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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 11 November 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)
later: Mr. BASSOLE (Vice-President) (Burkina Faso)

- The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security: [28]

- (a) Report of the Secretary-General
- (b) Draft resolution
- (c) Report of the Fifth Committee

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The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 28

THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/40/709); DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/40/L.11); REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/40/867)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate be closed tomorrow at noon. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to that proposal.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I call first on the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/40/L.11.

Mr. YAQUB-KHAN (Pakistan): The General Assembly is considering for the seventh time the tragic situation in Afghanistan following the Soviet military intervention of December 1979, which subverted the independence and undermined the territorial integrity of Afghanistan, in disdainful disregard of the Charter of the United Nations.

Since then, Afghanistan, which had prided itself on its neutrality and which had come to be regarded as a model of non-alignment, has been tormented and torn apart by a deadly struggle, which has continued to rage with ever-greater ferocity, between the forces of intervention and the valiant Afghan Mujahideen. Neither the increasing strength of the invading forces nor, indeed, the improvements in the sophistication of their weaponry has imparted credibility to false claims of an early military solution; that is negated at every step by the successes of a heroic war of liberation. The spirit of the people of Afghanistan remains unconquered and unconquerable, and their indomitable will for freedom ensures their ultimate victory.

(Mr. Yaqub-Khan, Pakistan)

In the meantime, frustrated in their attempts to impose a military solution, the foreign military forces continue to ravage the beautiful land of a fiercely independent people, to threaten the peace and stability of the entire South-West Asian region, and to cast a shadow on global security.

These expanding dimensions of the foreign military intervention, added to the explosive potential of the internal conflict it has generated, rule out a solution by military means and call for a political settlement through the diplomatic process initiated by the Secretary-General, a process which has been sustained by the international community through an ever stronger affirmation of its support for the resolutions of the General Assembly on the situation in Afghanistan.

Recent reports by foreign correspondents who have entered the country at great personal risk have highlighted the indigenous character of the Afghan resistance and have described the ruthless military operations by the foreign forces to snuff it out. Which of us has been left untouched by the graphic and heart-rending accounts of the destruction of hundreds of villages, the burning of crops, and the indiscriminate bombardment of vast areas? According to some estimates, nearly 1 million Afghans have lost their lives. Close to 5 million - almost one in every three Afghans - have been forced to leave their homes to seek refuge in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. Indeed, the human dimensions of this war of liberation are staggering.

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Despite these six years of oppression, the valiant Afghan people have not yielded to coercion, nor have they allowed the régime in Kabul to consolidate its hold over their land. Only the towns and bases where the Soviet forces maintain their presence are tenuously controlled by the régime in Kabul. Even after endless campaigns for conscription, the Afghan army has been reduced by desertions to one third its original size and is often seen by the occupation forces as a liability rather than an asset. According to recent press reports, even Soviet soldiers, their morale severely eroded by the absence of adequate motivation and the inhospitable and bitterly hostile operational environment, have grown weary of the conflict.

In contrast, the Afghan resistance has been strengthened and encouraged by every success it has gained in withstanding enemy offensives. Today their unity forged and fortified in the fire of a patriotic war, their morale exalted by the sacred duty of the defence of their fatherland, they exercise control over the entire countryside in Afghanistan.

For some time now the Soviets have embarked on a new plan to win hearts and minds by sending thousands of Afghan youths to the Soviet Union in the hope of raising a new generation of pliant and docile Afghans. These measures - a part of the Sovietization campaign - designed to undermine the Islamic traditions and cultural patterns evolved over centuries, have only intensified the resentment and bitterness of the Afghan nation and strengthened their resolve to resist the imposition of an alien way of life.

The adverse consequences of the Afghanistan problem bear directly on the security environment and stability of the countries of South West Asia. The issue also has grave global ramifications. A distinguished Soviet diplomat has observed

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that peace is indivisible. Never has the truth of that axiom been as apposite or as plainly evident as it is today when the crisis in Afghanistan has aggravated the deepening mistrust between the super-Powers. It is equally evident that a principled political solution of the issue would reduce East-West tensions and promote a climate in which global problems could be resolved.

The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan also constitutes an ominous precedent for all small and medium-sized nations which seek assurance for their security and sovereign integrity in the preservation of an international order based on respect for the principles of the Charter. If military intervention is to remain unchallenged, the security and freedom of small and weaker nations would be left to the mercy of their powerful neighbours. It is in defence of this fundamental principle of international conduct that the overwhelming majority of the small and medium-sized nations of the world have vigorously opposed the Soviet intervention and have taken a firm position on this issue in various international forums. A peaceful political solution of the Afghanistan question would renew the faith of the nations in the rule of law and uphold the principles of inter-State conduct.

Politically, morally and legally the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan remains as indefensible today as when it began six years ago. The pretext that the troops were introduced at the request of the Kabul régime to defend it from outside interference was belied by the circumstances of the intervention. The unannounced move into Afghanistan of nearly 100,000 Soviet troops on Christmas eve of 1979, the immediate elimination of President Hafizullah Amin and the installation of Babrak Karmal, who was brought in by the Soviets, exposed to the world the true nature of the Soviet action. Since then the nation-wide struggle against the forces of intervention and the forced exodus of one third of the Afghan population from the country clearly belie the contention that the military intervention was legally or morally justified.

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. As the authentic voice of the international community, the General Assembly censured in unequivocal terms the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and called for its immediate termination. Since the emergency special session of the General Assembly held in January 1980, the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations have repeatedly demanded the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and urged a settlement that would enable the Afghan people to choose their own form of government and socio-economic system, free from outside interference or coercion. The Non-Aligned Movement and the Islamic Conference have emphasized respect for the same principles in their decisions and resolutions.

As a super-Power whose political credo claims to exalt to the level of a self-evident truth the maintenance of international peace and security and the espousal of the cause of the small States, the Soviet Union should be sensitive to the call of the international community on the Afghanistan problem. Its attempt to impose a military solution in Afghanistan has little chance of success. There is no alternative to a just and honourable settlement in which the right of the Afghan people to shape their internal affairs, free from outside pressure, is guaranteed. No one - least of all Pakistan - would desire that such a settlement should ignore the legitimate concerns of the Soviet Union.

May I add that Pakistan has always attached high value to its relations with our neighbours, including the Soviet Union. It has been our constant endeavour as a non-aligned nation and as firm believers in the concept of co-operation between States with differing social and economic systems to develop our ties with the Soviet Union in all spheres.

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Pakistan has compelling reasons for pursuing a just political settlement of the Afghanistan problem. These are our close and historical affinity with the Afghan people, our concern for the peace and stability of our area and the fact that, as a neighbour, Pakistan itself is a victim of the ongoing Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

The Afghan people are linked to us by indestructible bonds of geography, a shared history and a glorious spiritual and cultural heritage nurtured and strengthened over many centuries. The freedom of the Afghan people is as sacrosanct to us as our own independence. We also regard peace and stability in Afghanistan as an essential condition for peace and stability in our entire region.

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The conflict inside Afghanistan has created a threatening situation along our Western border which is inflamed by the presence of tens of thousands of foreign troops. This year alone there have been more than 200 violations of our air space and territory, resulting in heavy loss of innocent lives and damage to property. In one incident, which occurred last May as a result of a wanton attack by aircraft with Afghan markings on the border village of Swir inside Pakistan, 11 innocent people were killed and 32 were wounded.

These intolerable acts of aggression have stirred deep indignation throughout Pakistan. Yet we have exercised patience and limited our reaction to informing the Secretary-General and, through him, the international community of these provocations which, if unchecked, could have serious consequences. Those who harbour the mistaken belief that we can be browbeaten into submission should know that the people of Pakistan will never flinch in the face of threats or coercion, nor will they be deflected from the position of principle they are determined to maintain.

The foreign military intervention in Afghanistan has also created a massive humanitarian problem. Almost 5 million Afghans have fled their country and more than 3 million of them are now on our soil. We share the tragedy and travail of this vast Afghan population which, fleeing from persecution, has been forced to seek shelter in our country. These millions of Afghans will not return to their homes until an end to the intervention which caused their exodus becomes a visible reality.

Pakistan is, therefore, pursuing sincerely a just and comprehensive political settlement compatible with principles. In this spirit, we have worked with the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez. I take this opportunity to express our esteem for and our appreciation of the untiring and dedicated endeavours of the Secretary-General and

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Mr. Cordovez, which merit the full support of the international community. There can be no doubt that progress has been achieved in the indirect negotiations through the good offices of the Secretary-General. It is imperative that this momentum be maintained.

It may be recalled that at the outset of the negotiating process the Secretary-General outlined four elements for a comprehensive settlement, namely: the withdrawal of foreign troops; non-interference in the internal affairs of States; international guarantees of non-interference and the voluntary return of the refugees to their homeland. Based on these elements, a text of the comprehensive settlement was evolved defining the content of the settlement, its principles and objectives, the interrelationship of its four component elements and the provisions, including time-frames, for its implementation. It was also understood that preparations would be undertaken without delay for arrangements aimed at ascertaining whether the return of refugees was voluntary and unimpeded.

It is a measure of the flexibility and accommodation characterizing Pakistan's approach to the negotiations that we acquiesced, in a reversal of the priorities, to put aside the central issue of withdrawals and to discuss, first, the other elements of the settlement.

It was in the same spirit that in May this year we accepted the replacement of the integrated comprehensive settlement by a set of four separate instruments. These four instruments have been listed in the Secretary-General's report (A/40/709) of 7 October 1985 as a bilateral agreement on non-interference and non-intervention; a declaration or declarations on international guarantees; a bilateral agreement on the voluntary return of refugees; and an instrument that would set out the interrelationships between the aforementioned instruments and the solution of the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops in accordance with an agreement to be concluded between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union.

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As the Secretary-General's report clearly brings out, the first three instruments have been successfully finalized through proximity talks. It was our expectation that at the August 1985 round the fourth instrument, which contains the time-frame for withdrawals, would be discussed. To our chagrin, the Kabul side chose to insist on a change in the format of the talks as a prerequisite for the discussion of this instrument.

Pakistan considers this demand unreasonable and untenable. Three of the four instruments have been completed through indirect talks and it defies reason to insist that the fourth instrument should be negotiated through a changed format. If the professions of a sincere desire to reach a political settlement are well founded, this demand is inexplicable. One can only reach the conclusion that the Kabul side is, once again, resorting to dilatory tactics to prevent consideration of the central issue of withdrawals.

It is indeed regrettable that the question of change of format was raised at a time when the negotiations had entered the critical stage of discussing the instrument relating to withdrawals. This demand betrays Kabul's political motives and is aimed at gaining international acceptance and political legitimacy through the Geneva process, without delivering on, or even discussing, the critical aspects of withdrawals. We reject altogether this demand by Kabul aimed at securing for itself a political advantage which has no relevance to the intent and purpose of the negotiating process, namely, the finalization of a political settlement.

The outstanding substantive question which has eluded progress throughout the course of the Geneva negotiations is the provision of a time-frame for the withdrawals of foreign troops. Pakistan and, indeed, the United Nation, which had repeatedly called for the withdrawal of the foreign troops, cannot accept a settlement that fails to address the core issue of withdrawals. Now that the

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instruments relating to other elements of the settlement, which were originally outlined by the Secretary-General, have been nearly finalized, it is imperative that the negotiations focus on the vital question of withdrawals. We hope that consideration of the fourth instrument will be taken up without delay at the next round of proximity talks so that the central issue of the time-frame for withdrawals can be finalized.

Our commitment to observe the confidentiality of the negotiations restrains us from discussing the subject in greater detail. However, Pakistan will have no difficulty whatsoever in agreeing to the release of the notes embodying the understandings and the various texts offered by the Personal Representative, in case such a step is deemed necessary, in the interest of progress in the negotiations and in order to clarify their status to the membership of the United Nations.

