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

**Address by General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq,**  
**President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan**

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear an address by the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. ZIA-ul-HAQ: Today the world of Islam is on the threshold of the fifteenth century of its glorious and eventful history. Another 40 days will usher in the beginning of a new Islamic century. Muslims all over the world will be celebrating the fourteen hundredth anniversary of a unique event, which was chosen by the Second Caliph of Islam, Hazrat Umar Ibn al-Khattab—may God be pleased with him—as the beginning of the Islamic Hegira calendar. The Hegira calendar commemorates neither the Prophet's birthday nor the time when the message of God was first revealed to him. It commemorates an event which was to become a turning-point in the evolution of Islam. That event was the Hegira, or the great departure of Prophet Mohammed—peace be upon him—with a small group of devoted followers from his place of birth, Mecca, for the city over 400 kilometres away, the city of Medina. The departure for Medina was chosen as the starting point of the Islamic calendar because it marked the founding of the Islamic polity.

3. While in Mecca Islam emerged as a moral force; it was Medina which had the honour of being the cradle of the first Islamic State under the guidance of the Prophet himself. That State was founded on the basis of the universally applicable moral principles revealed in the Koran. This first Islamic policy symbolized the happy blending of the citizens of Medina—called Ansars, or the Helpers—and the Muhajireen, or the Refugees, from Mecca. A union of great importance had thus emerged. Together, the two communities formed the nucleus of the Islamic *Ummah*, or the great

brotherhood of Islam. The idea embodied in this concept served as a beacon for humanity at large.

4. Leaving his place of birth, the home of his ancestors, the kith and kin to whom he was deeply attached, was undoubtedly a great ordeal for the Prophet. With his reputation for unimpeachable integrity—he was called by everyone alike "Al-Amin", The Trustworthy. His gentle disposition and nobility of character endeared him to one and all. He could have stayed on in Mecca as a highly respectable member of the leading Hashemite clan to which he belonged, if only he would stop preaching what God commanded him to preach. His refusal to do so turned the hostility of the people of Mecca into unbridled fury.

5. Thus the founding of the first Islamic State in Medina represented, on the one hand, the rejection of the suffocating environment of bigotry, intolerance, tyranny, oppression and moral turpitude and, on the other hand, the determination of the new-born Islamic community to promote understanding, tolerance, brotherhood and freedom as imperatives of State policy. From then on the world was to witness, emanating in succession from Medina, developments of monumental significance in the history of mankind.

6. It is a great honour for me and my country that I have been given this opportunity to address the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, on behalf of the 900 million fellow-Muslims in commemoration of such an epoch-making event in human history. I do so with deep humility in response to the mandate conferred upon me by the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers,<sup>1</sup> which Pakistan was privileged to host.

7. I am grateful to you, Mr. President, for your kind words of welcome and I take this opportunity to convey to you my personal congratulations and those of the Government and the people of Pakistan on your election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

8. To the Secretary-General I wish to express our profound admiration for the qualities and experience which he possesses in such abundant measure. During his two terms of office, he has been called upon to deal with some of the most difficult problems which the world Organization has had to face. He has done so with great distinction, and we wish him continued success in the future.

9. Speaking as a humble believer, I am particularly conscious of the Islamic injunction to rise above race, colour and creed and to perceive fellow human beings in terms of universal brotherhood. Islam, by its very definition, is a religion of peace and submission to the divine will. It

<sup>1</sup> Held at Islamabad from 17 to 22 May 1980.

demands of its followers that they strive, individually as well as collectively, for the creation of a human society based on justice and equality.

10. It is most appropriate for me on such an occasion and before such a distinguished audience representing the entire world community to speak of the Islamic virtues of tolerance and compassion which brought about a synthesis of civilizations and a balanced intermingling of peoples of diverse faiths and beliefs. Islam rejects narrow nationalism, parochialism and racial elitism. The intercommunal peace and harmony prevailing during the period of more than 1,000 years of Islamic ascendancy stands in sharp contrast to the present-day racial arrogance, discrimination and persecution which are practised in certain parts of the globe today.

11. The true foundation of the peace and tranquillity which characterized the prime period of Islamic ascendancy lies in the great Islamic virtues symbolized, in particular, by the concept of universal brotherhood, tolerance and respect for the sanctity of life. The Holy Koran says: "He who slays one human being, it is as if he had slain all mankind; he who saves one human being, it is as if he had saved all mankind." Islam specifically forbids wars of aggression and permits recourse to arms only in self-defence. The Holy Koran says: "Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you; but you do not begin the hostilities; for Allah does not love aggression." The Islamic concept of jihad epitomizes the precepts so explicitly enunciated in those verses from the Holy Koran. There is, indeed, an element of struggle in jihad—a continuous struggle, a constant striving, to lead life in its totality in the light of the message of the Holy Koran and in the tradition of the Prophet of Islam.

12. The Islamic message of universal brotherhood, peace and equity is of eternal value and is more than ever relevant to the conditions prevailing in today's world. Ever since the birth of this world man has had his share of conflicts and difficulties. The confrontation of civilizations and faiths in the past did not lead to the annihilation of the human race because, mercifully, the means of mass destruction were limited. Today we have stepped into an age wherein humanity has at its disposal the means of destroying itself several times over. The world can no longer afford the luxury of confrontation and wars. Mankind needs peace. Let us all try to achieve peace within and peace without.

13. There is yet another form of confrontation, besides the nuclear arms race, that threatens human survival. It is the confrontation between man's selfishness and nature. His insatiable pursuit of material comforts has led him to reckless destruction of the natural environment. The ecological crisis faced by our planet today, particularly by the highly industrialized nations, has reached such alarming proportions that the questions must be asked: Has not man burnt his fingers in the fire which he himself kindled? Has he not lost his sense of proportion in his earthly scheme of priorities? Does he not understand that this world is not his personal property but a trust from the Almighty who created it?

14. As the Holy Koran says:

"In the alternation of day and night, in the rains from heaven that come to quicken the parched earth, in the

shifting winds, and in the clouds pressed into service between heaven and earth, there are signs enough of Allah's rule for people who have understanding."

It is this understanding that can help the present-day world to regain the equilibrium it seems to have lost.

15. The followers of Islam believe that their faith represents that ultimate perfection of the divine message which has flowed to mankind through a succession of Prophets. Muslims are enjoined to accept the missions of all the Prophets who preceded Prophet Mohammed—peace be upon him. In the Holy Koran it is stated: "Those who believe"—what Mohammed revealed—"and those who are Jews, Christians, Sabeans or whoever believes in Allah and the Day of Judgement, they shall have their reward." The Prophet of Islam himself said: "I believe in the one Allah, in His revealed Books, in His message-bearing Prophets, in the Hereafter." It is noteworthy that the Prophet spoke of "the revealed Books", and not merely of the Book. Similarly, he spoke of God's "message-bearing Prophets", and not merely of one Prophet, that would be himself. We Muslims are bound by our faith to believe in all the Prophets and the revealed Books from Adam to Prophet Mohammed—peace be upon him—who is the last of the Prophets.

16. The great Islamic community today straddles a broad geographical belt from Indonesia in the East to Senegal in the West. Living in different climes and under different customs and political systems, speaking different languages and dialects, Muslims all over the world retain an abiding sense of Islamic affinity. It is this unity in diversity which is the hallmark of the Muslim *Ummah*, or the Commonwealth of Muslim Nations. The Islamic Conference, of which I have the honour to be the current Chairman, constitutes a concrete manifestation of the urge of the Muslim *Ummah* to re-establish its historic role as a factor for peace and progress and to reassert the over-riding unity of the Muslim peoples scattered over the globe.

17. As we stand at the threshold of the fifteenth century of Hegira, we can look with pride to the fact that the Islamic countries have regained their political independence and are working closely to obtain their rightful place in the world. Their desire for unity is manifested in the 42-member Islamic Conference, which has come to acquire an eminent place among international organizations and whose decisions are assuming ever-increasing importance in the international community.

