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# ALBANIA'S

# FOREIGN POLICY

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*Albania's foreign minister, Nesti Nase, speaking to the U.N. General Assembly*

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### PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The speech by Nesti Nase to the U.N. is a clear synthesis of the viewpoints and actions of the Albanian Government and people in the face of international problems troubling the world today.

As the expression of the foreign policy of a socialist country, we feel it is important to bring it in full to the American people.

Despite its small size, Albania has played an outstanding role in the U.N., especially evident in the long struggle to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China, which culminated in a smashing victory last year.

All those who are interested in Albania, for whatever reason, would do well to read and study this significant speech, which deals with Viet Nam, Indochina, the Middle East, liberation struggles in Africa and around the world, European Security, the Mediterranean, the Soviet-U.S. alliance, Bangladesh, Korea, terrorism, and many more subjects.

This speech was printed in full as a special issue of *Albania Report*, October-November 1972 (#19).

## ALBANIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

### SPEECH TO THE U.N. BY FOREIGN MINISTER NESTI NASE

*This speech was delivered by Mr. Nesti Nase, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Albania, in the general debate at the 27th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in New York, on Monday, October 2, 1972.*

*The original speech was delivered in French. This English translation was prepared by the U.N. interpreters. Some minor corrections were made by this editor. All subheads and italics are the editor's, and are not in the original.*

new tensions caused by the violation of democratic principles and norms which govern relations among states. The American aggression in Viet Nam and the Israeli imperialist aggression in the Middle East go on. Many important problems of our time remain pending. The two great imperialist powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, have launched a new and general attack against the interests of sovereign peoples and states. The world continues to live in the fear of threat and danger coming from those two powers.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, like most peace-loving Member States, would have wished to see during the period since the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations important steps taken towards the creation of a sound and stable international situation, towards the restoration and respect of the sovereign rights of peoples. But the real state of affairs does not allow us to conclude that this wish has been fulfilled.

Today, everyone can easily understand that the United States and the Soviet Union have intensified and perfected their policy of interference and hegemony and have raised to a high level the co-ordination of their concrete activities against the freedom and independence of peoples. Those two powers are in competition and rivalry for the division of the world into zones of influence and the domination of the world.

#### IMPERIALIST POLICY OF THE TWO SUPER-POWERS

#### NEW TENSIONS IN THE WORLD

In international relations we observe

All Member States have witnessed the manoeuvres of the two super-

powers to oppose, through all means, the efforts of peace-loving peoples and countries which strive to strengthen and defend their independence and national sovereignty. But no publicity, no pacifist demeanour, no so-called great acts for the so-called safeguard of peace and progress of mankind can mask their imperialist policy, which is well-known, and the true designs which they pursue separately or in common. We now openly see their aggressiveness, their arrogance; everywhere we see their thirst for absolute power over the whole world.

Of course, as was said by the leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha:

It would be inconceivable and unrealistic to see in the Soviet-American alliance only the rapprochement and co-operation of the two super-powers, their common actions and interests. In view of their *imperialist* character, the United States and the revisionist Soviet Union are also torn asunder by *conflicts, rivalries* and deep *contradictions*, which prevent them from acting always in harmony and in complete unity. The existence and worsening of these contradictions are inherent in the very foundation of that alliance, the social-capitalist system of the two countries, their imperialist designs. Preparing for war, the two parties also plan to devour one another.

But it is also true that peoples, especially small peoples, would run grave risks if they nourished the hope that one of the two great imperialist powers could take them under its protection. That protection, thus offered, is in fact nothing but the integration of these peoples into the zones of influence of these two super-powers, their domination and their exploitation by the latter.

#### FALSE "SECURITY" OF MOSCOW AGREEMENTS

The representatives of the two super-powers present here have tried to convince us that the talks held

between them and the agreements concluded during this year, rendered a great service to the world and to the whole of mankind, and they presented the situation as if Member States should now feel more reassured than in the past, and so forth. This is nothing but a fiction, and we firmly reject it.

During these talks decisions were taken which impinge upon the vital interests of the peoples of the world. Zones of influence have been confirmed and delimited. Important bargaining has taken place, and this to the prejudice of Viet Nam, Arab countries, European countries and so on.