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No one can deny that the continued occupation of Afghanistan by foreign troops is a grave violation of the principles of the Charter and the universally recognized norms of inter-State conduct. It amounts to a persistent defiance of the United Nations, and erodes faith in the effectiveness and credibility of the Organization. An early settlement, consistent with principles, will, on the other hand, enhance the prestige and authority of the United Nations, reinforcing its vital role on the international scene.

During the past six years the overwhelming majority of the membership of the United Nations has expressed its concern over the intolerable situation created by the foreign intervention in Afghanistan, and has called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from that country. That call must be firmly and vigorously repeated from the forum of the General Assembly as long as the problem exists.

In its resolutions, the General Assembly has also outlined the principles for a just, comprehensive political solution of the Afghanistan problem. The same principles are again embodied in the draft resolution entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security" (A/40/L.11), which I now introduce on behalf of its 46 sponsors: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Djibouti, Dominica, Egypt, Fiji, Gambia, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Oman, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Zaire and Pakistan.

In its content, too, the draft resolution is the same as resolution 39/13, adopted by the General Assembly a year ago. Accordingly, the draft reflects a constructive approach, emphasizing the imperative need for a just political settlement of the problem rather than engaging in sterile polemics. As in the

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earlier resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the draft resolution outlines unexceptionable principles for the settlement of the Afghanistan issue, namely: the immediate and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan; preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever; and the creation of the necessary conditions to enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

In addition to defining the principles for a just and comprehensive political settlement, the draft resolution expresses support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and, specifically, the negotiating process initiated by him in search of such a settlement. The diplomatic process initiated by the Secretary-General needs to be carried forward unequivocally and without prevarication. Firm support by the General Assembly for the diplomatic process at the present critical juncture would undoubtedly promote progress towards the desired goal of a just and comprehensive settlement consistent with principles.

Finally, the draft resolution addresses itself to the humanitarian aspect of the Afghanistan problem. It calls for the creation of the necessary conditions to enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour. It renews the appeal of the General Assembly to all States and national and international organizations to continue to extend humanitarian relief assistance with a view to alleviating the hardship of the Afghan refugees.

The presence of more than 3 million refugees in Pakistan places an awesome burden on our developing economy and limited resources. Nevertheless, abiding by our humanitarian and Islamic duty, we shall continue to do everything within our means to provide the basic necessities of life to those millions of unfortunate

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people, most of whom are women, children and the aged. We are grateful to friendly countries and international agencies, especially the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Food Programme, which have been contributing nearly half the cost of over \$400 million spent annually on providing help and relief to the Afghan refugees. The available resources are barely sufficient to ensure survival for those millions of displaced people, and their plight deserves greater attention and succour. Their salvation, however, lies in a just settlement which will enable them to return voluntarily to their homes.

Last month Heads of State and Government came to New York from all corners of the globe and gathered in the largest-ever assembly of world leaders to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. They renewed their faith in the world Organization and reaffirmed the commitment of their nations to the principles and purposes of its Charter. Foremost among the rights upheld by the Charter is the right of peoples to freedom and self-determination. That fundamental right continues to be violated in Afghanistan.

As the General Assembly begins its consideration of the Afghanistan issue today, the membership of the United Nations is again called upon to raise its powerful voice in support of the principles it espouses. Support by the membership for draft resolution A/40/L.11 will convey a clear signal that the General Assembly will not acquiesce in any contravention of the principles of the Charter. The moral authority reflected in overwhelming support for the draft resolution will also promote the early realization of a just political settlement, based on the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, and will enable the heroic Afghan people to be, once again, the masters of their own destiny.

Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): It is with deep dissatisfaction and regret that the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan witnesses the continuation of the unwarranted, unjustified and illegal exercise into which this Assembly was dragged some six years ago.

There is no ambiguity in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter that the present debate represents a gross and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of a Member State.

Banking on the confusion and hysteria deliberately created around the developments that took place in Afghanistan on 27 December 1979, United States imperialism and its hegemonist and reactionary local allies launched a huge propaganda campaign of lies and slander against the revolutionary Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its internationalist friends.

In the course of these six years United States imperialism has spared no effort totally to distort the realities that existed around Afghanistan and the nature of the Soviet Union's role in that regard.

We have dwelt, in great detail, on these issues during the previous debates of the Assembly on the so-called "Question of Afghanistan." We offered ample and compelling evidence which exposed the falsehood of the United States assertions on all aspects of the situation around Afghanistan.

There is basically one myth on which premise the United States and its local lackeys have tried to build their flimsy case: they claim that armed activities against Afghanistan were and are internal and spontaneous acts and that no aggression or threat of aggression existed or exists against Afghanistan which would prompt a collective defence.

Great efforts have been made by the United States and its accomplices to sweep under the rug the whole period beginning with the April 1978 revolution until the

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beginning of the new phase of the revolution on 27 December 1979 and to simply wish away some of the key and crucial developments that had taken place in that period.

Those who care for facts have had enough occasion in the past to examine the truth of what had taken place before the Afghan Government called for the military assistance of the Soviet Union.

The national-democratic revolution, which triumphed on 27 April 1978, was the natural outcome of the law-governed interaction of political, social and economic factors within Afghanistan. The quantitative evolution of these factors had made inevitable a qualitative change in the nature of Afghan society in conformity with the dictates of history.

As the vanguard of the struggle of our working people and as representing their long-cherished aspirations and hopes, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan assumed State power through a genuine revolution that was based on the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people and enjoyed their full support.

Once in power, the Party embarked on the path of implementing the long-awaited democratic reforms for which the toiling people of Afghanistan had struggled for many decades.

The main task before the revolution was to abolish the material basis of feudal and pre-feudal class relationships that had dominated Afghanistan for centuries. The transformation of the backward economy and of appalling social conditions and their replacement by a progressive, just and prosperous society constituted the urgent goals of the revolutionary Government.

The land and water reform, the core of the revolutionary changes, was based on the principles of democracy and justice and was carried out with the full participation of the vast masses of the Afghan peasants.

With a view to severing the bonds of dependence of peasants on the ex-feudal

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lords and usurers, the Government cancelled all debts that were imposed on the peasants as a result of the unjust system of usury.

Similarly, the full equality of rights before the law was ensured for all Afghan women, who comprise half of the Afghan population.

In order to overcome the evil of illiteracy and ignorance afflicting almost 95 per cent of our people, due to the deliberate policies of the past tyrannical and oppressive régimes, a country-wide campaign of literacy was launched with the aim of totally eradicating illiteracy throughout Afghanistan in the shortest possible time.

Similar measures were taken in the spheres of providing health services, shelters, jobs and social security for all strata of the Afghan people.

It should surprise nobody in this Assembly that such fundamental and far-reaching reforms in a backward society such as Afghanistan would unavoidably give rise to a measure of dissatisfaction on the part of those who would lose their means of exploitation and the traditional privileges attached to them.

Naturally, some elements of the previous ruling class would have wished to put up resistance to the implementation of changes that threatened their selfish interests and dominance. But faced with our people's overwhelming support of the policies of the revolutionary Government, the potential opponents of the revolution could not but acquiesce with the trend of history.

This was not the case, however, with regard to some other elements of the same class who, for reasons of their criminal past and for fear of people's vengeance, decided to escape from the country and take some of their loyal servants with them to Pakistan and Iran.

It was beyond our frontiers and away from the reach of our people's grip that these criminal fugitives started their anti-revolutionary and anti-Afghan campaign. This provided United States imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and the

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reactionary military régime of Pakistan with an opportunity drastically to increase their interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

These forces, which had always in the past tried to drag Afghanistan into their military and strategic orbit, drew up detailed and thorough plans to organize and instigate political strife within Afghanistan.

As the United States magazine Counterspy wrote in its September-November issue of 1983, "after planning to create 'tribal rebellions' in the early 1950s and actually setting up the 5,000 member [rebel] force in the early 1970s, it was only a small step for the United States, Pakistan and their allies to support 'Islamic rebellion' against the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan from 1978 to the present."

In June 1978, a so-called symposium of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) High Command was convened in Annapolis, Maryland, United States, to discuss the revolution in Afghanistan and "its repercussions for America". A decision was taken to support fully the counter-revolutionary forces. The United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was entrusted with the task of organizing, arming, equipping and training Afghan counter-revolutionaries.

In the implementation of this task, thorough co-ordination prevailed between the CIA and the Pakistan Central Intelligence Division (CID). The entire operation was kept highly secret and was later revised at a meeting between Joseph Reagan, Chief of the CIA operatives in Islamabad, and Radhor Alam, head of the Pakistan CID in June 1979.

In his memoir, Power and Principle, former United States National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski gives some details of the actions taken in April 1979 in the Special Co-ordination Commission (SCC), which was a group within the National Security Council (NSC). He writes: "I pushed a decision through the SCC

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to be more sympathetic to ... [the counter-revolutionary] Afghans ..." Brzezinski deliberately remains vague on the nature of the "sympathies" that were to be increased.

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But he admits that the channels for material aid were established during 1979. In September of that year, he says, he "consulted with the Saudis and Egyptians regarding the fighting in Afghanistan". In mid-December - still before the entry of the limited military contingent of the Soviet Union - the SCC approved a proposal to "continue to demonstrate our sympathy for the Afghan freedom fighters".

Other sources have described the Chinese involvement against Afghanistan before the new phase of the revolution. According to the Canadian magazine MacLean's, United States drug enforcement officials stumbled into a group of suspicious-looking Chinese in Pakistan in early 1979. Fearing that the Chinese were heroin dealers from Hong Kong, the American officials asked the Pakistani Government to take action. The Pakistanis replied that the Chinese had nothing to do with the drugs and should be left alone. Unofficially, however, Pakistani officials admitted that the Chinese were military personnel from the People's Republic of China who were training Afghan insurgents on Pakistani soil.

Large sums of money and huge quantities of armaments started pouring into the folds of the anti-Afghan elements and small bands of armed mercenaries were organized which infiltrated Afghanistan only weeks after the victory of the April revolution of 1978.

It is noteworthy that armed interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan was first carried out in May 1978 from Chitral against Nooristan, later against some other villages and towns in the immediate proximity of the frontier areas with Pakistan, and thereafter against other areas in the interior of the country. It is also worth mentioning that until these counter-revolutionary attacks there had not been even a single shot had been heard throughout the country, let alone armed resistance against the Government.

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It is thus for almost seven and a half years that Afghanistan has been subjected to continuously escalating armed aggression and an undeclared war of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction. With an open attitude of hostility and animosity towards the Afghan revolution, those in these criminal quarters have been engaged in recruiting, organizing, training and equipping Afghan counter-revolutionary mercenaries and then dispatching them into the territory of Afghanistan to commit acts of sabotage and murder.

By forcing the population of remote villages and localities along the frontier areas to abandon their homes the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) mercenaries hoped to increase the pool of refugees in the frontier areas in order to recruit from among them the manpower needed for perpetrating armed aggression. Once uprooted from their homes and hearths, and totally dependent on the assistance of Pakistani authorities, the refugees had no choice but to submit to the demands and pressures of the authorities and counter-revolutionary ringleaders. This fact has been admitted by various sources.

The United States Committee for Refugees, in its issue paper of January 1985, stated:

"when the refugees arrive in Pakistan, the majority produce evidence of an affiliation with a resistance group and are [then] registered with officials of the chief commissionerate of the Afghan refugees".

That the so-called refugee camps have in fact been the military and training camps of the counter-revolutionaries is an open secret.

The Wall Street Journal of 26 December 1984 repeated the revelation of many other sources that

"the rub is that the camps are not only hosts to refugees but double also as vital guerrilla recuperation and recruitment centres. Some of the Afghan

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resistance groups have even organized their own 'bachelor camps' where guerrillas get military training. Others have established boys' camps where the next generation of guerrillas is being actively nurtured."

