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

*Address by Mr. Mohamed Anwar El-Sadat,
President of the Arab Republic of Egypt*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now hear a statement by the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt. I have the great honour of welcoming to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Anwar El-Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and of inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. Anwar EL-SADAT (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, in the name of God Almighty, I am happy to meet with you here, and to be afforded an opportunity to expound, before you and before the whole international community, our conception, in Egypt, of what takes place in our world and to convey to you our impressions about our region in its present and future.

3. It is important for me, at the outset, to convey to you the greetings of the Egyptian people and to assure you of their belief in the principles of the United Nations and their commitment to its objectives, as the framework wherein are represented all or the majority of the peoples of the world who celebrated a few days ago the thirtieth anniversary of the implementation of its Charter on 24 October 1945.

4. It is a particular source of pleasure to me to address you at a time when the number of Members in our Organization has exceeded 140. I have no doubt that the reasons which have so far prevented the admission of some of the world's peoples and States—against their will—are soon to disappear, thus affording them an opportunity to participate in your historic march towards freedom, justice and progress.

5. Likewise, I am fully convinced that the Palestinian people will participate as an active member of the United Nations through its legitimate representatives in that creative march, thus asserting the principles of justice, the Charter of the United Nations and its provisions.

6. While taking pleasure in addressing you, I consider it equally pleasurable to find in front of and around me this great number of friendly States with which we have strong ties, and with which we have a common understanding of and a positive interaction with our present political conduct. This is not due to Egypt's

strategic weight or standing or to its civilization's heritage, as much as it is due to the principles to which we are committed in our policy. These are, fundamentally, the desire to deal within a framework of brotherliness and friendship, respect for the independence and sovereignty of States, non-interference in their internal affairs and, last but not least, interaction with the present-day circumstances of our contemporary world, regardless of its different circles.

7. As far as Egypt is concerned, there is one basic axis which takes first place and has a very special position among all these spheres, that is, the Arab circle of which we are part and parcel and to which we are affiliated. There is no doubt that the Arab world, as one family, has come to assume a prestigious position among all political circles. It is a fact made prominent and crystallized by the great day of the Sixth of October 1973, as well as by the spontaneous Arab solidarity which immediately manifested itself following that day. I have no doubt that this solidarity will continue and further develop. The Arab world undoubtedly will play its role as a sixth force, which has its standing and its weight and will together with the other circles participate in the political and economic development of our world and the advancement of its civilization.

8. It is my conviction that the other circles, realizing the potentialities of the Arab world and its true determination to fulfil its responsibilities in an active manner, will co-operate and interact with the Arab world in a positive manner and a constructive spirit.

9. Closely linked to this Arab circle is the Islamic circle which comprises many peoples believing in the equality and brotherhood of all nations and peoples regardless of differences of ideology or heritage, with no discrimination and with no bias except for the common good.

10. As you all know, Egypt is an African country which belongs to one of the oldest continents of the world, though, unfortunately, one which has suffered most through the evils of colonialism, exploitation and backwardness. Now, however, Africa stands with its head high, exerting the utmost effort for the realization of freedom and progress, either through pure African interactions within the Organization of African Unity, or through African solidarity and interdependence with the Arab nation, making use of the Afro-Arab dialogue which is to crystallize next year, God willing, in the form of an Afro-Arab charter which will regulate this co-operation at the highest level of responsibility and effectiveness.

11. There is yet another circle which links together many States of the world, regardless of their geographical position or the racial composition of their people, namely, the non-aligned group. The Non-Aligned Movement emanated from a deep feeling of the iden-

tical nature of the experience of those States in the near past against colonialism and backwardness. The birth of this Movement was a beacon light to the States which were still suffering from the effects of colonialism and exploitation. What strengthened the radiance of that beacon light was the fact that the circumstances accompanying the appearance of that positive political phenomenon were indeed critical. A cold war was then raging between States in possession of weapons of mass destruction, a fact which made it possible for the States of the third world to play a fundamental role and to carry a lofty message.