18. The spread of Islam led to a creative encounter between the first Islamic people of Arabia and the major cultures of Persia, Greece, Egypt and India, resulting in an unprecedented flowering of the human genius. This great epoch of creative activity that began in the second century Hegira lasted several hundred years. Both in the heartland of Islam, represented by the great traditions of the Caliphs, and in the no less glorious Islamic cultures, which developed in far off places such as Spain, India, Central Asia, Asia Minor, Africa and South-East Asia, the triumphant spirit of man, emancipated and enriched by Islam, manifested itself in remarkable advances in the arts and sciences. This was the era in which were laid the foundations of modern learning and knowledge.

19. It gives me pleasure to recall that human progress is heavily indebted to the early Muslim scholars, philosophers, scientists and physicians, who made outstanding original contributions in their respective fields and disciplines, rescued the best in the ancient Greco-Roman civilization, and passed this treasure on to the West. Who can forget the immortals like Averroes, Ibn Sina, Ibn Haitham, Ibn Khaldun, Alberuni and the great Omar Khayyam?

20. These are but a few of the galaxy of illustrious Muslims who extended the frontiers of knowledge and enriched human experience. It was their enlightened approach to the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge that made this progress possible. They sought and acquired knowledge from whatever source it was available—from the Greeks and Romans, the Chinese, the Persians, the Hindus, the Buddhists and the rest. The Prophet had urged them to do so. Permit me to read here four out of many quotations from the teachings of the Prophet:

“Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave.”

“Whoever seeks knowledge and finds it will get two rewards: one for seeking, and the other for finding. If he does not find it, he still has one reward.”

“The ink of the scholar is holier than the blood of the martyr.”

“It is better to impart knowledge one hour than to pray all night.”

The emphasis in these quotations is not only on seeking knowledge, but also on sharing it with others for the progress of mankind as a whole. There is a lesson in this for the present-day world where access to vitally useful knowledge, indispensable for human progress and prosperity, is allowed on a selective basis, and is, indeed, being denied by the privileged few to the less fortunate many who need it most.

21. The Islamic world was instrumental not only in generating the first intellectual stirrings which prepared the ground for the European Renaissance, but also in acting as a bulwark for the defence of Western civilization against the Mongol hordes that descended like an elemental force of nature. But for the Islamic world, which bore the brunt of the Mongol onslaught, Europe would have been overwhelmed in the seventh century Hegira that is, the thirteenth century A.D. It is indeed a tragic irony of fate that those very people who were thus saved by the Muslims turned around to occupy and pillage Muslim lands and convert them into their prize colonies.

22. While that unhappy period in Islamic history is undoubtedly behind us, its evil consequences remain to be eradicated. Political independence regained by Muslim countries has not loosened the tenacious grip of economic exploitation, which goes hand in hand with colonialism. Continued dependence on the industrially developed world has aggravated their plight. Their crucial strategic location has generated intolerable pressures from powers seeking hegemony and coveting their vital natural resources.

23. The feeling of insecurity across much of the globe today is attributable to the continuing tendency to use force and pressure for the control and exploitation of scarce resources. The distress caused by that phenomenon is writ

large on the faces of both the exploited and the exploiter. Where will this lead us? The Holy Koran warns mankind against it thus: “To him who is covetous and bent on riches . . . to him will the path of distress be made easy”.

24. While on the subject of conflict generated by avarice and greed, I should like to present, before this Assembly, how we Muslims perceive some of the critical areas of tension on the world map.

25. The tragic conflict between the two Islamic States of Iran and Iraq is a source of deep concern to the world community. It causes profound anguish to the world of Islam in particular. That violent conflict between two brotherly Islamic States is attributable to the unstable conditions created in a strategic area by a colonial legacy. We fervently hope that peace between those two neighbouring countries will return soon, Allah willing. It is the duty of the international community and in particular that of the Islamic and non-aligned worlds to make a positive contribution towards the resolution of the differences between Iran and Iraq. An essential condition for the return of peace between them would be the observance of strict neutrality and non-interference in their internal affairs by outside Powers.

26. As the Assembly is aware, I have come to New York directly from the capitals of Iran and Iraq, where I was warmly received in a spirit of Islamic fraternity by President Bani Sadr and President Saddam Hussein. My mission was undertaken at the behest of the Islamic Conference. Its purpose was essentially one of fact-finding and good will. I was able to ascertain the views of my two brothers in a series of meetings in an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. I have faithfully conveyed to each brother the views and position of the other in regard to a cessation of hostilities. It is my earnest hope and prayer that efforts will continue to end the tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq and that a peaceful solution will be found to their differences on the basis of justice and respect for each other's rights and in the spirit of Islamic solidarity and brotherhood.

27. By far the most destabilizing factor in the Middle East is Israel. Who can deny the justice of the cause of the Palestinian people, who have been mercilessly uprooted from their sacred land after being in continuous possession of it for the best part of 1,400 years, and who have been suffering untold oppression, tyranny and terrorism practised against them by the Zionist entity?

28. The threat posed to world peace by the Palestinian problem is all too evident. The situation can explode at any moment. The resulting conflagration could envelop the world in a disaster the magnitude of which has not been seen before. Injustice and oppression rouse strong sentiments; those sentiments cannot be suppressed by arrogant reliance on force and coercion, nor smothered by unremitting persecution. Israel, which is so ready to invoke the past, should not forget the oft-repeated lesson of history that its policy of annexation and domination is doomed to failure. History has the habit of unceremoniously repeating itself.

29. Notwithstanding protestations of the desire to bring about a peaceful solution of the Palestinian problem, in the context of the Middle East situation the stark reality is that Israel continues to defy the will of the world community.

expressed through this very forum and the Security Council on numerous occasions. It continues to occupy Arab and Palestinian land by force. It cynically disregards the near-unanimous world edict on Jerusalem by passing a law to change the status of Jerusalem. In its resolution 478 (1980) the Security Council reacted by calling upon all countries having their diplomatic missions in Jerusalem to shift them. The response was unanimous and prompt.

30. I take this opportunity to offer profound thanks to all the 13 countries, namely, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, the Netherlands, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela, which have removed their diplomatic missions from Jerusalem to show their displeasure at Israel's defiance of international law and public opinion. We salute them for their principled decision. Is it not time for further action by the world community so that the conditions stipulated generally by world opinion, and especially by the Islamic Conference on the Palestinian problem, are met, and peace returns to the Middle East? Let there be no illusion that wounds inflicted on the Palestinians can be healed by the passage of time. Now is the time to act, before it is too late.

31. The United States claims that it has vital economic and strategic interests in the Middle East and North Africa, which is not only the homeland of the Arab people, but constitutes the strategic frontiers of Europe. Yet it pursues a policy which brings it into hostile confrontation with the Arab world and extends open-ended support to Israel which encourages that country to pursue aggressive policies in defiance of world opinion. The United States bears a heavy responsibility in this respect, since reliance on the might of this super-Power enables Israel to flout the verdict of the international community and to usurp the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine.

32. The Muslim world whole-heartedly supports the just struggle of the people of Palestine under the leadership of their legitimate and sole representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], for the liberation of their sacred territory from Zionist rule and occupation. It considers that the issue of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East question. Successive Islamic Conferences have demanded, first, the complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem; secondly, the exercise by the people of Palestine of their inalienable national rights, including the right to establish a sovereign State of their own in their homeland under the leadership of the PLO and, thirdly, the dismantling of all the so-called settlements in occupied Arab territories.

33. Until these just demands are met in full, the prospect of a genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East will elude us, and the world will continue to be haunted by the spectre of a wider conflict in which the interests of those who protect Israel will suffer most.

34. The world of Islam is profoundly concerned with the tragedy that has overtaken Afghanistan. This small, independent, non-aligned Muslim country has been subjected to military intervention on a massive scale, in violation of the national rights of the Afghan people and the sacrosanct principle of non-alignment and of the Charter of the United Nations. True to their centuries-old national tradition and

unconquerable spirit of independence, the people of Afghanistan have responded to the challenge with fearless resistance through the length and breadth of their country. Their struggle is as sacrosanct and worthy of respect and support as the heroic struggles of the Algerian people, the people of Zimbabwe—and indeed, of all the oppressed and exploited people of the world at one time or another—against foreign domination.