The quotation continues:

"A former commander of the [pre-revolutionary] Afghan Government's special forces now runs a guerrilla training camp... at a location he requests remain secret ... He gives guerrillas food in exchange for their promise to run over fiery pits, climb ropes and crawl on their bellies under barriers on an obstacle course he designed. He separates the best of the guerrillas for special forces training - ranging from the art of quick-kill assassination to producing napalm Molotov cocktails. Not far from Peshawar at Warsak camp, 500 boys are being moulded as the next generation of guerrillas ... They are restricted to the camp until they are old enough to fight."

The New York Times writes:

"Among the men, the line between being a refugee and being a guerrilla fighter is a fine one ... After resupplying themselves and visiting their families in the camps along the border, many of these so-called Mujahideen, or holy warriors, simply walk back into Afghanistan and resume the battle." (The New York Times, 20 December 1984, p. A 2)

The American television network PBS also confirmed in its McNeil Lehrer News Hour on 26 December 1984 that

"refugee camps in Pakistan have become military training centres for boys and for young men".

Using various methods the United States, Pakistan and other reactionary supporters of the counter-revolution have made great efforts to bring together their ringleaders in a unified organization to acquire a semblance of legitimacy for them.

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In an interview published in the Muslim World League Journal of November 1984, in reply to the question whether he was making any effort to unite the counter-revolutionaries, the military dictator of Pakistan, General Zia-ul-haq, stated,

"We are and have been successful. Four years ago there were 30 groups. Today there are basically seven parties and two groups ... So I feel that, while I must continue to unite them, it does not matter how much time it takes."

The Washington Post admitted in its 4 September 1985 issue that

"under strong pressure from their major backers - Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United States - the Afghan guerrilla groups created an alliance ... [These groups] are both political parties and military organizations."

With the advance of the revolution, the financial, political and military support of our enemies to the counter-revolutionaries increased manyfold. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, faced with the ever-increasing threat of large-scale aggression from our neighbouring countries, primarily Pakistan, made several attempts to convince the authorities of those countries that continuation of their interference in our internal affairs carried very dangerous implications for the future of our bilateral relations and for peace and stability in the entire region. All the peaceful and diplomatic means available to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan were utilized in order to slow the rapid pace at which the political and security situation in our area was deteriorating as a result of continuing armed interference in the internal affairs of our country.

On one specific occasion, in July 1979, General Zia-ul-Haq, then chief martial law administrator of Pakistan, told the visiting delegation of Afghanistan, headed by Shah Mohammad Dost, then Deputy Foreign Minister, that protection of

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Afghanistan's frontiers was not a responsibility that rested with Afghanistan's neighbours and that the internal factors in his country would not permit him to take any decisive action that could effectively stop the use of Pakistan's territory by counter-revolutionary bands. On that very same occasion Afghanistan was invited to take whatever measures it deemed appropriate to safeguard its frontiers.

After our repeated calls for a more rational and restrained attitude on the part of our neighbours failed to produce any positive result and under conditions of escalating armed aggression from outside, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had to pursue more vigorously its previous requests for military assistance from the Soviet Union.

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What was taking place against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was nothing but aggression, according to all possible definitions and interpretations, first and foremost being the definition of aggression given by the General Assembly. In Article 3 of the Annex to resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974 the General Assembly declared:

"Any of the following acts, regardless of a declaration of war ... qualify as an act of aggression:

"The sending by or on behalf of a State of armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another State". (resolution 3314 (XXIX), annex)

It has been a universally recognized right of every nation to defend itself individually or collectively in the face of outside aggression.

Our decision to request and receive such assistance had been and still is in full conformity with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, with relevant resolutions of the United Nations, with the fifth principle of the Bandung Declaration of 1955 and with article 4 of the bilateral Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Co-operation signed between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union on 5 December 1978.

Scores of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the principles of international law qualify the acts of armed interference against Afghanistan as aggression and thus impermissible and inadmissible.

Similarly, the right to request assistance in the face of aggression has been recognized and confirmed by United Nations resolutions. For example, Security Council resolution 387 (1976) of 31 March 1976 specifically refers to:

"the inherent and lawful right of every State, in the exercise of its sovereignty, to request assistance from any other State or group of States".

(Security Council resolution 387 (1976), para. 4)

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The highest authorities of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have gone on record to describe the selfless and fraternal nature of the Soviet military assistance to Afghanistan. Such assistance may no longer be required once the causes which prompted it cease to exist and reliable and valid international guarantees are offered that those causes shall not appear again.

Not only have the enemies of our people not stopped their armed interference in our internal affairs, but, on the contrary, they have drastically and disproportionately expanded its dimension, upgrading it to an all-out, undeclared war. As The Washington Post of 7 February 1985 stated, "it has become a commuting war".

According to the Los Angeles Times of 10 October 1985:

"the guerrilla troops ... shuttle between rural Afghan villages and refugee camps ... in Pakistan".

The New York Times, in its 28 November 1984 issue, stated that:

"\$280 million has been earmarked in covert military aid for the Afghan insurgents this fiscal year. ... American dollars will be used to purchase mainly Soviet-made arms from countries such as China, Egypt and Israel. ... The arms are then delivered to Pakistani ports. At that point, by agreement between the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Pakistan, the supplies are passed to Pakistani control for delivery to the leaders of the Afghan insurgency in Peshawar and elsewhere. They, in turn, are supposed to pass them to the guerrillas ...".

The 10 December 1984 issue of Time, while stating that:

"it has been no secret that the CIA has been funneling arms and supplies to the fighters in Afghanistan",

revealed that the new funds allocated are:

"more than 10 times the \$24 million spent last year on Nicaragua operations".

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The American Public Service Broadcasting television network also confirmed the appropriation of \$280 million for 1985, while putting the total value of military assistance to the counter-revolutionaries by the United States that flows through Pakistan at \$600 million since 1979. Senator Gordon Humphrey of the United States, who appeared on the programme aired on 26 December 1984, repeatedly admitted that:

"We have increased appropriations year after year ... with the expenditure of hundreds, hundreds of millions of dollars".

The Washington Post of 13 January 1985 reported that:

"the Central Intelligence Agency's secret aid to the insurgents ... in Afghanistan has mushroomed into the largest United States covert operations since the Viet Nam war era. ... This would amount to more than 80 per cent of the CIA's annual expenditure for covert operations. ... In addition, three other countries in the Middle East and Asia are expected to provide \$200 million. With this money the annual aid package to the Afghan insurgents is approaching \$500 million ...".

The question continues:

"There is discussion that the insurgents could use \$600 million in the next fiscal year. ... By the year's end, the United States programme, which supplies weapons, ammunition, clothing, medical supplies and money for food, is expected to support an estimated 200,000 to 300,000 full- or part-time insurgents."

The Washington Post of 7 February 1985 shed some more light on the methods of weapons supply for the undeclared war. It wrote:

"Guerrilla leaders refused to discuss details of the pipeline through which enough supplies to maintain approximately 200,000 full- or part-time rebel forces must flow, but United States intelligence sources described it as a maze of intermediaries designed to cover direct links with the United States

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Government. ... Afghan exiles trained by the CIA are said to receive Soviet-made AK-47 rifles, mortars, rocket-propelled grenades, surface-to-air missiles and other weapons through purchases made from Egypt, China and Israel and then repack them in containers bound for Pakistan from several Persian Gulf States."

The quotation continues:

"Pakistani agents at Karachi and other entry points reportedly shepherd the shipments around customs, and they are trucked to distribution warehouses in Baluchistan and north-west frontier provinces. Pakistan is given full control of the shipments ...".

Some types of weapons are sent from the United States itself. The Christian Science Monitor of 18 March 1985 describes one instance of such shipments:

"Just beyond Chagai, a town on the Baluchistan-Afghan frontier, 20 men converged from all directions late last month to take possession of a cache of recoilless rifles, grenades and mines that had crossed three continents over 18 days.

"Originating in West Virginia, then flown to West Germany and shipped to the Makran Coast of Baluchistan from nearby Oman, the ... steel boxes were part of a burgeoning American programme of covert support to Afghan Mujahideen. ... It is the Central Intelligence Agency's largest operation since Viet Nam years. ... A shipment is delivered to the Mujahideen leaders every five to six days. ... The programme is reportedly run almost exclusively by a core group of 100 CIA-trained Afghan exiles who operate out of shipping companies, travel agencies and Islamic organizations in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. They have perfected the fine art of concealing arms in containers that bear the labels of electronic gear, sewing machines, fertilizers and television sets ...".

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The quotation continues:

"The number of ships handled in Karachi has risen substantially since [1979] from 3,237 to more than 5,000 in the last year alone. Nearly half of their cargoes originated in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf. According to Karachi officials anything marked 'Special' or 'Humanitarian Assistance' ... is given priority handling. It is never opened and is transferred immediately to Pakistani military trucks. The 'national logistic cells' of the army then ply the tortuous route from Karachi to Peshawar or to the porous Baluchistan frontier. They reportedly ferry Soviet-made AK-47 rifles, mortars, surface-to-air missiles, bazookas, and rocket-propelled grenades. The three primary suppliers from whom the Americans buy are reliably said to be Egypt, China and Israel."

The New York Times describes the illegal entry of a reporter into Afghanistan with a band of counter-revolutionaries, in the 15 July 1985 issue of that newspaper, as follows:

"How do you get to Afghanistan? For one thing, you buy a horse. There are preliminary details, of course, such as arranging a sort of package tour with one of the [anti-Afghan] parties based in Peshawar ... then you wait until the party has a large force of armed men going there. Then you tag along as an honoured and protected guest, with guards at your side day and night".

In an article captioned "On Afghan Supply Line" published in the same issue of The New York Times, Arthur Bonner writes:

"The trails leading north from Pakistan to Afghanistan are alive with men carrying ... cartridge belts and leading mules, donkeys, and camels piled high with weapons and ammunition. They pass unarmed men, in groups ranging from 30 to upward of 100 walking south to receive training and supplies. ... The

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caravan would take weapons, newly acquired in Pakistan ... About 700 men of ... one of the ... major ... parties with headquarters in ... Peshawar had spent the winter resting and being trained in Pakistan ... Many of the men carried on their backs Kalasnikov automatic rifles, shoulder-operated anti-tank guns, big Chinese anti-vehicle mines or full packs of ammunition.

"The animals were loaded with more ammunition, [and] light machine-guns ... The later groups were to be spaced at travel intervals of days and weeks, using more animals to carry greater supplies, including more advanced ground-to-ground and ground-to-air missiles."

With every passing day, additional sums of money are allocated for further fuelling the flames of the undeclared war. It was disclosed on 10 October 1985 by The New York Times that the United States Congress had:

"secretly approved about 250 million dollars in further covert military aid to rebels ... in Afghanistan ... A Senate source said the money will be spent to buy large quantities of ammunitions, small arms, grenade launchers and anti-helicopter air defence weapons ... The money will be funnelled to the Afghan rebels through the Central Intelligence Agency".

This report was later confirmed by many other sources. None the less, the United States and Pakistan have been trying hard to deceive the international community by claiming that they have had nothing to do with the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Such claims have been ridiculed by well-informed and highly placed officials of the United States Administration and the Pakistani military régime themselves. Thousands of reports have surfaced in the international media disclosing the United States and Pakistani involvement in a direct and extensive manner in providing not only more but at the same time very sophisticated and highly advanced armaments to their mercenaries.

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In an interview published in the 13 January 1985 issue of The Washington Post, Clarence Long, former United States Congressman of Maryland, said that during his August 1983 trip to the counter-revolutionary camps in Pakistan:

"[General] Zia agreed the insurgents should have improved anti-aircraft weapons ... Long said that Zia suggested a new cannon and gave its name. 'If it was American-made the Soviets would trace it to Pakistan and he [Zia] didn't want that. He suggested we get [foreign-made] guns ... He was perfectly willing to take a chance if it couldn't be traced back to him, Long said."

We could go on quoting tens and hundreds of other sources which have disclosed the intensity of the dirty imperialistic, hegemonistic and reactionary war in all its dimensions. However, if facts do make a difference, as we would hope, then what has been cited briefly today should suffice to conclude that there has been aggression perpetrated against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and that it has long been upgraded into a filthy undeclared war of awesome magnitude.

