan peoples. While engaging in blackmail and threats of aggression, they keep alive, and strive to aggravate, the disagreements and feuds among the Balkan countries. At certain given times, the super-Powers stir up war psychosis and make open threats of interference and aggression.

106. In its relations with neighbouring States, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as an independent and peace-loving State, has always consistently pursued a policy of good neighbourliness. On this basis it has taken and is taking concrete steps for the normal, always positive, development of bilateral relations in various fields of common interest. As we have stated in the past, and as we wish to reiterate, no evil will ever come to neighbouring peoples from the territory of Albania. The Albanian Government holds the view that the interests of the Balkan peoples and peace and genuine security in the region require that the Balkan States should not be involved in the dangerous intrigues and schemes of the imperialist super-Powers. The Balkan peoples should be left free to live in peace and friendship with one another.

107. In order to justify their war preparations and their frenzied arms race, and the efforts of each of them to attain superiority over the other, the two imperialist super-Powers have recently further intensified their intimidating and befuddling uproar about the dangers deriving from the rupture of the balance of forces and from their confrontation. This is the aim of the clamorous announcement of the new nuclear strategy elaborated by United States Administration “hawks” and the threatening statements made by the Soviet social-imperialists about the measures they would take to offset this new development in the Soviet-United States rivalry.

108. Both sides ceaselessly repeat to one another that they will permit no concession which destroys the balance of forces. On this pretext they increase their military budgets and publicly announce plans and projects for the production of new nuclear weapons and delivery systems. Exerting

heavy pressure and using massive blackmail against various peoples and countries, they try to impose on them the notion that in order to preserve the balance between the United States of America and the Soviet Union and to avoid a direct United States-Soviet confrontation, sovereign States must make concessions to them and submit to their *diktat*, their control and their domination.

109. In his work "Eurocommunism is Anti-communism", the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, said that

"The argument about the balance between big Powers as a factor in or means of safeguarding peace is an old imperialist slogan with which the world—and Europe especially—is very well acquainted. It has always been used to justify the hegemonist policy of the big imperialist Powers and the right which they claim for themselves to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and to dominate them."

110. The super-Powers seek to solve any difficulty in their relations at the expense of the peoples. They always fail to reconcile their rivalry and co-operation and they exploit any breakdown in the balance to intimidate the peoples, to disarm them psychologically and thus more easily to attack and occupy them militarily. In this context, they create serious and complicated situations in various countries and zones, instigate crises, tensions and hotbeds of conflict and undertake acts of aggression and local wars, thus gravely jeopardizing the sovereignty, freedom and independence of the peoples and general peace and security.

111. Hand in hand with all this openly aggressive activity and with the plots and behind-the-scenes manoeuvres they devise daily against the peoples, the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, while increasing their own military budgets, building up and improving their armaments and unscrupulously threatening and occupying other territories and countries, are talking and making a great fuss about disarmament and "détente", and are proposing new conferences on disarmament and so forth. While menacing the Iranian people and the other peoples of the world with aggression, the United States affirms its alleged good will with regard to the solution of the Middle East problem. For its part, the Soviet Union is making every effort to cover up its new aggression against Afghanistan with worries about "détente" and with "pledges" on the attainment of European security at the Madrid Conference—until it plunges in against another Afghanistan.

112. But, whatever the efforts of their ideologists and politicians to disguise themselves by displaying pacifist slogans and holding various conferences convened for demagogic purposes, the two imperialist super-Powers—the United States of America and the Soviet Union—have been and remain the two greatest enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, of sovereign, freedom-loving States and of peace and international security. Experience has shown that in certain situations, when their interests are at stake, the two imperialist super-Powers, irrespective of their rivalry and their bitter struggle for hegemony and the domination of the world, find common points when it is a question of fighting against the peoples and the revolution. They do their utmost to suppress all forms of people's

resistance, all efforts by freedom-loving and sovereign countries against control, *diktat*, domination and neo-colonialist oppression.

113. Despite the great economic and military potential which the two super-Powers have put at the service of their policy of world domination and hegemony, despite their threats and their blackmail, their aggression and their fraudulent plots, despite the incalculable arsenals of their agents, spies and followers, they are not in a position to obstruct the course of events or to find stability in their fight to establish their hegemony over the peoples.