35. The deeply felt resentment of the international community and of the Muslim world in particular against this act of armed intervention has been clearly expressed in the demand for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Soviet military forces from Afghanistan. The Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, which met at Islamabad in May last, set in motion a process of resolving the Afghan crisis through peaceful negotiations. It adopted a resolution establishing a committee comprised of the Foreign Ministers of Iran and Pakistan and the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference [see A/35/419-S/14129, annex I], with a view to holding consultations with all the parties to bring about a solution based on the following principles: first, the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan; secondly, the restoration of the independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan; thirdly, respect for the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny and to choose their own form of government in accordance with their own wishes, free from external interference; and fourthly, the creation of conditions which would permit the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour.

36. It is a matter of deep regret that this valuable initiative of the Islamic Conference has now been stalled by the over-all negative attitude of the Kabul régime. I am confident that the Assembly will address itself to the urgent task of promoting a political solution of the crisis in Afghanistan, in accordance with these principles.

37. In the meantime, more than a million Afghan refugees have crossed the 1400-mile border into Pakistan, while others have taken shelter in Iran. Entire communities of men, women and children, uprooted from their hearths and homes by the violence of the conflict, have continued to pour into Pakistan. My country is providing them with shelter in a humanitarian spirit and in conformity with the tradition of Islamic brotherhood. It is a task of awesome magnitude, in view of Pakistan's limited resources. However, we are grateful for the assistance received for this purpose from brotherly Moslem countries and other friendly nations, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and various international agencies and humanitarian organizations, including the Red Crescent and the International Red Cross.

38. People do not leave the comforts of their hearths and homes to face the privations of life in exile without compelling reasons. The Afghan refugees on our soil have had to leave their country because life was made unbearable for them. The orchestrated propaganda campaign accusing Pakistan of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs cannot mislead the world. It cannot conceal the truth that the insurgency in Afghanistan is a manifestation of the patriotic upsurge of a proud people who have never yielded

to foreign domination. I wish to restate Pakistan's commitment to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States and categorically reject the allegation that Pakistan is in any way involved in the insurgency in Afghanistan.

39. It is interesting to note that this insurgency is mainly in the interior of Afghanistan, where brave men and women, brave boys and girls and brave peasants and workers are fighting to free themselves from the forcible occupation of their territory by foreign troops. What is surprising is the attitude of the big Powers; one has accused the other of an effort to strangulate it. Surely the presence of troops of one country on an island of the Indian Ocean cannot be accepted as an excuse for another country to send troops into a third independent nation.

40. A situation similar to that in Afghanistan exists today in Kampuchea. Here again, a régime has been imposed on that country by the foreign occupation forces, leading to a mass exodus of the Kampuchean people, who have endured great suffering and privation. In both cases principles of international law and peaceful coexistence have been violated.

41. The world of Islam does not believe that international security can be genuine as long as it is predicated on an unstable balance of terror and a continuous escalation of the arms race. We have welcomed measures in the past aimed at relaxing tensions between the two super-Powers and we whole-heartedly support their efforts to limit and control strategic nuclear weapons. The Muslim countries favour genuine détente, but not détente based on a division of the world into spheres of influence by the two super-Powers, because such an arrangement would be at the expense of the Islamic and non-aligned world. We cannot subscribe to a détente which is designed to keep certain areas of the globe tension-free while exposing others to subversion and aggression in any shape or form. We want peace. We want peace with dignity. We want peace with respect. We want peace with honour. We firmly believe that peace is indivisible and must encompass all parts of the globe. It cannot be selective in its scope or application.

42. The world of Islam has invariably been at the forefront in espousing the right of peoples to self-determination and independence as a matter of principle. The attainment of independence by nearly 100 countries since the Second World War is a matter of profound satisfaction to all of us. The success of the valiant struggle waged by the African people is a glorious chapter in the annals of freedom. We pay a tribute to the indomitable spirit of the great liberation movements and, particularly, to the memory of those martyrs whose supreme sacrifice has made this historic achievement possible.

43. The presence among us today of Zimbabwe as a full-fledged Member of the United Nations symbolizes the heroic achievements of the continent of Africa and offers fresh hope to the people of Namibia and South Africa, where the tentacles of colonialism and racist minority rule maintain an iron hold today. Our prayers and whatever moral and material support is required of us will always be with the freedom fighters of southern Africa. Their problems are our problems; their difficulties are our difficulties;

and their struggle is our struggle. The clock is in their favour. They will succeed, because their cause is just.

44. The tide of independence cannot be reversed, any more than one can successfully bid yesterday return. Indeed, all efforts to keep people under subjugation or to turn countries into colonies—such is the verdict of modern history—are foredoomed to failure.

45. The policies of racial discrimination, *apartheid* and minority rule being followed by South Africa are repugnant to the letter and spirit of Islam and international morality. We are convinced that nemesis will overtake whosoever practises racism and *apartheid* or discriminates between one human being and another on the grounds of colour.

46. The Pretoria régime must be made to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and its repressive policies and acts of violence in that Territory and in South Africa. The Namibian people must be allowed to decide their own future destiny through impartial elections under United Nations auspices. However great the difficulties may appear, we are confident of the ultimate triumph of the people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*].

47. There is another form of discrimination, which is a matter of deep concern today to the world of Islam. The Muslim minorities in various countries around the globe number nearly 300 million. They are frequently discriminated against and subjected to untold miseries because of religious prejudice. Their lives and properties are not always safe. In some countries they are being systematically reduced to the status of serfs; in others they are being forcibly expelled from their ancestral homes and driven to inhospitable regions. The very custodians of law and order have become for them instruments of acts of oppression and extermination.

48. This is a challenge to the world conscience and must be met firmly and fairly. It is a challenge to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaims that everyone has the right to freedom of conscience and religion. How can the conscience of the world close its eyes to the fate of millions of human beings who are undergoing acute suffering merely because they profess a particular faith? True to the injunctions of Islam, our hearts go out not only to the Muslim minorities who are subjected to discrimination and oppression but to all minority communities, regardless of their creed, colour or caste, who are made to suffer a similar fate.

49. To express humanitarian concern over the plight of these minorities does not constitute interference in the internal affairs of any State. The world community must not lose its capacity for moral anger, which in many cases is perhaps the only instrument it has today to exert pressure on the oppressor. The future of mankind will be bleak indeed, if we allow our sensitivities to human suffering to be dulled or our conscience to be stifled at the sight of poverty and hunger. The Holy Prophet said:

“He is not a perfect Moslem who eats his fill and lets his neighbour go hungry . . . .

**“He who helps his fellow men in the hour of need, him will Allah help on the Day of Judgement.”**

That is as much true of individuals as of nations.

50. We, the peoples of the Islamic world, along with our brethren of the third world, have suffered together the trauma of colonial domination; we have struggled, side by side, to attain our freedom; we have gone through the same pangs of rebirth after independence; we have inherited similar problems; we are facing similar challenges; and we share the same disappointment in the non-realization of the rising hopes and expectations of our peoples.

51. The basis of the existing economic relationship between the developed and the developing countries is the principle—or shall we say the lack of principle in this case—of justice and fair play. The developing nations supply the raw materials, but the developed nations demand unjustly high prices for the industrial goods that they provide. We, of the third world, are at the mercy of the international market, which is manipulated by a handful of industrialized countries. It is in the interest of the developed countries to realize that the advantages of such basically unsound tactics are only short-lived. We have entered an era of interdependence, and no single country can ensure its prosperity by adopting measures which frustrate the legitimate aspirations of other countries and other peoples. Exploitative and discriminatory practices against the developing countries are the root cause of economic and political instability, which poses a great danger to world peace and security. The time has surely come—if it is not late already—to establish a new economic order which would be durable because it would be fair.

52. The Group of 77, representing the third world, has been pressing its demand since 1964 for an international economic order that would ensure optimum growth of the world economy for the benefit of all countries and all peoples. The North-South dialogue has dragged on, as a futile exercise, for nearly a decade now. In the meantime, the problems of poverty and deprivation of more than half the world have become further aggravated, posing ever greater dangers to world stability.