The reasons for the unholy alliance of these evil and ominous forces are quite obvious. Washington warmongers want to turn Pakistan into a regional gendarme and a guardian of their imperialistic interests. They want to convert Pakistan into a springboard of aggression and interference against neighbouring countries and into a link in their strategic chain for encircling the Soviet Union and other socialist and progressive countries.

As the U.S. News and World Report of 9 September 1985 puts it:

"for all their problems Pakistan and the United States need each other.

Washington requires an ally on the Soviet Union's southern flank in strategic South-West Asia. Pakistan relies on a five-year, 3.2 billion dollar American military-economic-aid programme ... Hundreds of M-48 tanks and artillery pieces and ... Cobra helicopter gun-ships are being supplied ... 40 F-16

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fighters ... [and] Sidewinder and Stinger missiles are on order.

According to reliable information, a new deal has been made to provide Pakistan in the immediate future with even larger sums of money and greater quantities of arms, totalling up to \$3.5 billion.

The generosity and speed with which the United States is arming the military régime of Pakistan to its teeth has caused grave concern in our region. As we have had bitter experience of the aggressive and adventuristic course of all military régimes in the short history of Pakistan's existence, the apprehensions and concerns of the peoples of our region are totally warranted and justified. It is clear that Pakistan's all-out militarization drive, including its dangerous ambition to acquire the nuclear bomb, is completely at odds with that country's legitimate defence needs. This poses a rapidly increasing threat not only to the security of Afghanistan but also to the stability and security of the entire region.

Apart from weapons, money and political backing from its supporters, the military régime of Pakistan is also deriving some other benefits from the continuation of the present situation in South-West Asia.

New Perspectives in its issue No. 3 of 1985 stated:

"the Zia régime has routinely used the well-trained and well-equipped Afghan rebels, based on Pakistani territories, to terrorize its political opponents in the Northwest Frontier province and the Baluchistan province. Recently there had been reports of Afghan mercenaries being used in Sind [Province] as well. There has been an increase in the number of political activists dying in 'shoot-outs' and 'accidents'."

Of late the United States Administration has shifted the United States policy from covert to open participation in the war. The Foreign Report published in London by The Economist magazine states in its 20 December 1984 release:

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"The Reagan Administration officials are sick of complaints that the United States is not helping Afghan guerrillas enough. They claimed that Pakistan, China and Arab Governments are taking credit for aid paid for by the Americans. They say time for discretion is over."

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In line with such a change in policy, the United States has begun training Afghan counter-revolutionaries in military bases in the United States itself.

According to the same issue of Foreign Report,

"the American army has been given the task of improving both the efficiency and weaponry of selected Afghan guerrilla forces ... A special programme for Afghan volunteers has already been set up in military bases in the United States. Recruitment is going ahead. Afghan talent scouts have been concentrating since this autumn on Afghan guerrillas and refugees in Pakistan. They're looking for well-educated young men, graduates of Afghan high schools or former students with the ability to master the workings of complex weaponry ... The aim is to form small, mobile groups of well-trained commanders ... The Americans are now considering arms deliveries by air-drops inside Afghanistan over the narrow Chinese-Afghan border."

With the flow of around 1,000 million-worth of arms and other supplies annually into the undeclared war of our enemies against Afghanistan, and with a change of United States policy towards more direct and expanded participation in the war, the situation in South-West Asia has acquired a qualitatively new and dangerous dimension. Their criminal and medieval hirelings have already destroyed, in round figures, 2,000 schools, 130 hospitals and health centres, 500 mosques, over 9,000 co-operatives and 14,000 kilometres of telephone and power lines, and they have murdered 2,000 teachers and more than 200 clergymen in Afghanistan. The total damage inflicted on our national economy runs into 35 billion afghanis - that is, three-fourths of all the State investment in the sphere of the economy in the past 20 years.

But let me state that nothing but nothing can affect in any way the determination of our people and Government vigorously to proceed, within the maximum of its possibilities and those available to it from fraternal sources, with

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the consolidation of the revolution and implementation of the socio-economic plans for overcoming the shameful legacy of the past and remedying the destruction inflicted on our economy by the imperialist and reactionary war. The successes of our people in those fields are more impressive than at any other time in our history.

On the political front, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has earned the confidence and trust of the entire toiling population of the country as the leading political force of the people.

The National Fatherland Front, which is the symbol of national unity of all the progressive, democratic and patriotic forces of Afghanistan, enjoys the full support of the people from all walks of life. The Front now rallies around itself more than 700,000 collective and individual members, encompassing the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and all social mass organizations such as trade unions, democratic organizations of Afghan youth and women, peasants' co-operatives, unions of writers, poets and journalists, councils of religious scholars and thousands of social figures representing a cross-section of Afghan society.

A major victory was scored by the people of Afghanistan with the convocation in April 1985 of the Loya Jirgah, the Grand National Assembly, which constitutes the supreme decision-making body of the country. The Loya Jirgah - in which 1,796 democratically elected representatives of the people, representing all social segments of the population, participated - adopted destiny-making decisions on the future course of the domestic and foreign policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. While fully approving the internal and external policies of the party and Government, the Loya Jirgah expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for extending all kinds of assistance to Afghanistan at one of the most difficult stages of its history.

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Last year, around the same time, we informed the General Assembly of the efforts undertaken in connection with the drafting and adoption of a law concerning the establishment of the local organs of State power and administration. It is with satisfaction and pride that we inform the Assembly today of the successful beginning of a country-wide election to those local organs. The composition of those organs in those areas where the process of elections has been completed unequivocally testifies to the representative and democratic nature of the elections and the emerging bodies. Those organs are destined to assume critical roles in decision-making on and the execution of State affairs under conditions of wide participation by the people.

Another major achievement of the past year has been the victorious holding of the High Jirgah - Council - of the Nationalities and Tribes of the Frontier Areas, in which 3,700 representatives of the frontier clans, tribes and nationalities convened, in an atmosphere of democracy, to discuss not only matters of immediate local concern but also issues of national importance and dimension. The High Jirgah adopted, inter alia, resolutions in support of the domestic and foreign policy of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and pledged completely to prevent the use of their own territories by the counter-revolutionaries to carry out acts of aggressions against the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Last year also witnessed increasing popular participation in the ranks and activities of other social organizations and institutions.

On the economic front, the achievements of the revolutionary Government have also been a source of great hope and encouragement. In spite of the destructive undeclared war and virtual economic blockade by imperialist countries, the gross national product and gross domestic product rose by 11 and 4 per cent respectively,

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compared to the year 1978. Mining and energy scored 11.4 per cent against the output of 1978. There has been a 3.4-fold increase in the number of transport vehicles and a 4.3-fold increase in the quantity of transported goods. In the agricultural, cattle-raising and forestry sectors the gross products registered a 7.3 per cent increase, while in the same period foreign trade recorded a one-and-a-half-times increase. Investment in the sector of construction shows a 19.9 per cent increase, and overall State revenues reflected an 84.4 per cent increase.

Those achievements have directly benefited the working population of the country. For instance, in the last five years, workers' salaries have been increased twofold and of those of low-level State employees by 20 per cent.

While our economic accomplishments have been mainly due to the correct policies pursued by the Government and to the hard work and enthusiasm of our people, the selfless and all-round co-operation of friendly countries, first and foremost the Soviet Union, has been of great significance. For example, more than 70 large and medium-sized projects have been constructed or are under construction with the technical and economic assistance of the Soviet Union. The output of economic installations built with the assistance of the Soviet Union accounts for 60 per cent of the overall industrial product and 75 per cent of the State-sector industrial product in the country.

Within the democratic land and water reforms, more than 320,000 landless and petty landholder families have received, free of charge, more than 700,000 hectares of land. Thousands of co-operatives and dozens of mechanized agricultural centres have been established to provide improved seeds, fertilizer, machinery and technical advice to the peasants.

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So far, more than 1,200,000 Afghans have graduated from more than 26,000 literacy courses established since the beginning of the revolution throughout the country. It is expected that illiteracy will be completely abolished all over Afghanistan by the year 1990.

Since the victory of the revolution, the number of doctors, hospital beds and State-run pharmacies has doubled.

Among all those facts and realities, what stands out is the strong will and determination of the Afghan people to march ahead - without any detours and with revolutionary fervour - towards the establishment of a peaceful, developed and prosperous society and a brilliant and happy future for the next generation.

It is obvious that our successes in all the aforementioned fields would have been far greater if the dirty undeclared war of our enemies were not consuming a significant proportion of our attention and major resources and possibilities. That is precisely one of the main reasons why the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is sincerely striving for an early solution of the situation around Afghanistan and for the establishment of peaceful, friendly and mutually beneficial relations among the countries of the area.

It is in line with the elementary principles of logics that the best and easiest way to do away with a situation is to eliminate its causes. That should lead to only one conclusion: that if the present situation of tension and instability in South-West Asia is to be resolved through peaceful means, it will be necessary to put an end, once and for all, to the armed and all other forms of interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. That constitutes the crux of the matter, and if it is not solved, there cannot be any possibility of a comprehensive settlement of the situation in South-West Asia.

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The Assembly will recall that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan put forward as long ago as May 1980 and August 1981 a set of proposals realistically designed to pave the way for the settlement of all problems that have affected the political and security environment of our region. The Assembly will also note that, after some positive initial reactions to these proposals by the top leaders of Pakistan, a deaf ear was turned to our earnest calls for peace.

Meanwhile, the Secretary-General has been engaged in an admirable diplomatic effort, the primary objective of which has been and still is to bring the parties to the negotiating table. In the light of Pakistan's inconsistent position and its intransigent refusal to enter into direct negotiations with Afghanistan, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, out of its sense of responsibility and seriousness in regard to the process of indirect and proximity talks, agreed that the good offices and intermediary efforts of the Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Diego Cordovez, be utilized to start the work on the preliminary drafts of the required instruments in order to facilitate the early and fruitful convening of the direct talks.

While expressing our appreciation for the endeavours of the Secretary-General and his Representative, we wish to state that in our well-considered opinion the drafts prepared in the course of the indirect and proximity talks provide more than sufficient basis and justification for the direct negotiations to start without any further delay.

At one stage we were given to understand that the interlocutors had agreed to discuss the fourth document, on the interrelationships, within the format of direct negotiations. The process of negotiations was dealt a major setback when that agreement was not honoured by one of the parties to the negotiations. And this

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came at a time when that same party had arbitrarily postponed a previous round of negotiations which had been fixed after many consultations over an extended period of time.

If it is true that Pakistan really desires peace and normalcy to prevail in its relations with Afghanistan and in the whole region, why then, one may ask, should direct negotiation - which would be a gigantic step towards the normalization of relations - constitute any difficulty for Pakistan.

The false pretext of non-recognition advanced by Pakistan has shrunk so much that it can no longer provide a cover for Pakistan's true intentions.

Frankly speaking, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will live with or without recognition from Pakistan or from any of its imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary allies. In contrast to some other régimes, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan takes pride in the fact that it derives its legitimacy from the popular revolution of April 1978 and from the free will of our people, repeatedly expressed in such prestigious democratic institutions as the Loya Jirgah, the High Jirgah of Tribes and Nationalities and the National Fatherland Front.

The valiant people of Afghanistan cannot but voice deep indignation at the fact that some reactionary circles hypocritically and maliciously loudly cry out the slogan of "self-determination for Afghanistan" while self-determination remains an unresolved historic question in their own countries.

The revolution in Afghanistan is a shining manifestation of the exercise by the Afghan people of their inherent right to self-determination, and it is irreversible and invincible. No demagogical hue and cry about self-determination can alter the reality of the Afghan revolution. Our people will definitely march ahead in the supreme cause of consolidating their revolution. Those who do not

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wish to understand this and coexist with it will be forced to do so by the indomitable command of history.