12. Now that what is called “*détente*” has replaced discord, threat and the resort to means of violence, exploitation and pressure, and despite the great difference between the two epochs, the Non-Aligned Movement has been able—after having fulfilled its first mission during the cold war honourably and sincerely—to adapt itself to the new world changes and to play a new fundamental role based on the Movement’s basic principles. These remain, in my judgement, the true safeguard of peoples’ independence and the freedom of small States which aspire to breathe the fresh air of liberty, to gain control over their natural resources and to advance on the road of progress, away from spheres of influence. Once this is achieved, they can contribute in the international arena in a significant, valuable, meaningful and effective manner.

13. Suffice it here to compare, without going into detail, the number of States which initiated this Movement in the 1950s with the number of States of the Non-Aligned Movement nowadays. It may be enough to illustrate the weight and the positive role of the Movement to point out the fact that one of the first pronouncements of a newly independent State is to declare its adherence to the non-aligned group and its belief in the Movement’s principles.

14. I hope I have not spoken too long about the international situation. Yet the United Nations, in our view, is a mirror which reflects the outside world. Hence, it should be an effective means of expressing the will and the desires of different peoples. You have achieved much which is a credit and an honour to humanity, since the establishment of our Organization, by adopting the Charter of the United Nations and its principles, and through the various declarations and resolutions which you have adopted, most important among which are: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]; the Declaration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*]; the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]; the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]; and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

15. This, however, does not mean that the majority of the peoples of the world have attained a decent living standard. On the contrary, we find that many

peoples still have standards unworthy of human dignity.

16. Your responsibility, therefore, is enormous for guaranteeing a constructive interaction and understanding between the “have” and the “have-not” States and between industrialized States and those producing raw materials, with a view to achieving progress on the basis of equality and justice, thus providing the international order with the foundations of a healthy existence. In this way, conflagrations here or there might be avoided, with all their attendant effects, whose dimensions and whose repercussions on world security and destiny cannot be predicted.

17. On this occasion, I am reminded of the dialogue begun during the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly dealing with the problem of raw materials and development, and with development and international economic co-operation. This induces me to believe that there is movement along the right track, even though we may still be very far from reaching an equitable agreement on those complicated and complex matters. I am convinced, however, that the basic solution must reside in our belief—the belief of one and all—that extremism and confrontation will not lead to any solutions, and that the key to co-operation towards progress and positive action, for the good of all humanity, lies in following common sense and moderation and in trying to understand the other’s point of view.

18. We in Egypt are ready, even committed, to participating in this great effort, which requires the closest co-operation among all of us, if we are to understand the problems and to diagnose the malady so that together we can agree on the right remedy before it is too late and before the malady becomes incurable. In our afore-mentioned commitment, I trust that the great majority of the States of the world share our belief in the inevitability of having to reach equitable and peaceful solutions quickly, on the understanding that these solutions will be applied gradually and by steps.

19. We in Egypt, like those in other States, consequently realize that we must study, and study deeply, the current changes in the international scene. *Détente*, whether strategic or tactical, is an international event of the utmost importance. It may prove to be illimitably dangerous if it oversteps its declared objective, which we hope to be the essential and real objective behind this new change in international relations.

20. We in Egypt are for *détente* and welcome it, if it takes into account the interests of small States and their national destinies and the aspirations of their peoples. *Détente* cannot be what it means unless it is an interaction, from the bottom to the top. In our opinion, it cannot be an imposition from the top down. If *détente* were to be a slogan for peace and stability between the two super-Powers alone, by way of agreements in the field of thermonuclear weapons and related safeguards, or through co-operation in the fields of technology and commerce among others, in complete isolation from the rest of the peoples of the world, then it would be a futile change without any good or value, which should be opposed by other medium-sized and small States. On the other hand, if *détente* were a profound strategic change envisaging the establishment of a just and real peace for all peoples,

then we would welcome it, co-operate and deal with it. Therefore, the areas of decision-making should not be left to the super-Powers alone. The same could be said of the exchange of experience and technology for mutual benefit; this should all be at the disposal of all States of the world.