Matters must be judged on the basis of facts, and the facts bear witness to the intensification of the aggressive global strategy of these two super-powers, which is now carried out in the open, the preparation of new plans and dangerous conspiracies against the peoples and peace in the world.

#### SUPER-POWERS CLAIM RIGHT TO POLICE THE WORLD

At the present time, the United States and the Soviet Union are trying to impose the idea that the two super-powers would be incontrovertible guarantors of peace in the world and arbiters without appeal in international relations, that peoples should sacrifice their national interests for the maintenance of the balance between the two great powers, upon which the balance of our planet is in turn predicated. These two powers claim that the destinies of the world, of peace and of international security entirely depend upon them and the development of their reciprocal relations and that the improvement or the worsening of the climate of Soviet-American relations conditions the climate of the whole globe and so on. It is now current and usual for both super-powers to discuss important international problems directly between themselves and to decide them in accordance with their hegemonic interests without consulting or informing anyone—not even their closest allies. Their SALT negotia-

tions and negotiations on other delicate problems have shown this truth. Nobody claims to know all that is being hatched during these ultra-secret negotiations, but everybody knows full well that not only a common armaments policy is determined in these talks but also a common line and attitude towards the others, in all fields and on all matters.

Through their policy of hegemony, the American and Soviet imperialists, not content with attempting to give rise in others to a psychosis of fear and of submission to their potential strength, are also trying openly to deprive peace-loving countries of the possibility to take part in the solution of problems which are of concern and interest to the whole world, in order that these countries allow the two great powers to decide behind their backs, in particular behind the backs of the smallest of them, even questions of direct concern to them. In other words, they claim that peoples should abandon their supreme, sovereign rights in the hands of the "two great powers". But the peace-loving peoples and countries reject these hegemonic and ultra-chauvinistic preachings and conceptions and firmly oppose the great-power policy which the United States and the Soviet Union are attempting to impose upon them right here in the United Nations.

#### CAN "EUROPEAN SECURITY" BE ACHIEVED?

Now both the great imperialist powers and some others claim that the situation in Europe has undergone an important positive development and that conditions have been created for achieving complete and general security on that continent. To convince us of that, we are being reminded, among other things, of the *Bonn-Moscow* and *Bonn-Warsaw Treaties*, the *Agreement on Berlin* and so on.

This whole picture does not reflect reality. In fact, nothing has changed in Europe. On the contrary, the aforementioned agreements have given rise to *new tensions*; and to the old

contradictions, in the East as in the West, others have been added. The United States, the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany have redoubled their efforts to acquire dominating positions and new privileges to the prejudice of other sovereign European countries.

We are of the view that it would be unrealistic to speak of the possibilities of achieving European security when in Europe the United States and the Soviet Union pursue a policy of hegemony and maintain the aggressive military blocs of *NATO* and the *Warsaw Pact*; when on the territories of European countries they have built up a whole network of military bases, where they maintain a large number of troops and organize successive military manoeuvres; when *Czechoslovakia* is still occupied and when the theory of "limited sovereignty" is being applied in the countries of Eastern Europe; and when closed European economic groupings, in Eastern and Western Europe, practise discrimination in the field of trade and have become an obstacle to the development of equal co-operation among European countries.

#### WORLD PEACE IS INDIVISIBLE

We remain faithful also to the viewpoint according to which peace in the world is one and indivisible. There cannot be peace in one part of the world as long as a war of aggression is being waged in another part of the world. True peace and security in Europe are inconceivable as long as quite near Europe—in the Middle East—open aggression and unprecedented imperialist intervention continue; as long as in the south of the continent, in the Mediterranean basin, aggression is increasing by dint of the presence of the aggressive fleets of the United States and the Soviet Union and their military naval bases.

#### SUPER-POWER NAVIES THREATEN THE MEDITERRANEAN

In these circumstances, the Albanian delegation would raise the following question: why have these aggressive

fleets come to the Mediterranean from a distance of thousands of miles without being invited by anyone; why do they cruise from one end of this sea to the other, aiming their guns at the peaceful shores of the Mediterranean countries and bringing with them the threat of war?