The truth is that - as is demanded by its imperialist, hegemonist and other reactionary mentors - Pakistan is out to block the reaching of an early settlement. Otherwise, compelling historical examples exist - even in the recent history of international relations - of parties negotiating, and indeed signing, agreements with each other without actually recognizing each other. One case in point is the Paris negotiations between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the United States, and another is the years-long negotiations in Warsaw between China and the United States before the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Worthless also are the crocodile tears abundantly shed by the enemies of our people over the fate, safety and honour of the so-called Afghan refugees. It is true that there is no greater humiliation and disgrace for a free-born and proud Afghan than to become a vagabond living on the handouts and at the mercy of foreigners. But by grossly exaggerating the numbers, through fraud, embezzlement and double and triple registration, and listing nomads and local people as refugees, the military authorities of Pakistan not only are running a profitable business, in the name of refugees, but also have criminally used the issue for Pakistan's propaganda purposes. That is why Pakistan has prevented the dissemination among the Afghan fugitives of the declaration of general amnesty proclaimed by the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and has effectively blocked their return, through physical threats and political and economic barriers.

It is no longer a secret that the United States, China and Pakistan do not want a solution of this issue or any settlement of the present situation in

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South-West Asia. A well-informed American scholar, Selig Harrison, wrote in the 4 March 1985 issue of the Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly:

"It is increasingly clear that the United States is placing too much reliance on military pressure in Afghanistan without simultaneously pursuing a ... diplomatic compromise ... Moreover, while the Reagan Administration pays lip-service to negotiations, it has shown little enthusiasm for the ... United Nations mediation efforts on Afghanistan ... By escalating aid while failing to support the United Nations scenario, or to offer a workable alternative, the United States will gradually lose its propaganda advantage in the war, exposing itself increasingly to the charge that it is 'fighting to the last Afghan'."

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According to the American magazine The Nation, in its 26 October 1985 issue, "So far, every attempt at negotiating a settlement of the war has been aborted by the United States, ... Hardliners in Washington have been willing to fight the Russians to the last Afghan, presumably to reap the propaganda benefits ... They have sabotaged [the talks] ... Pakistan's initial response ... was positive. Then in stepped the Reagan Administration ... Pakistan lost the heart for diplomatic brinkmanship at the eleventh hour in the face of the United States, Saudi and Chinese disapproval ... sources in the United Nations have blamed the lack of progress on Washington."

Mountains of evidence could be gathered to prove that Pakistan and its criminal patrons are not in the least interested in hammering out a negotiated political settlement of the present situation. On the contrary, they are leaving no stone unturned to prevent the early achievement of such a settlement. The present exercise is only one step in that direction.

Nobody should be under any illusion that the sterile and futile exercise in the General Assembly or the present draft resolution can in any way bring pressure to bear on the peoples and Government of revolutionary Afghanistan to abandon its independent and principled course. Those who have had even a brief glimpse of our history should know that the proud and free mentality of the Afghan people will not surrender to any force, no matter how great or ominous.

Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in an interview last month with the Pakistani newspaper, Muslim, stated:

"The best way of finding a solution to the problems around Afghanistan is through direct negotiations ... In our view it is possible to achieve political settlement. But good will, sincerity and political will are

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required for this ... We reiterate once again that, as far as Afghanistan is concerned, we are desirous of having normal, friendly relations with Pakistan and other neighbours on the basis of the principles of non-interference in internal affairs, respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, good-neighbourliness and mutually beneficial co-operation ... The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has declared on several occasions that, in the event of a complete cessation of outside interference and the securing of guarantees of its non-recurrence, it will enter into negotiations with the Government of the Soviet Union on the return of its limited military contingent."

For the sake of peace and stability in our area, for the sake of friendship between our peoples, for the sake of safeguarding the hard-won understanding reached at the proximity talks and in the interests and for the benefit of a speedy and successful conclusion of the process of negotiations, we demand with the utmost sense of urgency and concern that selfish and shortsighted tactics be abandoned and direct face-to-face negotiations be started for the purpose of concluding all the necessary instruments for normalizing the situation around Afghanistan on the basis of universally accepted principles of international law. That is the only viable path, and indeed the shortest and most logical one, towards finding a negotiated settlement.

The best way this Assembly can help in achieving such a settlement is by preventing the misuse of the General Assembly for propaganda purposes.

The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan categorically and vehemently rejects the present unfounded exercise and will vote against draft resolution A/40/L.11. If adopted, the resolution will be totally void of any moral or legal validity and therefore without any effect on the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

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We call on all peace-loving and independent-minded delegations to adopt a constructive and realistic position, bearing in mind the negative implications of the present debate and the present draft resolution for the process of negotiations and for the creation of an atmosphere conducive to reaching a settlement.

Mr. PHILIPPE (Luxembourg) (interpretation from French): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European community, as well as Spain and Portugal.

For the seventh time the General Assembly has before it the question of the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

The large-scale military intervention by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in 1979 was a shock to the international community and it remains one of the most serious violations of the Charter of the United Nations. Through this act of force against the people of a non-aligned developing country, the Soviet Union has given the world proof of its determination to pursue its goals even if it must resort to the massive, sustained use of its military power.

Today, almost six years after the invasion, the occupation is continuing, in spite of the rejection by the overwhelming majority of this Assembly of the attempt to impose on the people of Afghanistan a régime set up by force. Furthermore, the fighting is becoming fiercer and the repression is increasing in spite of the resolutions of the General Assembly, which year after year has condemned the occupation and called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops and a negotiated settlement which would make it possible to restore to Afghanistan its independence and its status as a non-aligned country, enable the people of Afghanistan to exercise fully their right to self-determination and allow the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour.

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Finally, the military operations are not confined to the territory within the borders of Afghanistan. We have noted an increase in the bombing of Pakistani territory, which constitutes a violation of the territorial integrity of that country and a clear threat to peace and stability in the region as a whole. All these military activities are completely condemned by the 10 members of the European community, Spain and Portugal.

For the Afghan people the Soviet invasion and occupation constitute unprecedented hardship. Faced with brutal repression and a sophisticated and far superior military machine, the Afghan people are resisting courageously in difficult conditions and at the cost of considerable sacrifice. We firmly condemn the attacks, especially the aerial attacks, against the civilian population, as well as the destruction of villages, rural infrastructure and crops, and all the abuses committed by the aggressor, which constitute infringements of the fundamental rights of a people struggling to regain its independence and freedom. There are alarming reports of food shortages, malnutrition and high infant mortality in the rural areas of Afghanistan.*

* Mr. Bassole (Burkina Faso), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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The situation inside the country led the Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur. We have taken note of the report which Mr. Ermacora presented at the beginning of the year and it confirms our deep concerns over the human rights situation in Afghanistan by specifically mentioning the loss of human lives, cases of imprisonment in conditions of a total lack of respect for human rights and numerous cases of torture, of disappearance and even of the use of poisonous gases. We await with interest the progress report Mr. Ermacora is soon to present to the General Assembly and we intend to participate actively in the debates which will very shortly take place in the Third Committee on this item.

There is no better illustration of the trials being experienced by the Afghan people than the massive exodus of refugees to neighbouring countries. Indeed, almost a third of the Afghan population has been forced to flee the country. It is estimated that at the present time there are 4 million Afghan refugees and of those almost 3 million are in Pakistan alone. This greatest concentration of refugees in the world is a heavy burden on the already limited resources of the host country. The European Community and its member States have made a significant contribution to international relief efforts and we shall continue to provide that assistance as long as it is necessary.

However, it is clear that the hospitality and generous assistance provided to the refugees by Pakistan and the assistance provided by other countries through the relevant international institutions can only temporarily mitigate the sufferings of millions of human beings who have been uprooted from their land. In order that a satisfactory solution to this serious humanitarian problem may be found, it is necessary that the refugees be enabled to return to their native land in dignity and safety. But that will be possible only if a true political solution allows Afghanistan to resume its status as an independent, non-aligned country and the

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Afghan people to exercise their right to self-determination. The application of those principles demands above all the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops, in keeping with the Assembly's resolutions.

We favour any proposals put forward for a political solution to the extent that they are based on the principles of the United Nations resolutions; thus we have encouraged the initiatives taken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and have welcomed the efforts of the Non-Aligned Movement. We have also fully supported resolution 35/37 of 20 November 1980 which led to the appointment of a Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, who would use his good offices to promote a peaceful solution in keeping with the provisions of that resolution.

We wish also to recall the proposal of the Council of Europe of 30 June 1981 calling for a halt to external intervention and for guarantees to prevent such interventions in the future. We stand by that proposal and we are prepared to discuss it, just as we remain ready to support any other constructive initiative which would promote a political solution of the conflict.

We shall continue to follow attentively the efforts made by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to reach a political settlement within the framework of the United Nations. We note with interest the report they have submitted to the Assembly, which shows that technical progress has been achieved in developing several international instruments. We shall continue to support those mediation efforts and we anticipate that rapid, genuine progress may be achieved, especially towards an agreed timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. As long as no progress is made in that area, which is the key element to any solution, the Soviet Union will not have made the positive necessary contribution which would allow those efforts to succeed.

(Mr. Philippe, Luxembourg)

The occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union constitutes a continuing threat to stability in the region and an ever-present danger to international peace and security. This debate emphasizes the importance the international community continues to give to the question of Afghanistan and reaffirms the refusal of the General Assembly to accept a fait accompli. We are sure that this year the General Assembly will again reaffirm, through its vote, its constant desire to see a true political solution in Afghanistan.

Mrs. KAUR (India): For the sixth year in succession the General Assembly is considering the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. Few issues in recent years have given rise to so much divisive debate. Efforts to defuse the situation have been frustrated by the continued adoption of unrealistic attitudes and inflexible positions. It is no matter for surprise that resolutions flowing from such attitudes and positions have not contributed to action towards finding a comprehensive political solution.

To us in India the situation in our neighbourhood has been a matter of particular anxiety. We have special reason to be concerned, as we are vitally interested in the security, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of that friendly neighbour. The friendship between our two peoples has its roots in history, in geo-politics, in culture and in commerce. Our concern over the developments affecting Afghanistan and the region as a whole originates from the fact that our own security and national interests are vitally affected by developments that impinge on the security of our neighbours in the sub-continent. We hope the situation will not be exploited for ulterior purposes by those who are interested in the continuation of existing tensions and instability. The introduction of sophisticated weapons and the fuelling of an arms race can only aggravate the situation. It results in the diversion of scarce economic resources of the countries of the region away from development priorities.

(Mrs. Kaur, India)

The Government of India has repeatedly stated that we are uncompromisingly opposed to the presence of foreign troops on any soil and, for that matter, we cannot and do not approve of any type of interference in any country. The people of Afghanistan are the inheritors of an ancient civilization which has made courage and self-respect the hallmark of Afghan nationalism. The Afghan people should be left to themselves to pursue the path of progress suited to their own genius, so that they may contribute effectively to the security and prosperity of their country and of the region as a whole.

(Mrs. Kaur, India)

With regard to this situation, India's voice has been raised consistently in favour of moderation. We have persistently stressed the need to prevent an escalation of tension in South-West Asia and to take all possible action to defuse it. We will achieve nothing by engaging in polemics or by sitting in judgement. What we urgently need to do is work for the evolution of a political settlement based on dialogue between the parties directly involved, whose co-operation is essential to prevent the situation from escalating any further. Such an approach should look towards an eventual settlement taking into account all factors relevant to the present situation. Above all, such a political solution should be based on certain commonly acceptable elements, of which the most important are the complete cessation of all interference and intervention in the internal affairs of States, opposition to the presence of foreign troops in any country, and the provision of reliable and complete guarantees against all forms of interference.

At the seventh summit conference of non-aligned countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, the Heads of State or Government noted with great concern the situation in South-West Asia and agreed that it carried dangerous consequences for the peace and stability of the region. They agreed that the continuation of that situation had serious implications for international peace and security. In this context, they viewed the situation in Afghanistan with particular concern. They reiterated the urgent call made at the conference of Foreign Ministers held at New Delhi in February 1981 for a political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops, full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference. They also reaffirmed the right of the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour and called for a speedy solution to that vast humanitarian problem. To that end, they

(Mrs. Kaur, India)

urged all concerned to work towards such a settlement, which would ensure that the Afghan people could determine their own destiny free from outside interference and which would enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes.