53. Meanwhile, the Islamic world has made a start with concerted measures to pool its resources and has established financial and banking institutions of its own for the purpose. In the fullness of time these institutions should, Allah willing, enable the Muslims to achieve a substantial measure of economic self-reliance. In the true Islamic tradition, the oil-producing Muslim countries have shown a helpful attitude for alleviating the hardships not only of fellow Muslim States but also fellow members of the third world. At the same time the Muslim countries will continue to exert themselves to the utmost for the achievement of the objectives of the Group of 77. Their voice will also be clearly heard in the North-South dialogue urging affluent nations to raise their official development assistance to the third world at least to the agreed level of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product. Can magnanimity be at such a low premium?

54. While so little is being contributed towards the elimination of the problems of poverty and backwardness on which the future stability of the world depends, the commit-

ment of vast resources to the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction continues to increase. A further tragedy is that large-scale transfers of arms and lethal weapons are taking place to countries which are already expending so much of their precious resources on armaments at the expense of the welfare of their masses. World security is as much threatened by the reckless diversion of resources towards the arms race as by the neglect of the fundamental needs of the underprivileged peoples of the world. Indeed, the two are inextricably linked. Consequently, the question of disarmament is vitally relevant, not only to the reduction of international tensions, but also to the better utilization of resources for human development and progress. The goal of disarmament deserves the urgent attention of the world community, and needs to be pursued both at the global and regional levels.

55. The United Nations remains the embodiment of our hopes and aspirations for a world order based on peace and justice. It is committed to the achievement of that objective by virtue of the ideals enshrined in the Charter. The Organization has been a force for international peace and progress during its 35 years of existence. We do not feel discouraged by its occasional inability to translate its promises into tangible results. We are conscious of the circumstances which have prevented it from enforcing its decisions in respect of the right of the people of Palestine to establish a sovereign State of their own in their homeland, or redeeming its promise to the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to enable them to decide their future in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

56. Since the reference to the State of Jammu and Kashmir touches upon Pakistan's relationship with India, I should like to say that, in conformity with our established policy, we have continued our efforts for further normalization of relations with India on the basis of the principles of the Simla Agreement of 1972.<sup>2</sup> Substantial progress has been made over the years in the promotion of communications, travel and trade between the two countries. This process, however, can and will be further accelerated with a peaceful settlement of the question of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan's position on this matter is founded on universally recognized principles.

57. The Islamic world holds the United Nations in great esteem and will strive to further its fundamental objectives. The message of Islam—the message of peace, the equality of man, the rule of law and supremacy of justice—is also fundamental to the United Nations. As devotees of the religion that brought this message to the world, and as signatories to the Charter in which it is enshrined, the Muslim countries are thus doubly committed to the ideals of the United Nations.

58. The Prophet of Islam said: “Even he who makes progress daily is still far off from the ideal”. Therefore, we do not despair if the ideals of the United Nations are still nowhere near achievement; if aggression and adventurism still disfigure the international scene; if the security and sovereignty of the weak are still being threatened by the strong; if might is still paraded as right. But we live in hope and would continue to strive to come closer to the ideal with the passing of every day.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 858, No. 12308.

59. It is with this belief and determination that the Islamic world is poised to enter the fifteenth century Hegira—inspired by its great past; aware of its present problems and opportunities; conscious of its spiritual, cultural and political rebirth and its growing strength; and confident of its future. Its chief source of strength today is its urge for unity of thought and action. Its member States—over 40 in number—are generally in agreement on the need for a united and collective response to issues affecting them and the world at large. This has led to the emergence of the concept of strengthening their security by pooling their natural resources, their abundant manpower and their available skills. The close collaboration so achieved will undoubtedly promote self-reliance and reduce dependence on the uncertain—and often uncomfortable—external factors. This concept of security of the Islamic countries does not involve alignment with any of the power groups; nor does it envisage multilateral defence pacts. It aims essentially at advancing the individual and collective capability of the Islamic countries to achieve the goals set by consensus, in the larger interest of the Muslim *Ummah*.

60. In the world today there is enough reason for mankind to see the future darkly and to lose its bearings in the pervading atmosphere of gloom. People feel embattled and forlorn and see perils and pitfalls all around them. There is social injustice within communities, and economic inequality among nations. All this, I venture to suggest, is a result of unbridled materialism, the eclipse of spiritual values and a loss of faith.

61. Our redemption lies in a renewal of faith; a revival of the belief in the Creator and His creation. I speak only as a Muslim, acutely conscious that arrogance of belief is forbidden to the Muslims; for Islam reproaches its followers for any conceit about their faith. So, in all humility, I state that we perceive the role of Islam as that of helping to overcome the problems besetting the present-day world. It can assist in building an enduring structure for international amity, based on universal brotherhood and on respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence. Islam is not a religion in the conventional sense but a many-splendoured mansion—it is a unique and comprehensive system of law; it is a distinctive culture, a fascinating civilization; it is a supreme metaphysical doctrine for the relief and redemption of man. Fourteen hundred years of its record of service is there for all of us to see.

62. The credentials of the Muslims to be able to play a role in helping to promote peace and harmony among nations are provided in the statement of human rights and duties by the Prophet in his last sermon on Mount Arafat, which is as fresh and relevant today as it was 1,400 years ago. On that occasion the Prophet said:

“Hearken to my words, O men . . . .

“The Arab is not superior to non-Arab; the non-Arab is not superior to Arab. You are all sons of Adam, and Adam was made up of dust. . . .

“The vengeance of blood practised in the days of Ignorance is prohibited, and blood-feuds are abolished.

“Verily, you should consider each other’s blood, property, and reputation, inviolable unto the Day of Judgement.

“Remember Allah [in your dealings with] women. You have rights over them—they have rights over you. . . .

“Verily, a man is responsible only for his own acts. A son is not responsible for the crimes of his father, nor a father responsible for the crimes of his sons. He who has a pledge, let him return it to him who entrusted him with it: all usury is abolished, but you have your capital; wrong not, and you shall not be wronged.

“You are one brotherhood; nothing which belongs to another is lawful unto his brother, unless freely given out of good will. Guard yourselves from committing injustice.

“You will surely meet your Lord, and He will ask you about your deeds.”

63. If this be the message, then should not the present resurgence of Islam and the reawakening among the Muslims of the world be a welcome phenomenon? It should be welcomed as a revitalizing force that could bring peace to a weary world and hope to a distraught humanity. It is not a religion that forces itself on others. The Holy Koran explicitly reminds us: “There is no compulsion in religion”.

64. Thus, without obstructing, and in its own imperceptible ways, Islam can act as a catalyst in rousing the conscience of the international community. The religion of Islam is primarily concerned with the guidance it furnishes to its votaries on how best to live this life. The prayer of the believer is: “Our Lord, enable us to live this life in a handsome way and also grant us a handsome life in the Hereafter”. Amen.

65. This life is a preparation for the life to come; it has to be lived fully, earnestly and resolutely. It has to be lived for God, spent in His holy name, in obedience to His law.

66. The world of Islam is confident that the era of stark materialism, which bred imperialism, colonialism and injustice in all its forms, is finally over, and cannot be brought back. As they enter the fifteenth century Hegira, the Islamic peoples, who have rediscovered their pride in their religion, their great culture and their unique social and economic institutions, are confident that the advent of this century will mark the beginning of a new epoch when their high ideals of peace, justice, the equality of man, and their unique understanding of the universe, will once again enable them to make a worthy contribution to the betterment of mankind.

67. Before concluding I should like to express a fervent hope and prayer on behalf of the Muslims of the world that the 154 nations gathered here make a solemn commitment: that the fifteenth century Hegira and the twenty-first century A.D. will usher in an era in which relations between States will be governed by higher moral principles, and not by power politics; that we shall create a human society founded on the principle of universal brotherhood; that all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on considerations of race, colour, creed or sex shall be ended; that the remaining strongholds of oppression and injustice on earth shall be demolished; that the strong nations shall not oppress the weak, nor the rich dominate the poor; that scientific knowledge and the natural resources of the earth shall be shared equitably for the common welfare and good

of the human race, instead of being squandered on armaments and other preparations for war; that the environment of our planet shall be protected from abuse to safeguard for posterity its right to inherit the earth as beautiful and supportive of life as the Creator made it for us; that, above all, peace shall prevail among nations and brotherhood among men, to enable humanity to preserve our precious civilization to which each generation has made its contribution, and to achieve the quality of life based on political, economic and social justice to which we all aspire, but which has so far exceeded our grasp.