The peoples of these countries do not need the defence or the mendacious friendship of American and Soviet imperialists. They know full well what the mission of these fleets is and the "gunboat diplomacy" of the imperialist powers in this zone. The fact is that the Mediterranean peoples are showing an ever-increasing opposition to the stationing of American and Soviet warships and troops in this zone and foreign military bases on their shores, and the struggle which they wage to transfer the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation is intensifying. They will unfailingly achieve their noble aspirations and put an end to the designs of the new claimants to the domination of the seas.

#### **NEED TO EXPEL FLEETS AND BASES OF SUPER-POWERS**

The People's Republic of Albania, which expelled the Soviet social-imperialists from its waters when they tried to establish themselves on its shores and to become the masters of the country, welcomes and supports the just positions of the peace-loving Mediterranean countries and their legitimate efforts to defend their independence and national sovereignty, and free this basin from any policy of hegemony. As in the past, Albania will continue to contribute to efforts in this direction. It considers that the only effective way for the Mediterranean peoples to achieve their aspirations and their will is to take initiatives and undertake energetic and concrete actions. Let the Mediterranean countries on whose territories there are military bases declare that they will liquidate them; let the other Mediterranean countries proclaim that they will not tolerate the establishment of

any new foreign military bases on their territories; let the Mediterranean countries which offer to American and Soviet war fleets any facilities and the temporary use of their ports for revictualling, repairs or other purposes, undertake not to assist these fleets in any way; let the Mediterranean countries which now receive visits from these fleets not accept them any more in future.

We think that the implementation of these resolute measures would constitute an important contribution to easing tension and eliminating the existing danger in the Mediterranean, would tend to strengthen the national sovereignty of the Mediterranean countries, and would also be a positive factor for the consolidation of true peace and security in Europe.

#### **IMPERIALIST TACTICS DIRECTED AGAINST CHINA**

That peace and security which the United States and the Soviet Union advocate for Europe is a peace and security which they need to consolidate their zones of influence, to preserve their pacts and their military bases and to guarantee the stationing of their troops on the territories of European countries. The tranquility which they promise to create in Europe signifies security on their flanks so that they could direct the spearhead of their aggressive policy towards the East, especially towards the People's Republic of China.

#### **WHERE DOES THREAT TO SECURITY COME FROM?**

Before speaking of European security, we must clarify this question: Against whom must the peoples of Europe protect themselves, and what are the forces which represent an actual and possible danger? The true and actual danger for Europe at present and in the future comes from the two super-powers and the German revenge-seekers, and it is against them that the peoples of Europe must be protected. There has never been and cannot be any abstract theoretical security. Security is always concrete. It

tends to protect against a well-determined threat. To establish European security as proposed and formulated by Moscow and Washington would be tantamount to sanctioning the imperialist interests of the United States and the Soviet Union in Europe, leaving them full leeway to act militarily against the peace-loving peoples and nations in other parts of the world.

#### **AGAINST PROPOSED "EUROPEAN SECURITY" CONFERENCE**

In these conditions, we consider that support for initiatives such as the convening of a conference on European security would facilitate the task of the two super-powers in their efforts to establish their domination in Europe. A conference organized and manipulated by the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists would bring nothing but words and demagoguery and nothing good would flow therefrom for the peace and security of Europe. It would create and foster nefarious illusions about an effective defence of the freedom and independence of the European peoples.

The convening of a conference on European security and preparations for its organization are a part of the Soviet-American collusion which took complete form during the most recent talks between the two super-powers. These preparatory activities and decisions which might come from the conference will bear the tint and the seal of the attempts at hegemony of the two super-powers.

We should like to stress that, in the atmosphere of delusion with which the two super-powers have surrounded the preparations for the conference, some countries which will supposedly take part in it seem to nourish the hope that it will bring them political, economic and other advantages. But we consider that sooner or later these hopes will be dashed, because the two super-powers will make no concession likely to affect important mutual interests. All the strings of the conference are in their hands. That is the reason for the wariness and

hesitation of various countries about the convening of that conference.

