Appendix

Address delivered by H.E. Boutros Ghali, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Egypt at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Havana, 3-9 September, 1979.

Mr. Chairman:

I am pleased to have been charged by President Anuar el-Sadat, of the Arab Republic of Egypt, to represent him at this Havana Conference, attended by Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries.

On his behalf and on behalf of the Arab Republic of Egypt, I would like to convey to His Excellency President Fidel Castro, his Government and the great and noble Cuban people our sincere gratitude for the warm hospitality given both to myself and to the other members of the Egyptian delegation - hospitality that reflects the relations between two revolutions that, by perhaps different paths, aspire to freedom, justice and emancipation for all the oppressed. These thanks are accompanied by our best wishes for the success, prosperity and happiness of the Cuban people.

I am equally pleased to convey to friendly Heads of State here today - especially to President Josip Broz Tito, the spiritual father of non-alignment - the greetings of the Egyptian people and our sincere hope that our Conference will consolidate the path outlined in Cairo 18 years ago as a means to attain an era of progress and prosperity for all our countries and peoples.
Egypt will stint no efforts in this regard, nor will it back off from any sacrifice needed to join you in supporting the just and noble causes we are defending here in Havana and in attaining the goals this Conference will set.

Mr. Chairman, special, specific ties link Cuba and Egypt.

Together, our two countries co-operated from 5 to 12 June 1961, with the other founding members of the Movement, to establish the political-juridical infrastructure of non-alignment in Cairo. We have defined the five main components of non-alignment, which I would like to recall and re-affirm:

1) an independent policy, based on peaceful co-existence;
2) support for the national liberation movements,
3) the refusal to subscribe to collective military alliances that include a super Power;
4) the refusal to sign bilateral military alliances that include a super power;
and
5) the refusal to grant military bases to a big Power.

We must always keep in mind these five principles that have been the golden rules of our Movement and have guided our actions from Belgrade to Cairo, from Lusaka to Algiers and from Colombo to Havana.

Based on respect for these five main principles, the member States of this Conference will be able to stay free of all commitments to the two blocs and, therefore, will continue to be able to make decisions unmoved by any concerns except those of preserving peace and strengthening peaceful and fruitful co-operation among our peoples.
Mr. Chairman, I would like now to touch on the most important problems that constitute the heart of our agenda.

First of all, there is the ideological problem. In a world dominated by the rivalry between the two blocs and the two super Powers - rivalry that takes different forms, depending on the circumstances, and exists in spite of the last SALT II agreement - we feel that the only way to work for true peace is to refuse to align ourselves with either camp. Throughout its history, our Movement has been sniped at by deviationism of both the right (that, while denouncing the capitalist bloc, maintains very close, discreet relations with capitalism) and the left (that boasts of privileged relations with the socialist countries, claiming that they are the objective, natural and exclusive allies of the non-aligned).

My country's experience in this regard is significant. For some years, we have extremely close relations with the Soviet Union, but, on behalf of true non-alignment, we managed to correct this state of affairs when the Soviet Union tried to intervene in our internal affairs. Moreover, on behalf of true non-alignment, we categorically rejected a US proposal offered in Washington last March for signing a bilateral agreement that would have impaired our non-alignment.

Thus, non-alignment has always been Egypt's institutional framework, one that has enabled us to defend our independence against the interests and ambitions of both super Powers.

Enriched and matured by this experience, we ask the non-aligned States that promote marginal tendencies of the left or of the right within the Movement to refrain from all ideological proselytism, in order to maintain the cohesion and
the unity of non-alignment, accepting the principle of peaceful co-existence within the Movement, avoiding all ideological confrontation and maintaining a broad representation of all tendencies within the Movement's various leadership bodies.

In conclusion, in order to survive, develop and be consolidated, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries should refrain from letting itself be used in any new, internal, fratricidal cold war among the non-aligned.

Only our determination to keep from aligning our freedom by means of commitments that, necessarily, express our internal divisions can save our Movement and give it a new dynamism, a new spirit that will revive that historic period when, from Bandung to Cairo, from Belgrade to Lusaka and to Algiers, the peoples that had just freed themselves of colonial oppression decided to play a decisive role in preserving world peace.

Mr. Chairman, I could speak extensively on this subject, but the masterful analysis given by President Nyerere, one of the wise men of Africa, should suffice to lead us to reject any alignment within the Movement. To quote our great African sage President Sekou Toure, "Our organization should not be the extension of any bloc."

Second, there are the institutional problems.

I would like to touch on another subject now. This is the institutional infrastructure of our Movement - especially its Co-ordinating Bureau.