The Heads of State or Government further expressed their appreciation for the sincere efforts made in the search for a political settlement in Afghanistan, and extended their support to the constructive steps taken in that regard by the Secretary-General. They regarded the discussions through the intermediary of the Secretary-General as a step in the right direction and urged their continuation with a view to promoting an early political settlement of the problem in conformity with the ideals and principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. They called on States to exercise restraint to avoid further endangering the peace and security of the region and to take such steps as would lead to the creation of conditions conducive to stable and harmonious relations among the States of the region, based on the non-aligned principles of peaceful co-existence and respect for sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

The consensus on South-West Asia adopted at the New Delhi summit remains valid, and was recently reaffirmed by the ministerial Conference of non-aligned countries held at Luanda, Angola, in September this year.

In his address to the United States Congress on 13 June 1985, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi stated that:

"Afghanistan and South-West Asia are on all our minds. Outside interference and intervention have put in jeopardy the stability, security and progress of the region. We are opposed to both foreign presence and pressure. The one is advanced as a justification for the other. We stand for a political settlement in Afghanistan that ensures sovereignty, integrity,

(Mrs. Kaur, India)

independence and non-aligned status, and enables the refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. Such a settlement can only come through dialogue and a realistic consensus among the parties directly concerned. The United Nations Secretary-General has taken an initiative in this direction. We fully support that initiative".

We have read with considerable interest the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Afghanistan, contained in document A/40/709. My delegation is pleased to note that the Secretary-General has pursued with determination his efforts to promote the search for a political solution. The Secretary-General states that:

"There is also a growing conviction on both sides that a negotiated settlement is the only possible way to achieve peace in Afghanistan. Peace, and the degree of national reconciliation that it should entail to allow the Afghan people to decide their own future, cannot be attained by military means".

(A/40/709, para. 2)

We commend the efforts of the Secretary-General and those of his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to find a political settlement on the basis of a set of instruments that would include: a bilateral agreement on non-interference and non-intervention; a declaration on international guarantees; a bilateral agreement on the voluntary return of refugees; and an instrument setting out the relationship between the aforementioned instruments and the solution of the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops in accordance with an agreement to be concluded between Afghanistan and the USSR.

We are encouraged to note that during 1985 it was possible, at the proximity talks held under United Nations auspices, virtually to complete the formulation of the two draft bilateral agreements covering the principles of mutual relations, specifically on non-interference and non-intervention and on arrangements for the

(Mrs. Kaur, India)

voluntary return of the refugees. It is our expectation that the recent impasse encountered at the last round of proximity talks - on the question of procedure for the negotiations - will soon be resolved. Constructive dialogue among the parties directly concerned would give impetus to the process aimed at finding a comprehensive settlement.

We see in the modest success achieved by the Secretary-General in his efforts towards a political solution a vindication of the approach India has advocated from the very beginning. We trust that all concerned will demonstrate the necessary political will and a sincere determination to reach, through negotiations, a comprehensive settlement which would lay the foundations for the promotion of good-neighbourly relations and co-operation among the States in the area and for strengthening international peace and security in the region.

Against that background, we would have expected the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/40/L.11 to have been more constructive and innovative this year. Much to our disappointment, the draft resolution is along the lines of the one adopted last year. As in previous years, the sponsors have chosen to emphasize only one aspect of a comprehensive solution while ignoring the others, which are equally important and worthy of serious consideration.

(Mrs. Kaur, India)

Such a biased and selective approach by the General Assembly can hardly be conducive to strengthening the Secretary-General's hands. The adoption once again of a resolution which is patently unacceptable to some of the countries directly involved may prove to be counter-productive. My delegation therefore cannot support the present draft resolution.

We believe that the only solution to this problem lies in following a policy of restraint and moderation and pursuing a comprehensive approach. They form the framework of the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General, and we wish him every success.

Mr. ALBAN HOLGUIN (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish):

Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, in commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, said the following:

"Again and again life teaches us that man does not see his own dignity apart from the dignity of his people. And when a people is humiliated, its small composite part, the individual, is humiliated too. There can be no justification for the fact that some peoples are deprived of their right to have a homeland, their native land ..." (A/40/PV.48, p. 66)

Those words, which I most heartily endorse, permit me to make some comments on the question of Afghanistan which is before this Assembly.

It is true that our Maker placed man in this world and endowed him with certain rights - now called human rights - to make his passage through this earth more bearable. Among them are the rights to be free and to a homeland. The United Nations has negotiated those rights and adopted them in their two principal documents: the constituent Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(Mr. Alban Holguin, Colombia)

Among the peoples of the world, the Afghan people is the one which has most ardently and unrelentingly defended its freedom and independence. That is why the attempts at conquest over the centuries have always failed in that country, which has waged a legendary struggle to preserve its fatherland.

If there has been a people which has been humiliated but enobled in its temporary tragedy, it is the Afghan people. When it seemed that the great Powers had renounced the use of force to conquer small countries, there arose a great Power, with all the means provided by contemporary military technology, to subject such a small country through an endless war.

The question of the situation in Afghanistan is of paramount importance for this Assembly since it deeply affects the conscience of the international community, for the invasion and continued occupation of that country by the Soviet Union are a reason for growing concern throughout the world.

In fact, no country can remain indifferent or fail to assume a serious and clearly defined position in the face of so direct and flagrant a violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and international law.

Speaking before the Security Council on this question during meetings in the month of January 1980, the then representative of Colombia said the following:

"My country has always upheld the principles of the legal equality of States and non-intervention, and we can hardly remain silent in the face of the tragedy unfolding at the present time in that small country; nor can we fail to express in this Council the deep concern that we feel at this fait accompli in Afghanistan. We wish to join our voice of protest as a developing country with others against this attempt - which is unwarranted in 1980 - to replace the rules of civilized international conduct and the principles of the

(Mr. Alban Holguin, Colombia)

United Nations Charter by this lightning strike by armoured divisions. The peoples of the third world, the non-aligned countries, the Arab and Moslem nations ... are alarmed at the potentially serious consequences of this effort to go back to the time when the bare-faced use of force was condoned and regarded as legitimate practice in international life." (S/PV.2186, p. 37)

Six years later, we are faced with the fact that the invading troops are still there, that massacres are a daily occurrence, that the number of refugees increases, that the fighting continues, that the United Nations Charter is still being flouted, that law continues to be replaced by armed aggression, and that the freedom and independence of defenceless peoples is subjected to acts of force.

It has been said - and rightly so - that the future and success of this world Organization, as well as fulfilment with its noble tasks, depend on the contribution to be made by its Member States, on the basis of strict observance of its Charter.

A representative has said that we must direct the attention of all to those problems which do not permit us to say that all the requirements and principles of the Charter are being fully complied with everywhere. Consistent with that view, the Soviet nation should heed this universal demand for the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan and permit the people of that country to choose its own destiny democratically and freely.

As a result of these six years of military intervention almost one third of the Afghan population has sought refuge in the neighbouring countries of Pakistan and Iran. There are more than 3 million refugees in Pakistan and it is said that there are almost 2 million in Iran. Despite the occupation by more than 118,000 Soviet troops, the pride of the independent Afghan people has not been broken nor has their resistance against foreign domination been silenced.

(Mr. Alban Holquin, Colombia)

What is the United Nations doing to alleviate the suffering of that martyred people? When will the pendulum swing in their favour? When will they be able to return to their homeland, to their native land to which they are entitled and to their homes in conditions of dignity and security? We are convinced that only a political agreement will now solve those problems, and we fully support such an idea.

My country views with admiration the efforts made by Pakistan to assist its brothers and appreciates the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other international bodies which are carrying out their duties with so much humanism.

(Mr. Alban Holguin, Colombia)

On the other hand, the violation of human rights in Afghanistan was recognized in the report that the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Felix Ermacora, submitted to the Commission on Human Rights at the beginning of this year. The report gives clear proof of torture, indiscriminate bombings against the civilian population, and deliberate attempts to destroy the fields and crops.

In its attempt to sovietize Afghanistan, between 15,000 and 20,000 students from primary to university level have been sent to the Soviet Union. Details of this plan were revealed in a series of articles by Christina Demeyer and Richard Bernstein published last March in the Christian Science Monitor and The New York Times.

The concern of the international community at the continued Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan has been constantly expressed in all international forums, including the Islamic Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement, at their Ministerial Conference in Luanda in September 1985, and in the General Assembly of the United Nations where, by an overwhelming majority, resolutions on the subject have been adopted since the thirty-fifth session.

The President of Colombia, speaking before the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations said that gratuitous foreign intervention threatens peace, promotes hatred and engenders violence.

Consequently my country feels it has a duty to state that it is urgent and necessary for foreign troops to be withdrawn from wherever they are violating the self-determination of peoples.

We reiterate our belief that it is through dialogue that a negotiated political agreement can be reached in Afghanistan. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly clearly indicate the path to be followed in seeking a solution to the problem.

(Mr. Alban Holquin, Colombia)

My delegation appreciates the efforts of the Secretary-General and the work done by his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez. The termination of the Soviet military invasion is essential if normality and peace is to be restored to all the peoples of South-West Asia.

To the people of Afghanistan, we reiterate our expressions of solidarity, in the certainty that very shortly they will recover and maintain their political, economic and social independence.

Mr. FISHER (Austria): Almost six years have passed since Afghanistan, a traditionally non-aligned country, was first occupied by foreign troops. An overwhelming majority of the United Nations Member States have repeatedly and unequivocally condemned this foreign military intervention.

International peace will remain elusive as long as powerful nations continue to resort to the use of force and until the frontiers of smaller nations are secure and their right to seek freedom and self-determination is fully respected. Austria firmly believes that the security of smaller and medium-sized nations can be assured only in an international environment of peace, stability and progress. The United Nations Charter provides a framework for the orderly and peaceful conduct of relations between States, irrespective of their size. In our view, the continued military intervention in Afghanistan violates these principles of conduct. We cannot remain silent in the face of such a situation.

Apart from the human suffering it has caused, the military intervention in Afghanistan has created a dangerous situation and has contributed to the heightening of international tension. The persistence of military intervention in that non-aligned country constitutes a defiance of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States and the non-use of force in inter-State relations.

(Mr. Fisher, Austria)

For Austria, therefore, as indeed for the entire international community, the continued occupation of Afghanistan by foreign forces is a matter of great concern. The situation in Afghanistan should not be resolved by military means. It must be resolved exclusively through political means.

While this Assembly is debating the political aspects of the question of Afghanistan, we should not lose sight of its humanitarian implications. Millions of people have had to leave their homes and live in refugee camps in neighbouring countries. We must spare no effort to contribute to an early solution of that tragedy.

Austria is committed to support any initiative which aims at a lasting and principled solution, based on the successive resolutions adopted by this Assembly.

The United Nations General Assembly has repeatedly emphasized the elements on which a peaceful and negotiated solution could be based: the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops; the right of the Afghan people to choose its own government and to determine its own economic, social and political system; international guarantees of non-interference; and the voluntary return of all Afghan refugees in safety and honour. Austria is convinced that on the basis of these elements a just solution can and must be found.

Austria highly appreciates and supports the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and of his Personal Representative, Under-Secretary-General Diego Cordovez, to work out the elements of a comprehensive settlement. We are pleased to learn that progress was achieved during the last rounds of indirect talks held in Geneva. We sincerely hope that the present momentum can be maintained and that a positive conclusion can be reached in the near future. Austria calls on all parties concerned to contribute to such an outcome.

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): Three weeks ago the General Assembly concluded its commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations. The celebrations were intended to give an opportunity to pause, contemplate and review the march of the international Organization towards the realization of the purposes of its Charter, which include the consolidation of a system of international relations based on justice, peace, equality and the rule of law.