21. Without this profound understanding of international détente, its advantages as well as its pitfalls, détente cannot be an answer to the desires of the peoples of the world to renounce war and to enshrine peace, and it cannot realize their desire to reach a standard of civilization which satisfies human dignity, by means of the exchange of information and technology on the widest scale possible, without discrimination or monopoly. If, on the other hand, détente were limited to the two super-Powers, the inevitable result would be the widening of the gap between these two States, on the one hand, and the rest of the world and its peoples, on the other. It would render more difficult the understanding and interaction necessary among the States of the world. Herein lies the real danger. The wider the gap, the more difficult will it be to lay the foundation, the just basis for ensuring equality among States, big and small; the more prevalent will backwardness become, and the more will progress and prosperity become the prize of only a limited number of States. The upshot of all this will inevitably be a conflagration—a holocaust.

22. Needless to say, at this critical phase of international relations, and in the near future, the seeds of war lie in the enormously wide disparity between standards of living due to monopoly and maldistribution of wealth, and in the refusal of peoples henceforth to be driven, rather than participate effectively in the great march of humanity towards a better future.

23. With this conception, permit me, and for want of a better way, to summarize to you and to the whole world, Egypt's policy and the political line which we have adopted. This I had already done before Egypt's People's Assembly on 18 October 1975 when I said:

"We support every just cause and every national liberation movement, because we ourselves have a cause and are asking for justice. We believe in the Charter of the United Nations and ask others to respect the United Nations and to implement its Charter and its decisions. We are and will remain, God willing, faithful to our responsibilities and the responsibilities that follow from our pioneering role in non-aligned circles and the Organization of African Unity. We will always rally to their causes and stands regarding the various political and economic issues facing our world today."

24. As to the two super-Powers and other influential and responsible States, and as to international groupings of which we are not members, such as the European Economic Community, our hands are extended to them all. We have no condition for co-operating with them except that they understand our situation and respect our national will.

25. There is also, no doubt, the factor of how much or how far any of those parties may be willing to co-operate with us in solving our problems, foremost among which is the Arab-Israeli conflict in general, and the rights of the Palestinian people in particular.

We also see in this a yardstick of their friendship and understanding, and for the establishment of the mutuality of interests. For our cause is a just one and we are asking only for our rights.

26. As for the situation in the Arab world and its complex problems, the bases of our policy here again are clear and continuous. They are not the result of emotional reaction or improvisation, but rather the outcome of a profound study of the various circumstances of the Egyptian people, as well as the Arab nation, of our national struggle and the present-day world realities. Our first objective, which influences all our Arab or international actions, is the liberation of all occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people so that they can exercise their responsibility and their right to self-determination. In this respect we do not hold any part of Arab territory to be less dear to us than occupied Egyptian territory. Jerusalem, Nablus, Al-Khalil, Jebel El-Sheikh, Gaza are no less dear to me than Egyptian Kantara or Al-Arish. With this understanding, our policy, therefore is a positive one, as well as a flexible one, but one which holds the final objective to be unchangeable. Therefore, our policy is not to let go of any opportunity to liberate any part of Arab territory wherever it may be.

27. You will remember that in March 1975 Egypt reacted positively to the United States efforts towards reaching a second disengagement agreement, which would strengthen the cease-fire and lessen the risks of a conflagration in the region. Those efforts were, however, thwarted because of Israel's intransigence and its inability to accept the challenges of peace.

28. Notwithstanding this, Egypt did not lose its enthusiasm for peace nor its belief in it. For us, peace is a strategic objective, a genuine commitment. Therefore, I subsequently took the decision to reopen the Suez Canal as an expression of our peaceful intentions, and of our keenness to facilitate international trade and commerce, and to alleviate the difficulties of many of our friends. We also proceeded to reconstruct a major part of the Suez Canal cities, destroyed by the Israeli aggression, and to repatriate, to those reconstructed areas, the inhabitants who had left them out of fear for their security.