114. The combined strength of the enemies of the peoples is powerful and considerable, but the strength of the peoples is colossal. The development of events fully corroborates this undeniable fact. The year that has passed since the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly testifies to the fact that the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples in various regions of the world are increasingly committed to revolutionary and national liberation struggles against oppression and domination, against aggression and interference by the imperialist super-Powers, against violence and exploitation by local forces of reaction. This is seen in the victories of the valiant Iranian people and its determination constantly to carry forward the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution. It is seen in the resolute struggle of the Afghan people against the Soviet social-imperialist aggressors, in the resistance and heroic struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against imperialist Zionist aggression, in the great victory of the Zimbabwe people and in the struggle of the peoples of Namibia and Azania and other African peoples against racism and neo-colonialism and for national liberation. In many countries of Latin America, the proletariat and the other working masses have risen and are shedding their blood in fierce clashes with the Fascist juntas for genuine freedom and democracy and to throw off the double yoke of the financial oligarchy of local feudal lords and monopoly capital from the United States.

115. Today we are witnessing the great surge of the people's revolutionary revolt of the broad masses of the Moslem peoples, in Iran, the Arab countries and other Islamic countries. These peoples, who in the past had been left in darkness and great backwardness by the colonizers and oppressive régimes but always preserved their militant spirit and traditions and freedom-loving and progressive feelings, have risen against savage oppression and exploitation and imperialist interference and aggression. Despite the efforts of the international bourgeoisie to denigrate the powerful movement of the Moslem peoples and its struggles and uprisings, which it calls retrogressive and a manifestation of religious fanaticism, progressive mankind and peoples that love freedom and peace appreciate them for their true worth as an important contribution to the great anti-imperialist struggle of peoples.

116. The anti-imperialist, anti-American and anti-feudal revolt of the Iranian people and its heroic resistance to the pressure and blockade by American imperialism and the intrigues and plots of the Soviet and Chinese social-imperialists, and the current struggle of the Afghan people against Soviet aggression, constitute positive examples which inspire the peoples oppressed by and dependent on neo-colonialism to rise in struggle and put an end to foreign

oppression. At the same time they constitute a powerful blow to world imperialism and a profound disturbance of its economic basis and aims for hegemony and domination in the world.

117. In the Middle East, despite the intensification of the aggressive activity of the Israeli Zionists and the anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab plots by the super-Powers, the struggle and resistance of the Palestinian people and their Arab brothers against their imperialist-Zionist enemies are resolutely continuing. At present the imperialist super-Powers—the United States, the Soviet Union and China—and Israel and Arab reactionary forces are making every effort and resorting to every means to incite disagreements and feuds among Arab peoples and countries in the Middle East in order to create ever more obstacles to the efforts they are making to unite their ranks and mobilize their own forces and energies in their common struggle against imperialist aggression and interference in that region of the world.

118. The anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian Camp David plot continues to be put into practice. American imperialism today is doing its utmost to strengthen it further, to drag other Arab countries into its suffocating maelstrom and increasingly to tighten the noose around the neck of the Palestinian movement. Meanwhile, the United States has incited Israeli Zionism to intensify its acts of violence and terror against the broad masses of Palestinians in the occupied territories and its overt activity of aggression and war against the neighbouring Arab countries. Clear evidence of this is the constant aggressive acts against Lebanon and the Fascist acts of genocide which are being carried out ever more forcefully against the Palestinians. The decision of the Israeli parliament to proclaim Jerusalem the eternal capital of Israel is another arrogant act on its part which clearly demonstrates the consequences of the overall aid and support it receives from American imperialism in its overt aggressive and annexationist policy and activity.

119. This new annexationist step by the Israeli Zionists has rightfully been condemned forcefully and resolutely by the Arab peoples and by international public opinion as a whole. It clearly reveals the plans and aims of Zionism for the perpetuation of the occupation of Arab territories as a logical continuation of the old efforts directed towards the creation of a "greater Israel". No doubt it is also an inseparable part of the massive Camp David plot, which had and has only one aim—to preserve the occupation of the Arab territories, liquidate the Palestinian resistance and preserve and strengthen the presence and domination of the United States in the Middle East.

120. The Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples do not allow themselves to be deceived by the promises and pledges of Washington about the efforts it will allegedly make after the presidential elections to bring peace and security to them. They are deceived even less by the manoeuvres of the Soviet social-imperialists, who, masquerading as the ally of the Arab peoples and countries, are striving to extend their influence in that region.

121. The Albanian people and its Government vigorously support the just and heroic struggle of the Palestinian people for the restoration of its legitimate rights and the movement

of the Arab peoples to liberate the occupied territories and to put an end both to Zionist-imperialist aggression and to the interference and intrigues of the super-Powers. We are convinced that this will be achieved only through the determined armed struggle of the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples, through their common efforts and militant unity among themselves and with the other peoples who love peace and freedom.