Together with other delegations, my delegation followed with great interest the statements of the Heads of State or Government and other representatives on that occasion. It was clear to us that there was almost unanimous agreement between the participating countries that the major problem facing the international Organization, with a corresponding impact on international relations, is the non-implementation of the decisions and recommendations of the United Nations and lack of respect by the major parties to any conflict for the basic principles of the Charter, principles that the members of the international community willingly accepted to serve as arbiter and guide in their relations with one another.

Proof of what I am saying is clearly seen in the Afghan problem, which is a living, continuing example of the problems facing the United Nations in its fortieth anniversary year. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us - and it is especially the duty of those countries to which the United Nations has given a special position, those major Powers that bear special responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and security as permanent members of the Security Council - strictly to abide by the provisions of the Charter and relevant United Nations resolutions and not to give free rein to their narrow interests in their international conflicts and rivalries. They should prevent their strategic ambitions swallowing up the rights of peoples and countries that have struggled for the implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter, especially the

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

right to live in peace and freedom, without any external intervention, under an international economic and social system they have willingly accepted.

For the seventh consecutive year, the General Assembly is considering an agenda item on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. For the seventh consecutive year the international community, speaking through the General Assembly, is reiterating the firm desire for a just, honourable and peaceful solution. In spite of that, in spite of the commendable, continuing efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, the conflict continues to rage, while the possibility of a settlement remains uncertain.

This year hopes are pinned on the forthcoming meeting between the leaders of the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. It is to be hoped that that meeting in Geneva will prepare the ground for a speedy end to the crisis and foster an atmosphere propitious to reaching an agreement on the thorny and complex points in the programme for solving the crisis, which have been patiently worked out in co-operation with the parties to the conflict by the Secretary-General's Personal Representative, and which are explained by the Secretary-General in his commendable report on the situation in Afghanistan (A/40/709).

Although Afghanistan is not the only hotbed of tension in the world, in Kuwait's view the situation there is a very dangerous phenomenon in international relations, whose continuance threatens the system of international law and the principles of the Charter. What has happened there - intervention by Soviet forces in the internal affairs of an independent, non-aligned State - can be regarded as a very serious practice in international relations, in that it is a violation of the principles of the Charter and international law, since armed intervention was

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

justified by a *fait accompli* and political and legal pretexts with no credibility or basis in fact. The dangers inherent in such a practice jeopardize, first, the small and weak countries, because their only refuge is the moral authority of the principles of the Charter.

Kuwait can never accept the abusive use of force under any pretext. It can never accept the *fait accompli*, leaving in its wake human tragedies such as the influx of millions of refugees into the States around Afghanistan and causing innumerable political problems, whatever the motive or justification. The people of Kuwait, who enjoy close, ancient ties with the friendly, Moslem people of Afghanistan, feels that the Afghan people is characterized by heroism, dignity and pride. It has manifested throughout its history its fierce nationalism; it has struggled against any intervention in its affairs. No military intervention by a foreign country, however powerful, will ever quell the resistance, which has indeed emphasized the courage of that people and its determination to preserve its independence and non-aligned status.

We are convinced that after the withdrawal of foreign troops from its territory, the return of the Afghan refugees to their homes and the prohibition of any intervention, whatever the source, in its internal affairs, Afghanistan will resume its position as an independent, non-aligned State and will co-operate profitably with its neighbours, without exception, so as to avoid conflicts that that delicate part of the world can ill afford and so that Afghanistan may focus its efforts and capabilities on improving and developing its resources and the socio-economic condition of its people.

Kuwait expresses its high appreciation of the countries that host the refugees, especially Pakistan, and for the humanitarian assistance given by countries and specialized agencies to alleviate some of the suffering of the Afghan

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

refugees. We call on the international community to increase such assistance and to persevere, both unilaterally and collectively through international and regional organizations, to facilitate the return of the refugees to their homeland and their families.

In conclusion, I wish to mention that in his report the Secretary-General wisely and ably takes the true pulse of the crisis, when he says:

"in connection with the substantive issues under discussion, there is ... a question of political will. Both sides must ensure that their determination to conclude the negotiations successively will prevail. I trust that in considering the decisions that are required to that end they will bear in mind the overriding advantages of an effective settlement for the peoples of the region." (A/40/709, para. 15)

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

Kuwait, while supporting the Secretary-General's conclusions, hopes that all the active parties to this conflict will demonstrate the necessary political will required to resolve it and to ensure the independence and neutrality of Afghanistan and the dignity and honour of its friendly Moslem people.

Mr. RANA (Nepal): Less than two weeks ago, the international community sent out a distinct message from this very hall that it will not accept any infringement on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State. I refer, of course, to the resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, adopted by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority. The voting tally made it amply clear - if such clarification were ever needed - that foreign military intervention and occupation under any pretext could not be justified and would never be tolerated.

I refer to Kampuchea in this debate because the situation in Afghanistan is so tragically similar. In Afghanistan, as in Kampuchea, sacrosanct principles involving the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States and the doctrine of non-interference have been thrown to the winds. In Afghanistan, as again in Kampuchea, there is the unseemly spectacle of an occupying Power seeking to expand its influence and advantage through military intervention. In Afghanistan, as in Kampuchea, there is untold suffering and anguish on the part of hundreds of thousands of proud sons and daughters of the soil. In Afghanistan, as in Kampuchea, there is the heart-rending spectacle of an unending flow of refugees into neighbouring countries. In Afghanistan, as in Kampuchea, there is fierce resistance to the forces of foreign occupation. In both countries, the situation created by the occupying forces threatens the prospects of peace and security far beyond their boundaries.

In addition to these parallels, my delegation views the developments in Afghanistan with greater concern for two specific reasons: first, because

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

Afghanistan, like my own country, is situated in South Asia and any untoward change in the political status quo there is bound to affect the security environment of our region; and secondly, because the direct involvement of a super-Power, with a special responsibility to maintain international peace and security and an unlimited capacity to destroy it, inexorably raises the threshold of danger with wider repercussions.

Thus, our position with respect to the situation in Afghanistan is very plain and very clear. As has been repeatedly stressed here, and at other relevant international forums, we are strongly opposed to the policy of foreign intervention and occupation irrespective of its origin or location. Consistent with our commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, we also uphold the idea that all countries - big and small, near to or remote from a stronger neighbour or neighbours - have the inalienable right to live and work under political, economic or social dispensations of their own choice free from outside interference.

Based upon these considerations, Nepal has always stressed the need to resolve the Afghan problem by peaceful means, beginning - quite logically - with the unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan. Any solution must obviously take into consideration the need to create conditions within Afghanistan that would facilitate the return of the millions of Afghan refugees now in Pakistan and Iran. Conditions must also be created for the Afghan people to freely exercise their right of self-determination in having a government and policy of their choice.

As such, Nepal has supported various initiatives for the peaceful settlement of the problem, whether emanating from the Non-Aligned Movement or the Islamic Conference. We have also watched with admiration, and have supported, the diplomatic efforts of the Secretary-General and his special representative,

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

Mr. Diego Cordovez, in their attempts to achieve a peaceful and comprehensive political settlement of the Afghan imbroglio, including the possibility of "proximity talks".

While appealing to all concerned parties to lend their support to the laudable efforts of the Secretary-General in this context, I wish to emphasize that my delegation supports the draft resolution in document A/40/L.11 as this, in our view, provides a valid framework for the settlement of the Afghan problem in the present circumstances.

Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam): The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is an independent, sovereign State. It is thus entitled to use all ways and means, including asking for help and assistance from its friends and allies, so as to successfully defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country against foreign aggression. This is in conformity with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which allows for the right of individual or collective self-defence of a Member State. However, the enemies of the Afghan revolution have, for the last six years, been raising a hue and cry about the so-called situation in Afghanistan. They put up a show of commemorating "Afghan Day"; they shed crocodile tears over the plight of the Afghan refugees.

(Mr. Le Kim Chung, Viet Nam)

They orchestrate slanderous and misleading propaganda against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the hope of depicting it as a source of tension, an issue of East-West confrontation. What then is the truth? It is by all accounts an undeclared war waged by imperialist and hegemonist forces against Afghanistan. This is therefore the root cause of the situation in Afghanistan and of regional tension, insecurity and instability.

Right after the April revolution, hostile foreign forces outlined a plan of intervention in an attempt to bring Afghanistan back into their orbit. Counter-revolutionary forces were organized, equipped and financed by these foreign Powers. Billions of United States dollars have been channelled through some neighbouring countries to the bandits and this money does not even bear the label "humanitarian aid", as do similar funds elsewhere in Asia. A certain neighbouring country, in its quest for modernization and the development of its military capabilities, has played into the hands of the imperialist and hegemonist forces. Its territory is used for sanctuaries and training camps for the bandits. In return it has received from an imperialist Power billions-of-dollars-worth of weaponry, including F-16 fighters.

The collusion of the imperialist, hegemonist and regional reactionary forces against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has gained some specific results. Thousands of innocent Afghans have been killed, numerous schools and hospitals destroyed. Topping all this are the untold suffering of a whole nation and the long-term consequences for the rebuilding of Afghanistan.

Two arguments often used by those in hostile circles on the purported situation in Afghanistan concern the presence of Soviet troops there and the refugee question. But, again, what is the truth?

On the first argument, it is clear that only after December 1979 did a limited contingent of the Soviet Army enter Afghanistan and help defend the Revolution.

(Mr. Le Kim Chung, Viet Nam)

That was at the request of the Afghan Government in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Co-operation concluded on 5 December 1978 between the two countries. It was also in full conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and international law and norms. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan have on many occasions made their position clear that when outside intervention is discontinued and there is a guarantee that it will not be resumed the withdrawal of the Soviet contingent from Afghanistan will be effected by agreement between the two countries.

The Afghan refugees in neighbouring countries now number millions. Among them are those fleeing their country for economic reasons, but the majority are nomads who made their seasonal crossing of the border into those countries as they have done for ages. Some have not returned for fear of expansion of the conflict, but many others are held back in refugee camps along the border. A similar situation can also be found elsewhere in Asia. It is seen as a burden to the countries concerned, and that is why the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is truly sympathetic to its neighbours, earnest in its efforts and sincere in its proposals aimed at solving the question. It is an encouraging sign that a certain document on this matter was drafted during the talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Six years are long enough for people to see that the so-called situation in Afghanistan is simply a byproduct of collusion between imperialism and hegemonism aimed at rekindling the cold war. It was used in 1979 as a pretext not to ratify SALT II or to convene the long overdue International Conference on the Indian Ocean. It is now used as one of three obstacles to the normalization of relations with the Soviet Union. Because of this the Afghan people have fallen victim to hegemonist and imperialist manoeuvres, and the Afghan question has become a regional dilemma.

(Mr. Le Kim Chung, Viet Nam)

The present predicament in this region can be settled only through an overall solution. The shortest and only way to such a solution is through peaceful negotiations, as has been reflected in the course of the general debate at the current session and in the discussion on item 146 of our working agenda.

The recent history of this region has shown that divergencies, disputes and even armed conflicts can be settled through negotiations on solutions that take account of the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned. Afghanistan is no exception to this. The Afghan Government has twice made concrete proposals on holding talks with its neighbours on relevant issues. The proximity talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan sponsored by the Secretary-General of the United Nations through his Special Representative are a step in the right direction. We are pleased to note that after four rounds of talks some specific progress has been made, with the promising prospect of direct talks between the two countries. Such talks will certainly bear fruit, provided that both sides show good will and are sincerely determined to make progress and that others guarantee not to obstruct the process.

The situation in Afghanistan is irreversible. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has continually developed and the revolutionary régime has consolidated. The policy of national reconciliation has proved to be meeting the people's aspirations and is therefore supported nation-wide.

(Mr. Le Kim Chung, Viet Nam)

The meeting held by the National Assembly to adopt the present policies and position of the Government and the Conference of the representatives of tribes recently held at Kabul both point to the aforementioned fact. Meanwhile, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has gained worldwide recognition, and its prestige has been greatly enhanced. The ploy of non-recognition does not work. The will of the people will outlast any attempts of the imperialist and hegemonist forces.