The People's Republic of Albania comes out against that kind of "European security". True peace and security in Europe will be achieved only by the concerted efforts of all the peace-loving peoples and countries of Europe, which must themselves take over this cause, strengthen their national independence and their defensive capabilities, oppose unhesitatingly any policy of hegemony and any aggressive activity of the military blocs on their continent and in the neighbouring areas, fight until the end for the liquidation of military bases and for the withdrawal of foreign troops from their territories, while closely linking the fight for their own security to that of all the peoples of the world.

#### **FAKE "DISARMAMENT" TALKS**

Recently, we have witnessed a new intensification of the common activity of the United States and the Soviet Union in the so-called field of disarmament, and a great effort on their part to give the impression that they have seriously undertaken this task. All the hullabaloo on the disarmament question is nothing but a smoke-screen to conceal their true designs and to cover their demented arms race. The latest Soviet-American agreement on the so-called limitation of strategic arms, which is being presented to us as a great historical event and a remarkable contribution to peace, far from being a step towards true disarmament and infringing in any way the nuclear monopoly of the two super-powers, on the contrary encourages them to strengthen their predominant position and their technical and scientific superiority in the field of armaments as well as to maintain the gap which exists between them and others. These agreements are a new stage in the continuing arms race through the further perfecting of the strategic nuclear arsenal of the super-powers. And in practice we realize that, while speaking of disarmament, the super-powers multiply their efforts to arm themselves and

increase their military budgets and their armed forces throughout the world, outside their national borders, and that, while speaking of the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons, they increase and perfect the destructive power of those weapons and increase their expenditures in the field of scientific and technological research in order to invent *new weapons of mass destruction*.

The Albanian delegation considers that it is not the small states and specific areas that should be asked to disarm, because it is not the small states and those areas—for example, it is not the Balkans or other areas, no matter where they are—which today threaten international peace and security. True disarmament must begin, in the first place, with the two super-powers, because it is they who, through their aggressive policy, have become a permanent source of tension and threat to the freedom and independence of sovereign states. To approach and consider the question of disarmament as advocated by the United States and the Soviet Union would be tantamount to raising the question in a false light and to making the struggle for disarmament a meaningless activity.

#### **REAL DISARMAMENT MUST BEGIN WITH THE SUPER-POWERS**

If the two super-powers seriously wish to translate their disarmament declarations into facts, let them do so by concrete and effective action; let them put an end to their policy of war and aggression; let them undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; let them undertake to prohibit the production and use of those weapons and to destroy them completely in accordance with the well-known proposals of the Government of the People's Republic of China; let them undertake effectively to travel the road toward the destruction of weapons of mass destruction; let them reduce their armed forces to the levels required by the interests of their national defence; let them withdraw within their national borders all troops and fleets which they

maintain abroad; let them put an end to their practice of expanding military bases on the territory of other countries; let them liquidate existing military bases abroad; let them destroy their aggressive military blocs and put an end to the arms race under any guise whatever.

We do not have the slightest illusion about the concrete and actual steps which the two powers would be ready to take in the field of disarmament. The aggressive nature of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism remains unchanged and armaments are one of the conditions of the existence of their system. That is why the convening of a world disarmament conference proposed by the Soviet Union is but a propaganda manoeuvre which would make us waste our time in empty speeches and would delude the world, so that those powers would be able to act against the peoples of the world and against peace.

#### **SMALL COUNTRIES MUST INCREASE THEIR DEFENSE CAPACITY**

We consider that peace-loving countries that hold dear the interests of their peoples, peace and international security must not let themselves be drawn into the dangerous whirlwind which has been intentionally created by the imperialists, but must redouble their vigilance and combat the illusions spread by the two imperialist powers on disarmament and on the advantages which supposedly would accrue from it to the different countries as a result of the resources freed by disarmament. They must *increase* their *defensive* military potential and increase their efforts of self-defence in order to confront any possible attack as well as the permanent threat to their independence and freedom coming from the aggressive policy of the United States and the Soviet Union. The peoples do not expect true disarmament from the two great imperialist powers. They will achieve it through a resolute struggle against them, against the conspiracy hatched by them in this direction.