122. The Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people have always vigorously condemned the aggressive and hegemonistic policy and the interferences and plots of the imperialist super-Powers—the United States, the Soviet Union and China—in the region of Indo-China, as a result of which the freedom-loving peoples of that region, particularly the Cambodian people, continue to be the victims of much suffering and privation. The situation in that region remains very grave and explosive. The threats by social-imperialist China to teach Viet Nam a "second lesson" and all the political and diplomatic machinations of the imperialist super-Powers in South-East Asia are fraught with grave consequences for freedom and security in that region.

123. As always, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people support the right of each people in that region to live free and independent and to solve their problems themselves without any foreign interference, whatever its origin.

124. We also support the full realization of the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people for the independent reunification of their country and their struggle to put an end to the military occupation of South Korea by the United States and the local oppressive régime, which is a tool of United States imperialism.

125. The Albanian people and Government strongly support the just anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle of the African peoples and of the revolutionaries and democratic patriots for freedom and national independence and to guarantee their independent political, economic and social development.

126. At present, the peoples of Africa are waging a fierce struggle against the neo-colonialist Powers, and especially the two super-Powers, which are feverishly vying with each other to exploit the great riches and the raw materials of the African continent and to encircle their spheres of influence with military bases and armed forces.

127. Despite the efforts and refined methods of the imperialist Powers to create ever more difficult situations for the African peoples and countries and set them against one another while preventing them from joining their efforts for national independence and identity, the struggle of the peoples of that continent against colonialism and neo-colonialism is constantly mounting and is scoring one success after another.

128. An important victory in this direction is the proclamation of the independence and creation of the new and free State of Zimbabwe, a direct result of the long struggle over many years of the freedom-loving people of Zimbabwe, who through sacrifices and fighting arms in hand smashed the

hated racist domination, the savage oppression and violence of genocide and *apartheid*.

129. This victory of the African people of Zimbabwe is another example and offers encouragement for the struggle being waged by their African brothers of Namibia and Azania against the racist régime of *apartheid* in South Africa and foreign neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation.

130. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always pursued a just, principled and fully independent foreign policy which corresponds to the safeguarding of the lofty interests of our socialist homeland as well as to the cause of freedom and independence of the peoples. The Albanian people and its Government have always been in solidarity with and have resolutely supported the peoples that are fighting for liberation, freedom and national independence and for social progress. They have fought and will fight to expose the enemies of the peoples and their policies and activities of aggression, oppression and exploitation everywhere in the world.

131. In its international relations, socialist Albania has always been guided by the desire to live in peace and friendship with other peoples and countries and, in conformity with this, it has maintained and maintains relations with an ever growing number of States. It has stood and stands for the expansion of trade, cultural and other relations in fields of mutual interest with various States, loyally adhering to well-known international norms governing the relations among sovereign States.

132. At this session also, the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will not fail to make its modest contribution to the discussion of the questions facing the General Assembly.

133. Mr. MOHAMMED (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on your election to preside over the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and assure you of our full co-operation for the success of the session, which we hope will contribute to the realization of the aspirations of peoples and strengthen the struggle for international peace and security.

134. I am equally pleased to express our gratitude and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, who successfully guided our deliberations at the sixth and seventh emergency special sessions and the eleventh special session, as well as the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

135. This session acquires special significance in view of the current dangerous and complex developments in the world. International imperialism, led by the United States, has accelerated its intensive propaganda campaign against States and peoples struggling for their freedom and independence. It continues its efforts to reinforce its military presence by the establishment of new military bases and the dispatching of its naval and other forces to launch its aggressive wars, aggravate the world situation by creating new hotbeds of tension and threaten the peace and security of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

136. Our people in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen continues its national democratic struggle to consolidate its progressive system, its freedom, its sovereignty and its independence. We are endeavouring to proceed speedily to dismantle the pillars of the old society, to build a new one and implement our comprehensive economic and social development plans, despite all the problems of underdevelopment inherited from a colonial past and despite all foreign imperialist and reactionary conspiracies against us.

137. We are also exerting all efforts to reunite Yemen. To this end, we are earnestly endeavouring to strengthen contacts and brotherly dialogue between the Governments of the two parts of Yemen and intensify the activities of the joint committees in an effort towards achieving the early completion of their tasks in accordance with agreements between the two Governments. We are working together with our brothers in Sana to develop means of co-operation and co-ordination in the fields of trade, development plans and economic integration for the unification of our Yemeni people on a peaceful and democratic basis.

138. We are confident of our success, thanks to the solid commitment of the Yemeni people to its independence, national sovereignty and the restoration of its unity against all forms of foreign interference and imperialist and reactionary attempts to create a climate of tension in Yemen.