29. Closely related to the above—the commitment of Egypt and the Arab world—I have no hesitation or embarrassment in telling you frankly and realistically that present-day circumstances in our region provide a unique opportunity for peace which has not presented itself since the beginning of this Middle East conflict. Therefore, it is your duty, even your primary responsibility, not to miss this opportunity, through the United Nations and the different forums related to it, such as the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, to push matters towards a peaceful settlement and capitalize upon what I have already termed a march towards a just peace. Otherwise there will be no alternative for safeguarding our sacred rights, either in relation to liberation of the occupied territories or in relation to regaining the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to establish their independent State—no alternative but to resort to the other means approved by the Charter of the United Nations itself.

30. Therefore, I find it incumbent upon me to speak to you frankly, and in the same spirit which you found in me when I took the decisions for peace. As you are aware, I took a historic decision to begin the battle on 6 October 1973. It was not a decision to wage war for the sake of war; the objective was to blaze the trail towards peace anew, so that the world should be made aware that the Arab nation could never accept an occupation or even accept the curbing of the Palestinian people's rights or their deprivation of those rights. It was imperative, therefore, to take this historic decision so that events should resume their normal course and the wheel should begin to turn towards peace.

31. You know very well that for seven long years Egypt had resorted to the General Assembly and to the Security Council and had undertaken intensive direct diplomatic contacts and won many resolutions in complete support of the Arab rights. All this, however, still lacked the spark which your resolutions needed in order to enter into the implementation stage. Nevertheless, I should like to reiterate our full commitment to proceeding according to the provisions of the Charter, after consultations with you and with your support, towards a just and lasting peace. When I advocate the foregoing and invite you to understand this reality, I need to repeat that the latest move in the Middle East is only limited in scope and effect. It is not an intrinsic solution, it was never intended to be. It is merely a move envisaging the establishment of a proper climate for making progress and for the complete and fundamental review of the problem either with regard to the recuperation of the occupied territories or with regard to regaining the Palestinians' rights.

32. With this understanding, I hope you will remember this frank discussion with you today, and that what is requested of you, you who represent the international community in the full sense of the word, is that you should not miss this opportunity without assiduously and seriously trying to reach a comprehensive and just solution of all those problems. Thus, you can put on record that after 28 years of continuous United Nations preoccupation with the Palestinian people's problem, the United Nations was able to apply the principles and the provisions of the Charter in relation to the rights of the peoples to self-determination, as well as respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Member States and the inviolability of their territories; and that it was possible to repel the aggressor and deter aggression, as well as to re-establish the constructive authority of the United Nations, to implement the law, the Charter which you have accepted as a beacon light for international relations.

33. Consequently, I have no doubt that you agree with me that there will be no peace in the region without a political settlement of the Palestine problem. It is inconceivable—nay, utterly unacceptable—that the Palestinian people should remain homeless and dispersed. They must regain their entity and establish their independent State so that this ancient people can contribute constructively to the development and progress of our international community.

34. All this reminds me anew, as I am drawing near the end of my statement, that on 16 October 1973 and

even while our armed forces had the upper hand—after having overcome the largest natural barrier and destroyed the strongest man-made military fortifications, such as the Bar Lev line—I called for the convening of a peace conference. I had never at any moment forgotten the cause of peace. This is my nature. However, if our people and the Arab nation were to find that this peace was being misinterpreted as capitulation, it would then be imperative to perform our sacred duty to liberate our territories and to restore our just rights by the means stipulated in your Charter, especially in Article 51.

35. I believe you were not surprised, therefore, to find that Egypt was one of the first parties to welcome the Geneva Peace Conference. Egypt participated in that Conference even before the completion of its preparations in such a way as to safeguard the realization of its objectives.

36. Now that disengagement has been realized on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts, and there is a second disengagement on the Egyptian front, and an expectation that that will be followed by another disengagement on the Syrian front—and we should have preferred, and still prefer, that there should be a disengagement also on the Palestinian front; in the light of all the foregoing, I believe that it is high time and even imperative that the Geneva Peace Conference should resume its meetings, with the participation of all the parties concerned in the Palestinian question.