68. I once again thank you, Mr. President, for the privilege of addressing this august Assembly.

69. Peace be on you, and Allah's mercy and His blessings.

70. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I thank General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, for the important statement he has just made. On my own behalf I should like to add my thanks for the kind words that he addressed to me.

#### AGENDA ITEM 9

##### General debate (*continued*)

71. Mr. NZAMBIMANA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I, on behalf of the delegation of Burundi, say how pleased we are to see you presiding over the work of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your long experience in the Organization, your high sense of responsibility and your determination to fight constantly for the ideals which led to the creation of the United Nations are a valuable pledge of the harmonious progress and successful outcome of the work of this session. Furthermore, you represent a country with which Burundi is pleased to have solid bonds of co-operation. Rest assured that my delegation will spare no effort to co-operate fully with you for the success of your delicate tasks.

72. May I also pay a warm tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, of the United Republic of Tanzania. The diligence, competence, skill and dynamism he displayed, both during the deliberations at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly and at the special sessions which dealt with topics that were complex, stormy and even explosive, won him the esteem, admiration and respect of all. He has done honour to his country and to Africa as a whole.

73. A few weeks ago we joyfully welcomed Zimbabwe as the one hundred and fifty-third Member of the United Nations. The decolonization of that country was a source of pride and hope to us. It showed the high level of maturity attained by the people and leaders of that country and their willingness to live together in mutual respect for each other's diversity. It shattered the absurd notion of those who still believed that colonization and the reign of *apartheid* would last for ever. A source of hope for those still struggling against the colonial yoke, Zimbabwe's accession to independence has given new impetus and strength to the efforts of all those fighting for self-determination and independence.

74. We also welcome Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as the one hundred and fifty-fourth Member State.

75. The United Nations will certainly be strengthened by the contribution of these two countries, whose struggle for peace, justice and respect for human rights and dignity has marked the history of their respective lengthy struggles. We are assured that they will lend new impetus and dynamism to the Organization.

76. We also wish to express our satisfaction and our support to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose high sense of responsibility, competence, integrity and clear-sightedness make that eminent statesman one of the personages who have won the esteem and admiration of the whole international community.

77. The thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly was an exceptional one for the Government and people of Burundi. The head of State of Burundi, Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, took a personal part in that session. By his presence he was giving vivid proof of the gratitude of the Government and people of Burundi for the efforts of the United Nations within the framework of co-operation among nations. As he declared from this rostrum:

"The work that has been done in this area by the United Nations is, in our view, of particular importance. We should therefore like to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the General Assembly, which can take pride in having so consistently lived up to the importance of its task and, therefore, constitutes an ideal framework for co-operation, exchange of experience and decision making."<sup>3</sup>

78. That exceptional occasion enabled the people of Burundi, through its President, to express its full trust in and constant support for the United Nations in its noble task of striving ceaselessly for the triumph of its fundamental objectives.

79. Those fundamental objectives are also those of our people and have been comprehensively stated in the Assembly by President Bagaza. His conclusion on this score illustrates in several ways, on the one hand, the method of government of the Second Republic which makes participation by every citizen in public life the essential condition for its success, and, on the other hand, our opening up to the international community, which led to our association with the United Nations in one of the most important stages of our national life. I quote that conclusion:

"In order to permit the Burundi people effectively to exercise its prerogatives of sovereignty, we created the necessary conditions for the party to be able to guide and genuinely to control the executive. In other words, the people run and manage their own affairs in the communes and the provinces. Leaders are only kept in their posts to the extent that they enjoy the confidence of the people.

"Thanks to the political maturity of our people, we believe that the time has come to permit it to choose its leaders at all levels. This task is incumbent on the National Congress of the UPRONA party [*Union pour le progrès national*], a meeting of which is scheduled for the end of this year, and this will constitute in practice the

<sup>3</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 9th meeting, para. 6.

consummation of the action already laid down at the level of the communal assemblies and provincial congresses of the renovated UPRONA party.

“In the light of the foregoing, we can claim that the State which we are organizing is one which will permit the Burundi people to perpetuate their history, to strengthen their age-old unity, to consolidate the victories they have won, to build their democracy and to determine their future in a free and sovereign manner. It is for the people of Burundi, in fact, to pronounce on the type of society which will safeguard their identity, while guaranteeing their progress in a world full of change.

“This is the role of the National Congress of the party, and this is why we quite rightly consider that this session of the party will constitute an event of primary importance in the national life of the Burundi people. We were therefore anxious to inform the United Nations and the whole international community of this, especially because we in Burundi consider that there must exist a certain harmony between internal options and a country's foreign policy.”<sup>4</sup>

80. A year later I am pleased to announce to the Assembly that the promises made by my President at the thirty-fourth session have been entirely carried out. The Congress of UPRONA, which met from 26 to 29 December 1979, was highly successful, because, on the one hand, of the broad participation of the people and, on the other, of the important decisions taken concerning the democratic organization of our country and the domestic and external options of the Government of Burundi. At the end of that Congress, the participants unanimously reaffirmed the guiding principles of Burundi's foreign policy as defined from this rostrum by the President of the Republic of Burundi, Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza. Those principles are good-neighbourliness, positive non-alignment, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, international co-operation and support for national liberation movements.

81. Basing myself on those fundamental principles guiding the foreign policy of my country, I should like to turn to the major issues of the day. In the main, they concern decolonization, the Middle East, South-East Asia and the new international economic order.

82. South Africa's presence in Namibia, the militarization of that Territory, the policy of brutal repression of the Namibian people, the ruthless exploitation of that peace-loving people, the plundering of Namibia's resources and the deliberate destruction of national unity and territorial integrity are, in the view of the Government of Burundi, criminal acts of aggression against the nation of Namibia and flout the will of the international community.

83. With a view to putting an end to this unacceptable situation, the United Nations has adopted a number of resolutions condemning South Africa for its illegal occupation and calling upon it to withdraw from Namibia.

84. In view of South Africa's intransigence, the Security Council, in its resolution 435 (1978), has endorsed a proposal of five Western countries. In a spirit of great responsibil-

ity and high political maturity, the only genuine representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO, has accepted that United Nations proposal. However, to that positive attitude, the illegal South African régime responded only with mass arbitrary arrests of SWAPO leaders and Namibian patriots. South Africa's answer to the constructive proposal to demilitarize the frontier zone between Namibia and Angola has been to step up the totally unprovoked acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zambia.

85. In these circumstances, the Government of Burundi is convinced that the following measures and actions should be adopted by the United Nations and the entire international community: practical support for the armed struggle being waged valiantly by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO; pressure to be exerted on that illegal régime by States and Powers involved in this policy of occupation and exploitation; and, above all, the imposition by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

86. Not far from Namibia, the South African racists continue to gag a whole people subjected to barbarous and hateful repression because of the colour of their skin.

87. In fact, in South Africa the situation is constantly deteriorating because of the criminal policy of *apartheid*. The vice is being tightened on a people struggling only for its survival, dignity and freedom.

88. The machine of war and repression is striking the Coloured inhabitants of South Africa mercilessly and without distinction. In this escalation of violence peaceful populations, the elderly, women and children are not spared. Indeed, let us recall the massacres of Sharpeville, Soweto and elsewhere.

89. In view of this intolerable situation, the South African people has been compelled to take up arms against that régime of tyranny. We seize this opportunity to pay a tribute to this valiant people and its national liberation movement. The victories already gained by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and, in particular, the African National Congress of South Africa should give rise to more solidarity with the South African people.

90. I should like, on behalf of the Government of Burundi, urgently to appeal to the international community so that appropriate measures shall at last be taken to restore freedom and dignity to the South African people at present subjected to the most ferocious repression.