139. Since the signing of the treasonable Camp David accords by the United States, the Zionist entity and the Egyptian régime, the imperialist and Zionist conspiracies continue to mount and to escalate in the Middle East. They have been unfolding at a rapid pace in an attempt to complete the imperialists' full control over the whole area and liquidate the national cause of the Arab peoples and in particular the national cause of the heroic Palestinian people. The Zionist enemy has practised the most brutal forms of repression, terrorism and genocide against the Palestinian people in addition to its settlements policy in the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories, which culminated in the declaration of Jerusalem as the eternal capital of the Zionist entity. Lebanon is suffering continuous acts of aggression designed to uproot the Palestinian resistance and the nationalist Lebanese movement and undermine its security, independence, territorial integrity and Arab character. The conspiracy of the imperialist and reactionary circles extends far beyond these boundaries. They attempt to sow the seeds of division, to break the unity of the Syrian internal front and thus weaken the steadfast Syrian stand against the Zionist enemy. What is more, we are faced with Egyptian military reinforcements on the borders of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

140. Yet the conclusions of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly represented an important political achievement for the Palestinian revolution at the international level. The widening support for the Palestinian cause was clearly demonstrated at a time of increasing isolation of Israel, the United States and the Egyptian régime. The adoption of Security Council resolution 478 (1980) was a further step in that direction. It declared the annexation of Jerusalem null and void. However, in spite of that increasing world recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, a process that started in the United Nations when the General Assembly adopted its resolution

3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, the imperialist-Zionist alliance still persists in denying that right, overlooking the fact that the Palestinian question is the core of the conflict in the Middle East. Any solution that does not address itself to that question cannot provide permanent and just peace in the area.

141. The international community has reaffirmed its solid support for the Palestinian cause. The General Assembly has recognized the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and its right to establish its independent State; it has recognized the PLO as its sole legitimate representative and has refused to accept the Camp David accords and the policy they represent. With mounting United States support, Israel continues to oppose the world consensus and violate United Nations resolutions. It consolidates its occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories. It concentrates on liquidating the Palestinian question and establishing a Zionist-imperialist reactionary alliance to serve the expansionist ambitions of Israel and United States interests and to threaten the independence, sovereignty and social progress of the Arab peoples.

142. In an attempt to ensure the success of its designs in the Middle East, international imperialism has provoked crises in Afghanistan, South-East Asia and the horn of Africa to divert world attention from the aggressive conspiracy it has been orchestrating in those areas.

143. Together with all these rapid actions in the Arab region today, we are also witnessing extremely dangerous developments. These include the imperialist military presence, in the form of war fleets, in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, and the expansion and strengthening of the American base in Diego Garcia. A new political situation of particularly dangerous dimensions arose this year following the agreement of the United States with Oman, Egypt, Somalia and other States for the establishment of aggressive bases and the granting of military facilities in their territories. It is part of an all-out American effort to flex its military muscle whereby, in our area, it aims to control international waterways and guarantee an imperialist capacity for rapid and direct interference to suppress and abort peoples' efforts to uphold their right to independence and sovereignty over their national wealth.

144. Such imperialist military presence, which forms part of a comprehensive design, goes hand in hand with the objectives of the Camp David conspiracy. Its goal is to exacerbate tensions in the Middle East, Africa and Asia and subvert peaceful relations between States so as to keep them under the constant threat of imperialist interference and obstruct international efforts to make the Indian Ocean and its natural extensions a zone of peace, co-operation and stability.

145. We regret the war that is currently raging between Iraq and Iran. We appeal to both sides to solve the problem by peaceful means and to mobilize their energies against the Zionist enemy.

146. Democratic Yemen is particularly anxious to co-operate, and deeply committed to such co-operation, with the other countries in the region against imperialist Zionist designs, in the interests of freedom and prosperity for its

peoples. Our policy is based on mutual respect for the independence and national sovereignty of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and mutual benefit, for the security and stability of the region. We also emphasize our firm stand behind the just Palestinian cause and the struggle of brotherly Arab peoples against imperialist and reactionary conspiracies. We support the struggle of the Omani people, under the leadership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, against the imperialist military presence and for sovereignty and true independence; we believe that the unity of Syria and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will serve to strengthen opposition to those designs. We shall also support the national struggle of the Egyptian people until Egypt joins the Arab ranks and shoulders its responsibilities in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reactionary forces. In addition, we extend our support to the just struggle of the Saharan people for self-determination.