One of the great debates that dominated the First Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade in 1961, revolved around the creation of a permanent diplomatic instrument for the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. I
would remind you that almost all of the States whose representatives met in Belgrade in 1961 categorically rejected this idea. Twelve years later, in the 1973 Algiers Conference, the idea appeared again in the form of a permanent bureau charged with co-ordinating the joint activities of the non-aligned.

Unfortunately, the fears expressed in Belgrade in 1961 were borne out in practice, as the Co-ordinating Bureau tried to become a ruling instrument manipulated by certain States. This means that, since the Bureau's decisions are adopted by consensus, a pseudo-majority manages to impose its points of view. Those who oppose them, no matter what their number (frequently impressive), are reduced to expressing their reservations after resolutions have been declared adopted - even though, in the final analysis, it is generally only a select influential minority that makes the decisions and, what is even more serious, presumes to speak on behalf of the whole Movement.

Not only is this policy anti-democratic, but, since one of the aims of our Movement is the democratization of international relations, it weakens the Movement and incurs the risk of destroying all its prestige among the member States and the other countries of the world.

The Co-ordinating Bureau, as constituted at present, functions as a new mini-bloc within our Movement. We would like to refer once again to a prophetic comment made in Belgrade in 1961 by the Minister of Foreign Relations of Guinea: "From the outset, we would say that non-alignment cannot, itself, become a coalition, a bloc, since that would imply broadening and deepening the tyrannies of the cold war."
Mr. Chairman, your country will direct the Bureau in the coming years. It must not be turned into an instrument that will generate added complications and antagonisms. Therefore, it should be constituted so as to reflect the true essence of non-alignment and serve as a forum for negotiation and conciliation between different points of view, between different tendencies - not as a single bloc within the Movement whose essential philosophy rejects the constitution of blocs.

Third, there are the African problems.

Mr. Chairman, I would like now to touch on the African problems, because we are very interested in them - first of all, as Africans; secondly, as a non-aligned country; and, finally, as Egyptians, proud of our Egyptian character, of our being Africans and of our non-alignment.

Africa, Mr. Chairman, will only be truly and completely the mistress of her future, will only achieve true and complete unity and will only make her voice heard loud and clear in the concert of nations when Africans think for themselves about their own problems and come up with their own solutions for these problems.

This explains the importance that should be given to the decisions and resolutions adopted by the OAU. These resolutions should serve as a framework for the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries when it considers the problems that interest our continent.

Mr. Chairman, serious problems threaten Africa: in the first place, colonialism and apartheid, that continue to prey on southern Africa. In Monrovia, we held long discussions on the valiant, sacred struggle undertaken by our
brothers in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to free their respective homelands. It is now my duty to salute SWAPO and the Patriotic Front that will be full members of our Movement from now on.

I would like to say at this time how firm the Egyptian people’s solidarity is with those who are engaged in armed struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and apartheid, and I would like to assure them that we will continue to give them our military, financial and diplomatic support.

The second great problem that threatens Africa and its independence is its economic underdevelopment, which is constantly aggravated. It is not enough to be politically free in order to be non-aligned, since political freedom will always be threatened unless it is accompanied by economic and social freedom. For two decades, now, the African countries have been waging their most difficult battle: against underdevelopment. Unfortunately, in spite of our peoples’ fighting spirit and our political and technical cadres’ courage, the results obtained thus far have been few and far from encouraging.

In Monrovia, thanks to the bold initiative of the General Secretary of the OAU and the support of Nigeria, we made a serious analysis of this alarming phenomenon, that, in the coming decade, will eclipse all other causes of international tension in Africa. The Economic Summit Conference that the OAU countries will hold in the prestigious African capital of Lagos in the coming months should draw up a new strategy that will enable our continent to win this new war on hunger, poverty and underdevelopment. The wise address by President Kaunda, who brought out the egoism of the oil-producing non-aligned States,
should be one of the main topics of this Conference, and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries should stimulate and support the initiative proposed by President Kenneth Kaunda.

The third great problem that threatens Africa is foreign intervention and the counter-intervention which this implies. This linking of intervention and counter-intervention threatens to impose a cold war in our continent - that, until the last few years, has been the only one that has remained untouched by the cold war, while Europe was divided into two blocs by the iron curtain and Asia became a battlefield where two super States fought by means of third Powers. At present, Africa runs the risk of meeting the same fate.

Here in Havana, it is my duty to commit all of you to protecting Africa from the vicissitudes of a cold war, to guarantee and respect African neutralism and to help make our continent a zone of peace. We know well that this will not be easy and that it may seem utopian, especially since the situation is complicated by the need to continue the anti-colonial and anti-racist struggle in the southern part of our continent.... However, we should prepare as of now to put this great and noble design into practice if we wish to protect our continent against exploitation, discrimination and oppression and if we wish to stay out of a military and ideological confrontation that will always be foreign to Africa.