#### **U.S. AGGRESSION VS. VIET NAM AND INDOCHINA**

At the very centre of world public opinion we find, as in the past, Viet Nam and Indochina, where the United States of America for many years has been continuing its infamous aggression. World public opinion has severely condemned the barbarous and inhuman acts of the American army and insistently demanded that an end be put immediately to the armed intervention of the United States; that American soldiers immediately leave South Viet Nam and the Indochinese peninsula and that the Vietnamese people be left free to settle its national problems by itself, without any foreign interference and in accordance with its own wishes.

But, in defiance of the will of all peoples and of all international principles and rules, the United States Government continues its aggression with unheard-of obstinacy and cynicism. Now the United States is in an impasse and, stunned by successive defeats, it goes from one crime to another, from one mistake to another. The serious situation in which it finds itself in Viet Nam has not been lightened by the new measures of intensification and Vietnamization of the war or by the successive escalations of criminal aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The mining and blockading of ports and the destruction of dikes accompanied by demagogical promises about the so-called withdrawal of American troops from Viet Nam and the disengagement of the United States from Indochina, promises to which President Nixon is now resorting for the needs of his electoral campaign, have not yielded and will not yield any result. The words of the United States President that he wants to achieve the withdrawal of his troops from Viet Nam and Indochina are nothing but a *delusion* which can fool only the naive. It is quite clear now that the United States, through armed aggression and diplomatic manoeuvres, is striving to

reach its well-known objective in that part of the world, to make South Viet Nam, like the other parts of the Indochinese peninsula, a base of aggression against the peace-loving countries of Southeast Asia as well as against the national liberation movements in that part of the world.

#### **SOVIET COLLABORATION WITH U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION**

In pursuance of these objectives, the United States does not cease to benefit from the assistance of the Soviet leaders, who, in turn, make their own calculations and seek to draw advantages from this problem which concerns the whole world. While they say they are the great champions of Viet Nam, the Soviet leaders have never ceased exerting pressure on the Vietnamese people, and sabotaging and restraining their just struggle, in order to save the United States from the shameful defeat awaiting it in Viet Nam, as they do moreover in regard to the struggle for liberation of the people of Cambodia, by maintaining their links with the Lon Nol clique and not recognizing the legitimate Chief of State, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and the Royal Government of the United National Front of Cambodia, the sole and true legitimate representatives of the Cambodian people.

Recent events have brought clearly to light the whole of the collusion on Viet Nam between the United States and the Soviet Union. There can be no other interpretation of the attitude of the Soviet leaders, who not only did not lift a little finger when President Nixon of the United States proclaimed the laying of mines and the blockade of the ports of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and launched air attacks of unprecedented magnitude against that country, but have used these American actions as a pretext to stop the small supply of military assistance that they may have sent it. The war in Viet Nam has in no way altered the American-Soviet idyll and the state of [cordial] relations between the two super-powers. They are agreed that

the people of Viet Nam should *not* achieve their freedom and independence and that the Americans should *not* be expelled from Viet Nam and Indochina.

#### FINAL VICTORY BOUND TO COME TO INDOCHINESE PEOPLE

But the people of Viet Nam have not permitted and will never permit others to play with the blood of their sons fallen on the field of honor; they are determined to struggle—in unity with the peoples of Cambodia and Laos and benefiting from the powerful support of the great Chinese people and international solidarity with the peace-loving peoples of the world—to gain the final victory over the imperialist American aggressors and solve their own problems, as they have decided to do in keeping with their supreme national interests. A true and just peace in Viet Nam and throughout Indochina *will inevitably come* and will be achieved through the resolute struggle of the heroic peoples of Indochina. It will be obtained only when the United States is compelled completely and definitely and without conditions to withdraw its aggressive troops from that area, when it dismantles its bases and withdraws its military equipment, when it ceases to encourage and support its henchmen in Indochina.

#### ARAB STRUGGLE VS. ISRAELI EXPANSIONISM

The development of events in the Middle East in the course of the current year has again shown not only that the aggression against the Arab Republic of Egypt, Syria and the other peaceful Arab countries is continuing but that the Israeli Zionists are moving further and further along this path and insist obstinately on their absurd expansionist claims and ambitions in regard to such countries. While in the occupied Arab territories they practise an unbridled policy of denationalization and apply racism, on the political level, starting from positions of force, they seek to legalize the fruits of armed aggression and to dictate their will on

the Arab peoples. In the meantime the United States does not cease to give Israel unreserved political and moral support and to supply it with the most modern weapons in unlimited quantities.