147. In Africa, imperialist designs have proved unable to protect the white minority régime in Rhodesia. The people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, won its final victory. Zimbabwe today is amongst us, playing its role in supporting the struggle of peoples and strengthening the purposes and principles of the Charter. We are confident that the people of Namibia, under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, will similarly win its heroic struggle against the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa, which country continues its occupation of Namibia in violation of United Nations resolutions. Such a situation requires that the United Nations shoulder its responsibilities to isolate that régime and impose sanctions against it until the final elimination of racism.

148. More than once we have had the opportunity to express our firm support for the struggle of the people of Afghanistan and its legitimate Government against the imperialist and reactionary conspiracies aimed at flagrant interference in its internal affairs. We also support the struggle of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea to preserve peace and stability in South-East Asia and foil imperialist designs. We demand that the legitimate Kampuchean representative, the Revolutionary People's Council, should occupy its seat in the United Nations. We also support the struggle of the people of Cyprus for its independence, security, territorial integrity and non-alignment and reiterate our firm stand with the Democratic Republic of Korea in its peaceful efforts to reunite Korea.

149. With regard to Latin America, we support the resilient struggle of the Cuban people against the blockade imposed by the United States and its struggle to eliminate the American military base in Guantanamo. We also salute the victorious revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada and condemn the imperialist conspiracies against the people of El Salvador; and we extend our support to the just struggle of the Puerto Rican people for self-determination.

150. The policy of international imperialism aims at subverting peace and détente by escalating tension and instability in a number of areas in the world, opposing people's movements of national liberation and democracy, feeding the enmity against the socialist States, particularly the Soviet Union, and sowing division and disunity between the developing and socialist countries. We condemn this policy and,

at the same time, express our appreciation for the role that the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, play in supporting the struggle of peoples, strengthening détente in international relations and preserving peace and security in the world.

151. The world's economic crises are worsening and assuming critical proportions. The developing countries, which live mostly in poverty, hunger and sickness, bear the brunt of their negative repercussions. They are still the victim of the vicious circle of backwardness, in spite of the international development strategies and other inadequate world efforts. Yet the capitalist industrialized countries, regardless of their problems, enjoy affluence and luxury consumption and squander resources at the expense of the developing countries. It is clear now that these capitalist countries do not shoulder their responsibilities, except to preserve their selfish short-term interests, without due regard for the global interest of genuine interdependence and the establishment of the new international economic order.

152. Only two weeks ago, the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, on development and international co-operation, was concluded. It bore witness to the futility of dialogue in the absence of political will. It appears as if the capitalist countries are after dialogue for its own sake. But dialogue is not an end in itself if it does not lead to the expected structural changes in the world economy. In spite of their flexibility, understanding and positive initiatives, the developing countries are deeply disappointed by the conclusions of the session, as a result of the hardening position of a few developed capitalist countries. The capitalist countries, in fact, have not improved their position to any substantial degree since the Declaration on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and during the last six years of negotiations. They are concerned primarily with preserving the existing framework of the world economic relations which guarantee their dominance and control over the international economy. Consequently, they resort to any pretexts and delaying tactics. Even before the start of the global negotiations, and during negotiations on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, they created numerous obstacles to weaken both the global negotiations and the strategy so that they would not lead to the expected positive results. On the global negotiations they

posed problems, thus preventing any consensus on the procedures and agenda.

153. Economic crises in the developing countries require radical and effective measures in all fields and activities of development. This is particularly true with regard to the least developed countries that are most in need of a massive transfer of real resources and the united assistance of the rich countries and international and regional financial institutions and funds. Regrettably, even the Immediate Action Programme under UNCTAD resolution 122 (V) of 3 June 1979⁶ has not yet been implemented. It is imperative that this Programme, as well as the programme for the 1980s, should be implemented urgently. In addition, adequate preparations should be made for the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, to be held in 1981, in order to ensure its success. Undoubtedly, the establishment of the new international economic order will mean a long and hard struggle before the industrialized countries recognize their responsibilities and establish relations based on equality, without exploitation or domination. Economic co-operation among developing countries constitutes a fundamental aspect of this new order in view of the importance of the principle of collective self-reliance. Those countries recognize their role. Yet, to break the deadlock of the global negotiations, they should adopt concrete measures and take practical steps to achieve the tangible results they hope for.

154. Since its inception the United Nations has been able to save humanity from the disaster of world wars, contribute to dismantling the old colonial system, achieve some economic and social goals and contain a number of world crises. We call for respect for United Nations resolutions in the interest of international peace and security.

155. In conclusion, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my deep gratitude and appreciation to the Secretary-General for his continuous and tireless efforts to solve world problems and strengthen the principles upon which this world Organization was established.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

⁶ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.0.14), part one, sect. A.