Fourth, there are the Asian problems.

Mr. Chairman, allow me to go into these problems. The fact that Egypt is really the only Afro-Asian country in the world explains this double Egyptian interest, in addition to all its other responsibilities.
Immediately after World War I, Egypt and India co-ordinated their struggles against British colonialism. In March 1947, even before the independence of India, the Egyptian Government took part in a conference on Asian postwar problems that was held in New Delhi, and in January 1949, also in New Delhi, Egypt joined the conference to support Indonesia’s liberation. I am mentioning these things from the past to show that, even prior to the era of independence, my country always considered Asia’s contribution as an essential element for modifying the correlation of forces in favour of peace. Therefore, we have always supported the Asian peoples struggles for liberation from the colonial yoke. We also supported the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in its heroic struggle; we supported its admission in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at the Summit Conference in Lusaka; and, since then we have followed with alarm the confrontation that sets it against China. We firmly hope, Mr. Chairman, that an equitable, satisfactory solution will be found for the problem of Democratic Kampuchea, that has been the subject of long discussions, in order to maintain the unity and solidarity of our Movement.

Finally, we would like to greet Pakistan, that has just joined us, and tell it how important its role will be in strengthening non-alignment.

Mr. Chairman, the defence of Asia’s position in the present-day world and the promotion of the support it can give to the Non-Aligned Movement and to the maintenance of peace continue to be great principles of Egypt’s non-aligned policy.

Fifth, there are the Latin American problems.
Asia plays an important role in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, but Latin America is called upon to play one no less so. Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to go briefly into these problems.

When the Non-Aligned Movement was created, it was essentially an Afro-Asian movement, a bicontinental movement that became a moral and political shock force by incorporating the five principles of Pantja Sila (April 1954) and the ten Bandung principles. It was Cuba's presence in Cairo in June 1961 that gave non-alignment a quatricontinental dimension.

Since then, Latin America's participation has grown, and we are pleased to have Bolivia, Surinam, Nicaragua and Grenada with us here today as new members of our Movement. We sincerely hope that the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, that is being held in Latin America, will be a starting point for a massive contribution by the various countries of this continent in strengthening our Movement and re-affirming its main principles in spite of the attempts to lose sight of those principles in the name of a certain unmentioned alignment whose objectives are, nevertheless, clear.

Our Movement should not be an exclusive club. Rather, it should be open to all the countries freed of bloc rule and ready to struggle at our side for world peace and the dignity of nations and of men.

With this aim, Egypt will do everything possible to strengthen the fraternal ties that link it to the countries of South and Central America, in the framework of bilateral relations and within the Movement. We are sure that the broader scope
and strength of our organization will initiate a new stage of revolutionary militancy and dynamism for our Movement.

Sixth, there are the Arab problems.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to expound very briefly now on President Sadat's efforts to achieve a just and all-encompassing peace.

President Sadat's initiative of proposing peace and justice to the enemy in November 1977 was a truly revolutionary action that is in the purest militant, progressive. Third World traditions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in spite of all the allegations, accusations and lucubrations by certain parties.

This historic initiative, that we support and will continue to support with determination and strength, leads, has always led and will continue to lead to the establishment of peace in our territories and a search for a peaceful solution to the Palestinian problem, in accordance with the desires of the Palestinian people - the victims of oppression exercised not only by their enemies but also, it must be said, by some of our Arab brothers. By signing a peace treaty with Israel Egypt has recovered all its territories that were occupied by the enemy and has re-established its territorial integrity.

This is doubtless an Arab victory, an African victory and a non-aligned victory, of which we should all be proud.

By signing another treaty at the same time, Egypt obtained an agreement in principle for the evacuation of Israeli troops from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and for the Palestinians' right to establish their own provisional Government that will negotiate with the Israelis to determine the definite status of their
homeland. It is the Palestinians and they alone who should determine their future. Neither Egypt nor any other Arab State can pretend to speak on behalf of the Palestinians.

Here, during the Sixth Summit Conference, in Havana, before this august assembly, before all of you, I offer my hand in friendship to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Before this Assembly and before you, Mr. Chairman, I re-affirm Egypt's solemn and militant commitment to continue struggling for our Palestinian brothers until a Palestinian State has been created.

Together, we will be able to oppose the expansionist and colonialist designs of the State of Israel.

Together, we will be able to force Israel to renounce its attacks, that the world condemns.

Together, within the framework of this Movement, we will be able to win.