#### SOVIET SUPPORT TO ISRAEL

The Soviet Union, although it passes for a champion of the just cause of the Arab peoples, indulges in a two-fold game and creates obstacles for them in their just struggle for the liberation of the occupied territories and the defence of their national interests, which is tantamount to encouraging openly the Israeli Zionists to continue their aggression. While the United States provides Israel with weapons, the Soviet Union for its part supplies it with a qualified living force, by sending to that country tens of thousands of Soviet Jews. The two partners thus jointly satisfy the needs of Israel, enabling it to continue its aggression against the Arab States. The Soviet Union, in connivance with the United States, has endeavored and still endeavors entirely and definitely to liquidate the Palestinian affair. The two super-powers have never been in favour of a true solution of the Middle East problem. In accordance with the objectives of their over-all strategy in that area, they speculate on the temporary difficulties of the Arab countries and, as can be seen also from their recent common attitude, they do everything possible to maintain the situation that is called "*neither war nor peace*", which means the maintenance of their positions and their political, economic and military influence in that area.

#### EGYPT'S EXPULSION OF SOVIET ADVISERS

The leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, at the Sixth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, held in November last year, stated:

The Zionists, the imperialists and the revisionists endeavour to divide the Arabs and to sow discord among them, with the intent of weakening their common front of

anti-imperialist liberation and imposing on them a peace that is contrary to their vital interests. The two super-powers, which seek to take into their hands the destinies of the Middle East and to play there the role of arbiter, propose to divide it into zones of influence and to build on the ruins of the Arab peoples new bases from which they would launch new conquests on the continents of Asia and Africa. But if the Arab peoples have fought for centuries for their freedom and independence, for the defence of their honour and their property, it is not in order to sacrifice them now to the imperialist interests of the great powers. The price of the peace that the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists offer them is very high. Further, it is an insult to them and a serious affront to the glorious traditions, the dignity and pride of all Arab peoples. Those peoples have clearly made it known that they will not renounce even an inch of Arab land and that there will be no bargaining on the Palestinian question.

The recent measures adopted by the Arab Republic of Egypt to expel the Soviet advisers and military experts dealt a serious blow to the Soviet expansionist policy in the Middle East; they unmasked the dangerous conspiracies that the Soviet social-imperialists are plotting with the American imperialists against the Arab peoples and the other peoples. These measures represent an important step towards the consolidation of Egypt's independence and State sovereignty. They have once again confirmed what we Albanians have been saying for a long time, namely, that the Soviet revisionists do not give their weapons to the Arab States to help them in their struggle against Zionist imperialist aggression, but rather to tie their hands and to become tomorrow the masters of those countries, to install themselves at their ease in the Middle East.

#### RUSSIAN MILITARISTS TRIED TO SET UP BASES IN ALBANIA

If we say this, it is not through political deduction in the abstract but also and above all through deductions drawn from the hostile policy of the Soviet Khrushchevian revisionists who have sought to occupy our ports and turn Albania into an arsenal for their own ends. But the Albanian people have unhesitatingly unmasked their diabolical plans.

The lesson to be drawn from recent events in Egypt is that sovereign peoples and countries cannot rely on the weapons and assistance provided by the two great imperialist powers who seek to impose on them their domination. The Soviet leaders are not in the habit of speaking of their defeats. That is why, this time too, they attempt to minimize the whole affair. They present things as if the military advisers expelled from Egypt acquitted themselves with honour on their tasks and are now returning to their country. One may well wonder what tasks did they acquit themselves of with honour? Would it be by chance the attempt to halt the Arab peoples in their just struggle for the liberation of the occupied territories, or would it be of attempting to maintain in the Middle East the *status quo*, which favours Israel and the Soviet-American designs of expansion.