37. Consequently, I hereby officially request both the Secretary-General and the two super-Powers—the Soviet Union and the United States as Co-Chairmen of the Conference—to begin immediately their consultations with all the interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] so that the Conference can be resumed in the very near future and its meetings continue uninterruptedly to deal with the whole problem in all its aspects in order to reach a just peace.

38. I could have addressed my request directly to the Secretary-General and the two super-Powers, but I address my request officially from this rostrum because I am fully convinced that there is no separation between the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East and the United Nations but that, rather, there is a close organic link between the two. For, besides the fact that this Organization has been dealing with the Palestine question for 28 years, and still is, any outcome of the Geneva Peace Conference will be the result of your efforts, either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council. Furthermore, you will have to approve and guarantee it according to the provisions of the Charter. The United Nations, therefore, is the source and the origin. Hence it is inevitable that we should resort to you if the Conference should fail or meet with obstructions.

39. Therefore, you should closely follow the proceedings at Geneva, and the Security Council and the General Assembly should shoulder their responsibilities either in relation to the momentum towards peace or with regard to the clear expression of your commitment to the Charter and its provisions. Other expressions of your responsibility are the constant participation of the United Nations through the Secretary-General or his representatives, or through the United Nations forces or through international

guarantees of the peaceful settlement. All of the foregoing is indivisible; it emanates from you and reverts to you.

40. In connexion with the afore-mentioned official request to convene the Geneva Peace Conference, I invite the General Assembly at this thirtieth session to take an effective step on the road towards a just peace by adopting a resolution on the necessity for the representation of the PLO—the legitimate representative of the Palestine people—at the Conference on an equal footing with the other parties participating in it. Accordingly, I have instructed the Egyptian delegation to submit a draft resolution along these lines, in co-operation with all States which share our view that the key to the solution of the Middle East problem lies in a just solution of the Palestine question. It is inconceivable that the Conference will succeed or make any progress towards peace without the participation of the representatives of the Palestinian people, already recognized as such by the Arab nation at the highest level. I consider this to be in absolute conformity with and a logical sequence to your resolution 3237 (XXIX), which you adopted on 22 November of last year, inviting the PLO to participate in the sessions and work of the General Assembly as an observer.

41. When Egypt and the whole Arab nation appeal to the international community represented by the United Nations to proclaim the year 1976 the Year of the Palestinian People, they do so out of a deep-rooted conviction not only of the justice of the cause of that people but also out of a belief in the United Nations and its objectives, and because we regard the United Nations as the custodian of international legitimacy and the guardian of the rights of peoples. You are aware that our nation, because of its heritage and civilization, fully believes in the oneness of the march of humanity and in the universality of the struggle of

peoples. We therefore consider the cause of the Palestinian people to be the cause of every free people seeking peace, calling for justice and accepting the rule of law as arbiter between good and evil, right and wrong. We do so in the same spirit which has inspired us to adopt the causes of all oppressed peoples striving for liberation and salvation.

42. I should like to seize this opportunity to express our full confidence in the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, as well as our appreciation for his excellent performance, and our sincere support of his incessant efforts for the cause of world peace and the prosperity of the international community.

43. Finally, I should like to pay a necessary tribute to the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force. You are well aware that the personnel of those forces perform their duties in a gallant and worthy spirit, under circumstances often not without their hardships. To them and to their States go all our appreciation and thanks.

44. The world expects a lot from you at this historic, important juncture. The peoples have rising expectations of peace and prosperity at a time when the most severe challenges are multiplying and when problems are growing in complexity in an unprecedented manner. I am confident that with our sincere and unswerving belief in a better future for humanity and our determination to work together for the attainment of our common goals, together we shall pass the test of peace and progress, thus paving the way towards a brighter era where future generations can enjoy comfort, security and hope.

45. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt for the important speech he has just made.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.