Last night - or, rather, early this morning - during the ten hours of discussions we had in the Political Commission at the Foreign Ministers' level - in spite of some State's shameful attempts to use our Movement for purposes that cannot be avowed and that seem evidence of personal revenge, a fratricidal war rather than a discussion among non-aligned States - it was shown

1) that the Movement can preserve its purity and authenticity,

2) that Egypt's militant role is recognized and appreciated and

3) that the Movement censures all condemnation of Egypt and all attempts to isolate it.
As I said this morning, at dawn, I call on the Arab States and the PLO to follow the example of the great African family, that has always maintained its cohesion and its unity, in spite of inter-African disputes.

I call on the Arab States to draw inspiration from African wisdom, which urges us to peaceful co-existence not fratricidal war, conciliation, not confrontation; dialogue, not tension activism, not negativism; and progressivism, not passivism.

Egypt is magnanimous and generous; it is ready to extend its hand to any Arab Power that wants to establish a fraternal dialogue as equals, to arrive at a just and all-encompassing solution for the crisis in the Middle East.

Egypt supports the proposal that the Secretary-General of the United Nations made here when he told this august assembly that consideration was being given to holding an international conference on the Middle East crisis, within the United Nations framework. Egypt is ready to support any initiative or resolution adopted by the United Nations - as we did last week in the Security Council - that may speed the day when the Palestinian people will recover their homeland. Egypt asks the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to serve as a framework for a reconciliation among the Arab States.

As President Sekou Toure said in his masterful address, our Movement should create its own institutions to solve the conflicts that arise between non-aligned States.

This, Mr. Chairman, is what the situation is really like, and this is our constant and firm position for finding a just solution to the Middle East crisis.
Seventh, there are the economic problems.

Mr. Chairman, with its struggle to uphold the dignity of nations and of men, our Movement has always been in the vanguard of the efforts to establish a new world economic order that can free our peoples of under-development.

Just as the Arab, African and Latin American national liberation struggles put an end to the aftermath of colonialism and racial discrimination, that are still trying to entrench themselves in some parts of the Third World, these struggles also helped to convince the industrialized countries that their economies depend on frank, sincere and voluntary co-operation with the developing countries, which produce the raw materials that their economies require for development. The interests of all lie more and more in a dialogue of equals between the developing and the developed worlds, a dialogue that excludes all ideas of domination, so as to establish an era of co-operation, not confrontation.

For our part, in order to guarantee all chances of success for this dialogue in the interests of all, we need to re-affirm our unity and promote broad and deep financial, economic and commercial co-operation among ourselves.

Egypt has always worked to strengthen this co-operation, and the Egyptian-Indian-Yugoslav Agreement that dates from 1967 and was renewed last year for a period of five years is an interesting example of regional co-operation among non-aligned States.

Another example was the Afro-Arab Summit Conference that was held in Cairo in March 1977, the first concrete manifestation of bicontinental solidarity between the Arab and African worlds.
Moreover, as I have already said, the OAU Summit Conference held in Monrovia last July adopted an African strategy of development in line with our ancestral traditions, one that reflected African authenticity and assured it full development, far removed from the incursion of foreign ideologies.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, I would like once again to re-affirm Egypt's authentic non-alignment and state that non-alignment is, for us, an act of faith, a mystique and a living reality.

The Third World, confronted with its under-development, crushed by the awareness of the backwardness to which it was subjected by colonialism and sensible of its weaknesses - but also aware of its enormous potential - needs an idea to motivate the masses, galvanize the elites and snap and cadres out of their disillusionment. We have this motivation in non-alignment.

In order to be positive and fruitful, national development and regional or continental co-operation among the non-aligned should be united as a mystique and as an objective reality. Our Movement can answer this double need, turning its mystique into a dynamic force that, along, can battle underdevelopment and foreign domination in the three poorest - and, at the same time, richest - continents of the world.

This task should express and stimulate the ideology and action of the non-aligned regarding both the haves and have-nots, on a tricontinental and a world scale.
On the tricontinental scale, non-alignment should help the underdeveloped countries to overcome their underdevelopment and struggle against neocolonialism.

On the world scale, non-alignment should help the super-developed countries to get through the critical phase of their development and overcome the dangers of their superior power, which is a factor of disequilibrium and tension.

Non-alignment should do away with the corrupt ties established in the 19th century between the two halves of mankind, in order to bridge the social and economic gaps that separate the peoples that live in the southern hemisphere from those that live in the North.

Mr. Chairman, may I close by thanking you once more for the hospitality your people have given us and expressing our best wishes for success in the new mission entrusted to you for the next three years - when, we are convinced, you will be the spokesman of a Movement in which those aspects that unite us should be stronger than those that tend to divide us.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.