91. In this context the delegation of Burundi reaffirms the legitimacy of the armed struggle being waged by the oppressed people of South Africa and condemns the racist South African régime for its policy of repression and its acts of armed aggression against the front-line States and the continuation of collaboration and political, military, nuclear, economic, cultural and trade co-operation with South Africa.

92. The Government of Burundi supports the military embargo imposed by the Security Council in resolution 418

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, paras. 25-28.

(1977) against South Africa. Furthermore, the Government of Burundi is convinced of the need and the urgency for the Security Council to adopt mandatory measures pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter, including Article 41, with a view to putting an end to the *apartheid* régime, which is a serious threat to international peace and security not only in Africa but also throughout the world.

93. Although the African continent has largely freed itself of colonial and racist domination, there are still anachronistic colonial situations such as those in Namibia, South Africa and Western Sahara, on which something should be said. The question of Western Sahara is, in my delegation's view, one of decolonization. It therefore falls within the framework of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the twentieth anniversary of whose adoption we shall soon be celebrating.

94. For the Government of Burundi, there can be no doubt that the Sahraoui people must freely exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and that of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. My delegation considers that the efforts of the two organizations aimed at the decolonization of Western Sahara are complementary and call for the withdrawal of all Moroccan occupation troops from the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic.

95. We urge Morocco to abide by the relevant resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations calling upon it to put an end to its military occupation of Western Sahara.

96. With regard to the position of the Government of Burundi, I should like to reaffirm its solidarity with the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, and to assure POLISARIO<sup>5</sup> of its total support. In recognizing the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, with which the State of Burundi has just established diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level, the Government of Burundi is guided only by a concern for co-operation and solidarity with a people struggling for its dignity and freedom.

97. While still on the subject of the African continent, I should like to express the deep concern of the Government of Burundi over the tragedy in Chad. With regard to the situation in Chad, the Government of Burundi calls upon all States not to interfere in that country's internal affairs and to allow the people of Chad to settle their problems themselves.

98. For more than three decades the question of Palestine has been before the Organization. Numerous initiatives for a settlement have been put forward; all have ended in failure because of Israel's intransigence or simply because they ignored one of the parties concerned, namely, the people of Palestine, whose sole representative is the PLO.

99. Any settlement which does not duly take this factor into account can only lead to a deadlock. No country, no matter how powerful, no organization, however universal, can tell the Palestinian people how its State should be organized or what statutes or régime it should adopt, nor can any form of government be imposed on it. It is therefore

up to the PLO alone, which is the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people, to negotiate on behalf of that people and to arrive at a course of action without any foreign interference.

100. Looking at the situation in the Middle East, the Government of Burundi reaffirms its opposition to the acquisition of territory by force. It therefore condemns the occupation by Israel of Arab and Palestinian territories. The Government of Burundi also condemns the Israeli policy of Jewish settlements in Palestinian and Arab lands.

101. The decision taken by Israel to annex the eastern sector of Jerusalem has aroused deep emotion in my country and throughout the world. In the view of the Government of Burundi, that act is completely null and void. Thus, my delegation would call on the Israeli authorities to revoke their decision and to respect the sacred nature of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

102. The situation in South-East Asia is scarcely more reassuring than those that I have mentioned in Africa and the Middle East. Indeed, the situation prevailing in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Korea deserves special attention by the international community.

103. With respect to Afghanistan, the delegation of Burundi would like to state the following. First, the Government of Burundi respects the sovereignty and the basic choices of the Afghan people. Consequently, the Government of Burundi is opposed to any intervention or interference in the internal affairs of that independent country which is a member of the non-aligned movement. Secondly, the Government of Burundi is opposed to any subversion from abroad against the people of Afghanistan and is opposed to any use of that territory as a springboard for threatening the security of any neighbouring country. Thirdly, the Government of Burundi considers that, given the present international political situation, the Afghan people can freely decide on its future only if all foreign troops are withdrawn from its territory.

104. With respect to the situation in Kampuchea, my delegation would also like to make its position clear. First, the Government of Burundi considers that the people of Kampuchea is alone able to determine without foreign interference, its future and its fate. Secondly, my Government is opposed to the use of that territory as a base for launching acts of aggression or attacks against any other State in the region. Thirdly, my Government is convinced that the time has come to allow the people of Kampuchea to take charge of its own destiny without foreign interference. Thus, the Government of Burundi favours the withdrawal of all foreign troops and forces from that territory and the ending of any external subversion against that people, whose political personality and cultural identity have resisted all foreign occupation.

105. With respect to the question of Korea, the Government of Burundi unreservedly supports the peaceful reunification and independence of the Korean nation. My country supports the withdrawal of all foreign troops based in South Korea. My delegation would further like to draw the attention of the international community to the serious consequences of admitting two Koreas to the United Nations. We believe that this course of action should be opposed.

<sup>5</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y de Río de Oro.

106. The position of my country on the situations which today are the flashpoints in the world has been arrived at only by concern for respecting the will of those peoples and for promoting a climate of détente and international security.

107. In this context, the Government of Burundi sincerely hopes that the conclusions of the tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, will be followed by action and that general and complete disarmament can get under way.

108. My country hailed the results of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe as an important step on the road to détente. It welcomes the signing by the Soviet Union and the United States of America of the agreement known as SALT II,<sup>6</sup> which we hope will be rapidly ratified.

109. With a view to strengthening international peace and security, the delegation of Burundi considers that the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] should be implemented by all States. We urge the great Powers to give up their rivalry in that region, which is so rich in promise.

110. Real and lasting peace and security are inconceivable without justice and equity in international economic relations. It is justice that is at stake here. In their report the eminent experts of the Brandt Commission<sup>7</sup> speak of moral imperatives. Today there are many peoples with respect to whom famine and poverty take their toll with unprecedented severity, developing countries which see their natural wealth ruthlessly exploited by the developed countries or through foreign transnational corporations. Those "poor" countries stand helplessly by while their resources are plundered and they see themselves being deprived of the means to promote their own development. I shall not even mention other factors which give rise to serious tension and which may, once the victims have become truly aware of what is happening, lead to desperate action. And we know very well that what comes too late is called irreparable.

111. The Assembly has just held its eleventh special session, which was entirely devoted to the consideration of economic problems. The presence at that special session of such a large number of very high-level representatives stressed the concern felt by all the peoples represented about the chaotic world economic situation and demonstrated the ardent hope of the community of States that it can finally begin real co-operation in international economic relations. Statements were almost unanimous in noting the failure of the prevailing economic system because it is unjust, anachronistic, ineffective and not adapted to the present situation.

112. Although my delegation can say in general that it was satisfied with the level of representation and the quality of the debate, the same would not be true with respect to the assessment of the results of the work done at the session. Indeed, we were deeply disappointed by the refusal of some

States to allow global negotiations to begin. We hope that those States will change their position at the current session and will take this unique opportunity to break the deadlock.

113. One view is shared unanimously in all international forums: the North-South dialogue has come to a halt. Confronted with this pause, any country can easily understand the impatience of the least developed countries, expecting as they do to see the international community urgently adopt and apply practical measures on their behalf.

114. A good many developing countries still have the energy to pursue the economic debate wherever it is taking place, and they still manage to support their national economies, to a greater or lesser extent. But the least developed countries are in desperate straights. The economies of those countries are on the verge of ruin.

115. There is no need to repeat all the eloquent statistics of the United Nations and the specialized agencies with respect to the situation in those countries. However, let us just mention the following: annual *per capita* gross national product, less than \$100; their share of the manufactured goods market, less than 10 per cent of the gross domestic product; an 80 per cent rate of illiteracy among the population; a per capita income growth rate of less than 1 per cent over the last 20 years.

116. The report of the Brandt Commission adds that each of those countries subsists between survival and disaster and lives in an environment of total dependence on the international market forces which are completely beyond its control.

117. To that generally gloomy picture must be added the fact that my country, Burundi, which is one of the countries in that unenviable position, is additionally handicapped by being land-locked. That further challenge to our development effort places a heavy burden on our exports and imports. Thus, large sums from the already meagre national budget are constantly being deflected from their primary allocations to offset the considerable difficulties caused by the land-locked situation.