Peace in the Middle East will not be instituted either by the United States or the Soviet Union, nor by these two powers together, nor by resolutions adopted on their initiative or through missions proposed and manipulated by them. Rather, it will be through the firm struggle of the Arab peoples, in close unity, waged against the Zionist aggressors and the plots of the two super-powers. The Israeli aggressors must definitely and without conditions leave all the occupied Arab territories and put an end to their policy of aggression and armed provocation against the peace-loving Arab peoples. The Palestinian rights must be recognized and restored.

## STRUGGLE FOR COLONIAL LIBERATION

The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America aspire, like all peoples, to live in freedom and independence, to become masters within their frontiers. But, despite the great changes that have taken place and are taking place, the imperialist powers do not renounce their old colonial possessions and brutally apply therein *apartheid* and racial discrimination. That is why the whole of Africa is in ferment today and everywhere we witness armed liberation struggles for the liberation and independence of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), the Cape Verde Islands, Namibia, and South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Northern Ireland patriots fight, weapons in hand, against colonial oppression and the terror of the British leading circles. The people of Puerto Rico obstinately seek to shake off the imperialist yoke. In the United States itself, rebellion and the protest movement of the blacks against racial discrimination do not cease to grow and expand.

The imperialist powers, and first of all the United States and the Soviet Union, obstinately apply a very marked neo-colonialist policy. They exploit and plunder the other peoples, and particularly those that have recently acquired freedom from colonial oppression.

### ALBANIA SUPPORTS ALL ANTI- IMPERIALIST STRUGGLES

It is not my intention to dwell at length here on the forms of domination and the hateful practices applied by these powers in these countries, but as the representative of a country the noble principle of whose policy is the support of peoples fighting for freedom and independence, I cannot remain silent in the face of the fact that these countries are the object of the greed of neo-colonialists who threaten their political independence and sovereignty, nor can I fail at the same time to express the full solidarity of our people with their just, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle.

The United States and the Soviet Union have already agreed and coordinated their action relating to their presumed aid to other countries. All their assistance is subordinated to political and military conditions and is calculated not to affect the maintenance of the *status quo* in the distribution of their zones of influence, to hamper the development for national liberation, and not to allow the creation of situations which might endanger the interests of the super-powers. We applaud the struggle of the peaceful countries of Latin America and other countries which defend their national and territorial integrity and national jurisdiction against the aims of hegemony of the two super-powers.

We firmly support the just measures taken by Algeria, Iran, Libya and other main petroleum-producing countries, as well as Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and other Latin American countries, and countries of Africa and Asia, to defend their independence and sovereignty, to defend their property and their national rights. The People's Republic of Albania will never cease to support their just cause.

### PEOPLE'S CHINA A GREAT FORCE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY

Peace-loving peoples and countries are strong enough to stand up to the threat and dangers that the two super-powers bring before them, and we are convinced that the firm resolve to defend their honour and independence cannot be destroyed by any power however great and strongly armed it may be. The great People's Republic of China, a great socialist power, which is developing rapidly and continues to move forward, has become a great factor for peace and security in the world. It represents a definite support for the struggle of peoples and countries for freedom and national independence and social progress—an insurmountable obstacle to the plans of aggression and hegemony of the two super-powers.

The whole of progressive mankind

enthusiastically applauded last year the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. This represents a glowing victory of the great Chinese People's Republic and of its just external policy, and at the same time a victory for all the peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples of the world. That was the crowning of the struggle that Member States, including the People's Republic of Albania, have carried on unceasingly for over 20 years to put an end to the incredible situation that had been created in our Organization. The presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has strengthened many-fold the struggle of anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces even here in the Organization, the struggle of peace-loving Member States against the two great imperialist powers and in favour of the defence of the rights of peoples and the cause of peace. But with the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations only a first step, although an important one, was taken along the path leading to the growing authority and effectiveness of the Organization. Many other measures must still be adopted in order that the Organization may meet the provisions of the Charter and the demands of our times.

### WEAKNESS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

We note that the United Nations is still powerless to fulfil the tasks for which it was created, to make its contribution to the solution of important problems that are of concern to the world today. Many recent and numerous facts confirm this. The inability of the United Nations was clearly manifested in the case of the armed aggression perpetrated by India last year, with the support of the Soviet social-imperialists, against Pakistan, an aggression that led to the brutal dismemberment of the territory of a sovereign Member State. Now we are asked to recognize and legalize that situation created by violence.