118. Burundi is also one of those countries that are "most seriously affected" by the present crises in the world economy. Quite apart from rhetoric, we can prove that the causes of our economic backwardness are many and deep-rooted and totally beyond our control. Our partners in the struggle for development will certainly forgive me if I set apart from the general picture of the economies of the developing countries the particular position of the least developed economies.

119. The developed countries, whose heavy historical responsibility no longer needs to be demonstrated, will also understand our cry of alarm and will immediately wish, we hope, to play their proper part in this rescue operation for the least developed countries. In the specific case of that category of countries, there is no more time to play with words and talk about the economies of the "most seriously affected" or the "most vulnerable" countries. The evil is more deep-seated, and should be given special priority attention by the international community.

<sup>6</sup> Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitations of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

<sup>7</sup> *North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, the MIT Press, 1980).

120. We most ardently hope that the preparations for and the work of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, to be held next year, will be successful. My country is taking a very active part in preparing for that Conference and expects that action-oriented measures will replace what might be called "just one more resolution" or "just one more action programme", since both have so far remained dead letters.

121. Burundi is convinced that the future prosperity of the developing countries lies in their mutual co-operation. Indeed, we even think that in view of the present deadlock in the North-South dialogue, economic and technological co-operation among developing countries is an essential alternative.

122. What is, in the opinion of the Government of Burundi, the real meaning of South-South co-operation? It is not, to our mind, a substitute for international co-operation but rather a supplement to it. Nor is it an element of confrontation with our partners in the North. On the contrary, co-operation among developing countries is one factor in developing the resources and capabilities of our countries and a means of promoting peace and co-operation in an international framework in which the developing countries, regarded as full partners, will forge their own destiny in freedom.

123. Since the adoption of the Buenos Aires Plan of Action<sup>8</sup> several regional and interregional meetings have been held, some at the highest political level, and have clearly shown the determination of the developing countries to strive for collective self-reliance. Africa, for its part, showed that very firm resolution at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Lagos in April, which was an historic meeting. The African heads of State, convinced of the importance and urgency of strengthening regional and subregional co-operation, have solemnly declared as a priority common objective individual and collective self-reliance at the level of the continent.<sup>9</sup>

124. The firm commitment of Burundi to that objective is illustrated by, among other things, our active participation in the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries, which brings together Rwanda, Zaire and Burundi, and in the activities of the Organization for the management and development of the Kagera river basin, which joins the United Republic of Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi.

125. As we have just seen, the work facing the Organization is enormous. The success of our undertaking, we believe, depends on the political will of States to make effective the resolutions already adopted, on the one hand, on questions of decolonization and security, such as those concerning in particular Africa, the Middle East, Cyprus and South-East Asia, and on the other hand, on the new international economic order.

<sup>8</sup> Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August-12 September 1978 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11 and corrigendum), chap. I.

<sup>9</sup> See A/S-11/14.

126. We also believe that the mission of the United Nations will be successful only if the people we represent are fully informed and mobilized to struggle, with all mankind, against the great scourges of our time, namely, famine, disease, ignorance and poverty.

127. The political and economic challenges which face us are immense. Burundi believes that the community of States must face those challenges and work together in order to find appropriate solutions to them. Burundi firmly believes, too, that the United Nations is the meeting place for performance of that common duty to which we are committed by virtue of having signed the Charter.

128. Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your election to the demanding office of President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I wish you, and the Secretary-General as well, every success in carrying out your responsible tasks, to ensure a positive outcome of our deliberations.

129. I also wish to express appreciation for the work of your predecessor, Mr. Salim, whom we have had the pleasure of welcoming to our country.

130. We welcome to our midst the new Members of the United Nations, the Republic of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

131. This is the thirty-fifth time since the end of the Second World War that this world assembly has been convened. For Czechoslovakia, this post-war period represents years of prosperity and of building an advanced socialist society in conditions of freedom and peace. We therefore understandably strive for the further intensification of the results of the policy of peace, security and co-operation, and of the policy of détente.

132. We are therefore exerting every effort to ensure that at the current session the General Assembly not only reviews the state of world affairs but also strengthens the noble ideal of raising the level of all nations in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, at whose birth in San Francisco Czechoslovakia was present; that ideal is as valid today as ever.

133. Therefore, in our foreign policies, side by side with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and as a party to the Warsaw Treaty and a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Czechoslovakia has consistently been ruled by the principle recently emphasized by the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak, when he said that in today's world there is only one reasonable, tried and acceptable path, that of peaceful coexistence among States, whatever their social systems may be, which responds to the interests of all nations; the path of political dialogue, of continuing and further expanding the process of détente, of developing international co-operation; a path leading to the halting of the arms race and to disarmament.

134. We feel it necessary constantly to stress that fundamental premise of our policy, especially in the present circumstances in which, following the 1970s, quite rightly

termed a decade of détente, the world finds itself, through the fault of the most reactionary imperialist and hegemonistic forces, in a rather complicated situation.

135. However, let us look for the beginning of these complications not in December 1979 but at least as far back as May 1978. And let us look for it not in Afghanistan, but in the nearby city of Washington, in the conclusions reached by the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] in its deliberations. Because it was there and then that an attack was launched against the policy of détente and the existing and generally recognized approximate balance of military forces between East and West.

*Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

136. How else can we describe the decision steadily to increase the armaments of NATO right up to the end of this century? What can we say about the fact that those who are already sufficiently armed as it is have nevertheless decided, in addition to flood Western Europe with new medium-range missiles? Who started to delay and complicate the ratification of the SALT II Treaty? When did this happen and, especially, why did it happen? Why is the anti-peace and anti-progressive alliance of international imperialism and Chinese hegemonism constantly being strengthened with ever-growing intensity? Do American military bases abroad—from Guantanamo in Cuba, across eastern Africa and as far as Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean—serve the noble idea of spreading détente to all continents? Or is the newly proclaimed nuclear strategy, which fosters the naive illusion of the acceptability of some kind of “limited” nuclear war, to be taken as a peace-making gesture and an indication of concern to improve the international situation?

137. There are many such questions one might ask, but there is only one answer. We are dealing here with the result of a reversal in the policies of the United States and some of its allies in an effort to achieve military superiority. It is this reversal that constitutes the primary reason for all the negative phenomena to be observed in current world affairs.

138. Our dearly bought experience, gained in two world wars, tells us that this indisputable fact cannot be concealed by any propagandistic sophistries about a supposed “threat from the East”, or some “superiority of the East”, and therefore some alleged “necessity” to increase defence capabilities.

139. A process of such vital importance as détente must, in our view, be approached honestly, responsibly and as a matter of principle. It is necessary to strengthen all the pillars on which this process rests; to mobilize to that end both individual and collective efforts by nations and Governments; to put an end to political, economic and military blackmail and intrigues by imperialism against other States and peoples; to put an end to the policy of acting from a position of strength; to tackle boldly everything that disturbs international stability; to desist from risky, and at the same time quite unrealistic, attempts to destabilize the military equilibrium in the world; to refrain from efforts to replace a system of normal relations by a system of sanctions; to strive for political solutions to even the most complex problems on the basis of equal security

and, of course, to revive political dialogue, because only through patient, pragmatic negotiations, not through emotionalism and boycott, can we achieve positive results which will benefit the cause of peace and guide international life into calmer waters.

140. The most recent and striking proof of the real possibility of pursuing this course has been provided by the Soviet Union's talks with France and the Federal Republic of Germany at the highest level, and by their results.

141. Our policy is thus clear, understandable and immutable. It aims at new horizons in détente, which is nowadays synonymous with a universally beneficial policy of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems.

142. That is why, together with our allies at the meeting on 14 and 15 May at Warsaw of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, we proposed a meeting of representatives at the highest level of States in all parts of the world, whose task it would be to eliminate hotbeds of international tension and to prevent war, while paying special attention to European security and the preservation of peace on the European continent [see A/35/237-S/13948, annex I]. At that time we also submitted a comprehensive action programme consisting of highly constructive proposals for clear and specific measures to promote military détente and disarmament. At the same time, we fully endorsed the thought-provoking initiative taken by Leonid I. Brezhnev concerning the solution of the burning problem of medium-range missiles in Europe, which should take place concurrently and in organic relationship with the question of United States forward-based nuclear systems.