That inability or ineffectiveness is clearly notable, too, in the failure of efforts to solve the question of the Middle East; in the interminable debates on disarmament; in the legalization, through it, of many dangerous conspiracies of the two super-powers; in the non-implementation of many decisions concerning colonial problems, and so on.

### U.N. MUST WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS FROM KOREA

The inadmissible attitude observed by it, and still observed, in regard to the Korean peace-loving people is also obvious proof of the weakness of the Organization and the deadlock in which it finds itself. Everyone knows not only that the United Nations has been used to cover up the barbarous aggression of the United States and its allies against the Korean people, but also that its flag serves even today to camouflage the maintenance in South Korea of America aggressive troops, which have brought to the population of that part of Korea untold suffering and misery, which constantly indulge in armed provocation against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and aggravate tension in the Far East. The existence, for 20 years, of the so-called *United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea* constitutes another aspect of the flagrant interference of the United Nations in the internal affairs of the Korean people and is a clear violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, condemning once again most strongly the serious acts committed against the Korean people, emphasizes that if the Organization wishes to make its contribution to this question, it must as soon as possible adopt the decision demanded for a long time, first of all by the Korean people but also by all peace-loving peoples, to dissolve without delay the unlawful *Commission on Korea* and immediately to withdraw American aggressive troops from South Korea. Those are the first urgent measures



that should be adopted. Only thus can we prevent the further discrediting of this Organization on this question. The Korean people must be left free to decide its own destiny in accordance with its wishes and without any interference from outside and to realize its legitimate national aspirations, the reunification of its country.

#### RESTORE THE RIGHTS OF CAMBODIA IN THE U.N.

In the opinion of the Albanian delegation it is also necessary to restore without delay the legitimate rights of the Kingdom of Cambodia, whose place in the United Nations must be occupied by representatives of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the only legitimate representatives of the Cambodian people. As for the call for the immediate expulsion of the representatives of the Lon Nol clique, such a decision would be in keeping with justice, the sovereign right of the people of Cambodia and the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

The present international situation and the interests of increasing and strengthening the capacity and role of the United Nations impose on all its Member States, and all those who are attached to the fundamental principles of its Charter and who respect them, the need to co-ordinate their efforts and to intensify their struggle to free the United Nations from the American-Soviet manoeuvres and place it on the right course.

#### ON THE QUESTION OF TERRORISM

Those were some of the main problems in the international situation on which the delegation of Albania wished to express the point of view of its Government. But at the beginning of the work of this session the question of terrorism was raised, and the United States delegation made a lot of noise about it.

Our attitude concerning terrorism is well known. We do not approve of it. But the Albanian delegation could not

fail to highlight the fact that the time that was chosen and the manner in which the question was presented show that their aim is, in the name of "the struggle against terrorism", to strike at the national liberation struggles, the sacred rights of people to fight by all means to recover and safeguard their freedom and independence. It is clear that the United States and those who support them are endeavouring to use this question to distract world public opinion from the monstrous crimes which they are committing in Viet Nam and throughout Indochina, the barbarous acts of terror by Israel against the Palestinian people, Lebanon, and all the other Arab peoples, the savage racial oppression and genocide practised in certain African countries, and so forth.

Peace-loving Member States must not be hoodwinked by American manoeuvres, but must unmask the true terror, the crimes and barbarous acts of the imperialists. They must struggle against the policy of aggression and expansion, against the policy of oppression and colonial exploitation which have brought untold suffering and misery to the world.

#### ALBANIA WILL UNITE WITH OTHER PROGRESSIVE COUNTRIES

The People's Republic of Albania — which consistently follows a just foreign policy of principle, of resolute defence of the lofty interests of the Albanian people, of unreserved support for the struggle of peoples and of sovereign countries for their freedom, national independence and social progress and for peace and international co-operation — will, as in the past, always side with peace-loving peoples and countries and will spare no effort to help them to achieve the triumph of their supreme national interests. At this session once again, the Albanian delegation, in conformity with this just attitude of its socialist country, will unite its efforts with those of the delegations of other progressive countries and will make its fullest contribution to the realization of their high and noble objectives.

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