143. We expect that a positive role in this will also be played by the second review session of the Conference on security and co-operation in Europe to be held at Madrid. In a diligent and constructive atmosphere, it should help to strengthen confidence, security and mutually advantageous co-operation, in keeping with the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. And above all, it should play a part in the decision to convene a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe.

144. As a State situated in the centre of the strongest military concentration in the world, we are trying to give a new impetus to the difficult Vienna Talks on the Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. We are striving assiduously for progress in these talks; we are constantly submitting innovative proposals; we are offering mutually acceptable solutions. This highly responsible and constructive approach to the question of military détente in Europe has been demonstrated by the unilateral withdrawal of a considerable number of Soviet troops, tanks and other equipment from central Europe. So far, unfortunately, this step has met with no positive response.

145. Only a year ago an important appeal was made here in a draft submitted by Czechoslovakia—the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament.<sup>10</sup> That

<sup>10</sup> Adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 34/88.

appeal is perhaps even more urgent today than it was yesterday, because in the current complicated situation it is doubly necessary to strive to secure implementation of the ideas contained in that Declaration.

146. It is in this sense that we interpret the whole set of proposals by the Soviet Union contained in the memorandum entitled "peace, disarmament and international security guarantees" [A/35/482, annex], and, in particular, the initiative submitted here by Andrei Andreevich Gromyko proposing the inclusion in the agenda of this session of a new item entitled "Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war" [A/35/241]. There is no doubt that the refusal to create new military groupings or expand the existing ones, the refusal to increase armed forces and conventional armaments, the strengthening of the security safeguards of non-nuclear States and the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests would have a very favourable influence on the international climate and would create conditions for progress in disarmament.

147. We fully associate ourselves also with another important Soviet initiative proposing that at the present session the General Assembly should earnestly deal with the question of the historical responsibility of States for the preservation of the natural environment for present as well as future generations [see A/35/194]. A thorough consideration of this important proposal and the adoption of the necessary decisions would surely benefit the cause of peace, encourage the spirit of détente and contribute to the development of fruitful international co-operation.

148. We stress the urgent importance for the current disarmament negotiations to be brought to a successful conclusion. We attach paramount importance to practical progress in the work of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament. But one of the most pressing needs of the present time is, in our view, the ratification of the Soviet-American SALT II Treaty.

149. We continue to hold the view that it is necessary to convene a World Disarmament Conference as soon as possible, preferably immediately following the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to be held in 1982.

150. Unfortunately, this year once again we have not come any closer to a solution of the situation in the Middle East. It is becoming ever clearer that the transparent attempts to present the Camp David blind alley as an avenue to peaceful settlement have been doomed to failure from the very beginning. That is why we reiterate most emphatically that only the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the safeguarding both of the right of the Arab Palestinian people, represented by the PLO, to self-determination, including the establishment of an independent State, and of the right to sovereignty and security of all States in that region can ensure lasting peace in the Middle East. We fully support the decisions of the seventh special emergency session of the General Assembly on Palestine. At the same time we wish to express our categorical and fundamental disagreement with the illegal annexation of Jerusalem by Israel.

151. Concern has been expressed about the armed conflict that has recently flared up between Iran and Iraq. We firmly believe that hostilities between the two countries will be discontinued and that the existing problem will be resolved by peaceful means.

152. In recent months attacks by imperialist, hegemonistic and reactionary forces have been levelled against the assistance granted by the Soviet Union to Afghanistan, upon the request of its legitimate Government, in the spirit of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 1978<sup>11</sup> and fully in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, in defence of its sovereignty. We denounce this undignified campaign, for which even this rostrum is being used. We regard it as yet another attempt at interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State Member of the United Nations.

153. As Czechoslovakia has constantly emphasized—and as reflected, *inter alia*, in the joint communiqué adopted at the conclusion of my July visit to Afghanistan—the key to the much-needed political settlement of the situation does exist. It is a complete halt to the armed aggression and external interference directed against the Government and the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the provision of reliable and firm guarantees that this will not be repeated in any form. In this connection, we fully support the proposals addressed by the Government of Afghanistan to Iran and Pakistan on 14 May which provide sufficient leeway for all parties who are genuinely interested in negotiating [see A/35/238-S/13951].

154. We are also deeply concerned at the fact that a threat of aggression—of a so-called military lesson—is still hanging over South-East Asia and that attempts continue at interference in the internal affairs of the peoples of Indo-China. As was again eloquently demonstrated last February by the important results of the visit by our Party and Government delegation, headed by President Gustav Husak, to Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, we are extending comprehensive support to the peoples of those countries in their just struggle for the construction of a new society and the safeguarding of durable peace in that region.

155. We favour a thorough and comprehensive consideration by the General Assembly of the question of peace and stability in South-East Asia, as envisaged in the proposals that we have co-sponsored. The results of our deliberations should contribute to a political solution of the questions in dispute, a relaxation of tension and the strengthening of mutual co-operation among the countries of that region.

156. We support the statement adopted on 18 July 1980 at Vientiane by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea [see A/35/347 and Corr.1], which puts forward valuable suggestions concerning the transformation of the entire region into a zone of peace and stability.

157. We welcome the forthcoming talks between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam and Thailand here in the United Nations. We equally welcome the new three-

<sup>11</sup> Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

point proposal submitted here by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in accord with the People's Republic of Kampuchea. In our judgement, this provides an important basis for a truly peaceful settlement of the situation in South-East Asia.

158. At the same time we condemn the scandalous fact that representatives of the Pol Pot régime, accessories to the historically unique genocide of their own people, are, to the detriment of the Organization, still occupying the seat which rightfully belongs to the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

159. While speaking of these matters, we cannot but express our astonishment at the fact that even this rostrum is being misused in order to disseminate fabrications about the use of chemical weapons in Kampuchea and Laos. Indeed, everybody who has been to Indo-China must have seen the terrible consequences of the use of those weapons—not their current use, which is a complete fiction, but the well-known use of toxic chemicals in the years of the aggressive war against Viet Nam. Is this not a case of a thief shouting, "Stop, thief!"?

160. I wish to stress that we welcomed the resumption of talks between the two communities in Cyprus. However, should this promising opportunity be wasted, then the settlement of that question will undoubtedly be put off for a long time. We therefore venture to hope that the favourable atmosphere at the first meeting will result in a successful final settlement, based on the assured independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus as a united nation.

161. We support the efforts of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea for the peaceful reunification of Korea, and we call for the withdrawal of the United States troops from the southern part of that country, in keeping with General Assembly resolution 3390 B (XXX), which still awaits implementation.

162. This year, as we commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], we once again speak out reso-

lutely for the eradication of the last remnants of colonialism, in support of the just struggle of the people of Namibia, headed by SWAPO, as their sole legitimate representative, for freedom and independence. We equally support the struggle of the people of South Africa for the complete elimination of the régime of *apartheid* and racial discrimination which threatens not only its neighbours but also world peace and security.

163. We are aware of the importance of the intimate relationship between the policy of détente and the world economy. The squandering of material resources on insatiable armament programmes constitutes, in our view, the principal cause of the current difficult problems, upheavals, stagnation and other crises, the victims of which are mainly the developing countries. It is therefore necessary to restructure international economic relations and place them on a democratic footing.

164. The recently concluded eleventh special session of the General Assembly, on economic questions, has shown more clearly than ever before the complexity of this entire range of problems and how they are to be solved. Although the special session did not meet our expectations to the full extent, we are convinced that continued negotiations on these problems will culminate in positive results and facilitate equitable international economic co-operation.

165. One measure of the effectiveness of the Organization's work is the strict observance of the Charter, which has amply proved its viability throughout its existence. In our view, therefore, there is no need to change it. Only one thing is necessary—to abide by the Charter and implement it to the full.

166. We are convinced that at the current session the General Assembly will concentrate on the crucial areas of world politics which determine its main trends, relegate secondary issues to the background and indicate a way to reach a constructive solution to the key questions of international life—how to strengthen peace, security and disarmament. We intend to assist in every possible way the attainment of that objective.

*The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.*