The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam supports without reserve the principled position and goodwill of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. We share the joy and pride of our Afghan brothers and sisters who have stood the test of time, overcome the most difficult period of their revolution and are now firmly defending their revolutionary gains and their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The delegation of Viet Nam commends the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative for their efforts and contributions to the promotion of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan. We sincerely hope that the latter will have a more positive and substantive response to direct talks so that their differences can be settled peacefully.

We denounce and condemn the acts of intervention and interference by imperialism, hegemonism and reaction, as well as the obstructive attitude vis-à-vis the peaceful settlement of the questions of the region.

Direct talk is now the best choice for a solution in this region. Polemics do not help. A solution acceptable to responsible people of conscience is one that addresses the crux of the matter, that reflects the aspiration of the peoples of the region and that guarantees the legitimate interests of the parties concerned. Such a solution cannot be found through polemics and even less through imposition.

(Mr. Le Kim Chung, Viet Nam)

For those reasons the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will vote against draft resolution A/40/L.11, which is now before the General Assembly

Mr. THIOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) (interpretation from French):

Since this is the sixth consecutive year in which this body has examined the agenda item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan," it might perhaps be useful to recall some salient facts.

On 14 December 1979 the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority a draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union and entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations". That draft resolution, which became General Assembly resolution 34/103, clearly defined the policy of hegemonism in the following way. Hegemonism, it stated

"is a manifestation of the policy of State, or a group of States, to control, dominate and subjugate, politically, economically, ideologically or militarily, other States, peoples or regions of the world ... manifests itself in the use or threat of use of force, foreign domination and intervention.

... Hegemonism, global and regional, in all its different forms, leads to a serious threat to international peace and security." (resolution 34/103, third, fifth and seventh preambular paragraphs)

The resolution unequivocally

"condemns hegemonism in all its manifestations and calls for the withdrawal of all occupation forces back to their own territories, so as to enable the peoples of all States to determine and administer their own affairs".

(resolution 34/103, paras. 1 and 7)

Eleven days later Afghanistan was invaded and occupied by the armed forces of the Soviet Union, which, under the pretext of having been invited by President Amin - whom they had assassinated a few days earlier - carried to Kabul in their tanks Babrak Kamal. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan took place almost a year to the day after the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea.

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Those two events clearly show that never in the history of mankind has the abyss between word and deed been so wide, between the ideal proclaimed and the macabre reality. Never in the annals of crimes against humanity, against the independence of nations and the freedom of peoples, have demagoguery and falsehood been used in such an ignoble and cynical manner to serve a strategy of world and regional domination.

Each year for the past six years our consideration of the situation in Afghanistan provides us with an opportunity to draw the parallel between that situation and the situation in Kampuchea, which we discussed several days ago. Indeed, every year the words and deeds of the invaders and occupiers, in Afghanistan as in Kampuchea, are very alike in all spheres - military, political and diplomatic - so true is it that the creators of those two situations have been trained in the same school and are guided by similar and complementary expansionist and hegemonist ambitions on both the world and the regional levels.

This year, in contempt of the repeated appeals by the international community to withdraw all their forces from Afghanistan, the invaders are obstinately pursuing their dream of subjugating the Afghan people once and for all and forcing the world to accept their fait accompli. To that end, just like the Vietnamese in Kampuchea, the Soviet occupiers are carrying out activities on three principal levels.

First, they are strengthening their military position in an attempt to eradicate all national resistance. The Soviet forces in Afghanistan - euphemistically known as a "limited contingent" - which numbered 80,000 men in 1980, are today estimated at between 150,000 and 250,000 men, with a very large number of tanks, armoured vehicles, missiles and combat aircraft estimated to be as many as 600 by a lieutenant of the Kabul régime who recently deserted.

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According to the Mujaheddin, the Soviet air and land forces pursue a scorched-earth policy that entails destroying, burning and killing everything in their path with the aim of creating a depopulated zone that would eliminate any possibility of contact between the resisters and the population. The most violent Soviet attacks have taken place in the eastern part of Afghanistan near the Pakistan border, just as the most violent Vietnamese attacks in Kampuchea took place near the Thai border.

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Kampuchea)

Nevertheless, despite the enormous forces being used and despite the odious crimes committed against the civilian population, the enemy has totally failed in its attempt to eliminate the national resistance in Afghanistan, just as in Kampuchea. Not only has it failed, but it has paid dearly for its failure.

Secondly, along with that intensification of its military operations against the national resistance, the enemy has increased its pressure on Pakistan, just as Viet Nam is increasing its pressure on Thailand. The violations of Pakistani territory and airspace are on the increase, and the number of Pakistani civilians killed by enemy bombardments is growing. The frontier between Pakistan and Afghanistan is gradually becoming a common frontier with the Soviet Union, just as Viet Nam regards the frontier between Kampuchea and Thailand as its own frontier between Viet Nam and Thailand.

The aim of this Soviet pressure is to compel Pakistan to recognize the puppet régime of Kabul and, consequently, the fait accompli of the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan; but, just as Thailand's position in the face of the Vietnamese pressure has not weakened, Pakistan's position remains stronger than ever. In a statement made before Parliament, Mr. Yaqub Khan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, stressed:

"The people of Pakistan will never yield to pressure, and these impudent attacks will not compel it to recognize the Kabul régime".

And thirdly, just as in the case of Viet Nam with regard to the Kampuchean problem, the Soviet Union continues its diplomatic manoeuvres aimed at deceiving the international community and leading it to believe that it favours a political settlement of the Afghan problem. The fact is that, for the past three years, indirect negotiations under United Nations auspices have made no substantial progress, in spite of the praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General and his

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Personal Representative. The basic cause of this situation is that the Soviet Union has never shown any sincere intention of withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan. Its objective is to achieve recognition of the régime installed in Kabul and to consolidate its position in Afghanistan. The frenzied military attacks and massacres of the population in the eastern and southern provinces of Afghanistan at the very moment when indirect negotiations were proceeding in Geneva shows clearly that the invader is in fact seeking a military solution. These so-called negotiations are nothing but an attempt by the enemy to evade international condemnation.

The Soviet Union in Afghanistan and Viet Nam in Kampuchea are pursuing and intensifying their crimes in spite of repeated just and reasonable appeals by this body to end them. In this regard, they are scarcely different from the apartheid régime, which continues its crimes against the black majority population of South Africa and Namibia despite numerous decisions and resolutions of the United Nations.

In implementation of resolution 1984/55 of the Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Ermacora, the Special Rapporteur, has drafted a very instructive report on violations of human rights in Afghanistan, giving irrefutable facts about bombardments and massacres of the population, the use of poison gas, reprisals and acts of terrorism, the torture of political prisoners and the situation of displaced persons in Afghanistan. He has also revealed to us that, as a result of the Soviet occupation, 80 per cent of the intelligentsia, or intellectual elite, have left the country or disappeared. Since 1981 all young men of over 15 years have been mobilized into the army. At present, since they have not in the past six years succeeded in eliminating the national resistance, the invaders are now resorting to more intensive bombardments, thereby causing more civilian deaths and

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a sharp decline in agricultural production which threaten to create a famine situation with its attendant deaths and misery.

According to reliable Afghan resistance sources, since the Soviet invasion more than one million Afghans have been killed, tens of thousands of others wounded, and about 70,000, particularly children, have been mutilated by mines or booby traps in the form of fountain pens or small toy animals which are inoffensive in appearance. The war of aggression against the Afghan people is the same as that waged against the people of Kampuchea: it is a war of aggression waged by expansionists and hegemonists which is even more barbarous than that formerly waged by the colonialists and imperialists because it is aimed at swallowing up the very territory of the country by the extermination of all its people and the extirpation of its national identity.

As a result of the savage Soviet attacks, 8,000 to 9,000 Afghan refugees arrive in Pakistan every month. The total number of these refugees has been estimated at 4 million, of whom more than 3 million are in Pakistan, to which the international community pays a sincere tribute for its humanitarian policy and its determination to continue to defend the principles of justice, freedom and true peace despite the heavy burden it has shouldered for the past six years. Because of their similar situations as front-line countries confronting wars of expansionist and hegemonistic aggression, Pakistan and Thailand enjoy the admiration of the international community for their compassion and exemplary solidarity with the peoples that are victims of these wars.

Despite the intensification of the crimes committed by the enemy, the struggle of the Afghan people and its Mujahideen continues to develop favourably. The infiltrations, the sabotage and divisive actions of the agents of the Khad, Kabul's secret police, trained and directed by the KGB, did not succeed in preventing the

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seven major resistance movements in Afghanistan, of different political tendencies, from forming, last May, a common front known as the Islamic Alliance of Afghan Mujahideen, to co-ordinate their strategy and constitute a joint command against the invaders.

Not only have the Soviet forces failed in their attempt to control the eastern and southern provinces of their country but even in the capital, Kabul, the presidential palace, the radio station, the airport, the Soviet Embassy and the residential quarters of the Soviet advisers are constantly under attack from rockets of the Mujahideen. The Panshir Valley is almost entirely controlled by the Mujahideen. The countryside belongs to the resistance. The occupiers are not even safe in the towns.

The morale of the puppet and Soviet troops is steadily declining and the number of deserters is increasing. Even in the Soviet Union, as the number of deaths in the invasion army increases, discontent and opposition are growing among the people, despite the fact that they do not have the right to manifest their feelings openly.

In this year, in which we are commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, permit me to reiterate, on behalf of the people and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, our unswerving support of and solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Afghan people. I can do no better than quote what Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, stated in his message on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a message which was published and circulated in document A/40/707/Add.1:

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Democratic Kampuchea)

"Kampuchea, since its admission to the United Nations in 1955, has spared no effort to support and encourage the peoples struggling throughout the world for their independence and freedom. Now, for nearly seven years, it has been forced to wage its struggle against a new form of alien domination, oppression and enslavement. This new phenomenon claims to be the advocate of respect for human rights and the strict defender both of the right of peoples to self-determination and of international peace and security, yet it tramples on the freedoms of other peoples, launches wars of aggression and genocide, destroys the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and threatens all the rights acquired at such cost by peoples and nations. Known as hegemonism or expansionism, it manifests itself in the flagrant and cynical violation of all the instruments of the international bill of human rights. These violations involve the destruction of the achievements of the peoples over several generations, massacres, rape, torture, imprisonment, religious intolerance and famine created and used as a weapon of genocide: all these disasters are created by the insane ambition of this new phenomenon and are the principal causes of the mass outflow of refugees." (A/40/757/Add.1, p. 3)

In his statement here in October last, our President said:

"We renew our fraternal support for and solidarity with the valiant Afghan people and the heroic Mujahideen, who are waging a struggle similar to ours; we express our profound admiration to them and our warm congratulations for the outstanding victories against the Soviet forces of aggression and occupation. Certainly, the Afghan people will never allow themselves to be subdued, and the only solution to the Afghan problem remains the total withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan so that the Afghan people can

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exercise their right to self-determination and decide themselves on their form of government and political, economic and social systems, without foreign interference, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions."

(A/40/PV.18, pp. 26, 27)

It is against this background that my delegation firmly supports draft resolution A/40/L.11, on the situation in Afghanistan and its consequences for international peace and security. We are certain that this Assembly, which since the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has always refused to accept any fait accompli in those two countries, will continue to do so by giving as massive support to draft resolution A/40/L.11 as it has just given to resolution A/40/7, on the situation in Kampuchea. Each year the Assembly has adopted similar resolutions by an increased majority. It is important that the Assembly make it clear to both world and regional expansionists and hegemonists that the international community will never allow a new form of foreign domination and repression to replace colonialism and neo-colonialism, which today have almost disappeared.

Mr. LI Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): This is the seventh time that the United Nations General Assembly has considered the situation in Afghanistan. However, the foreign military occupying authorities have year after year ignored the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and world public opinion. They have not only refused to withdraw their troops, but have also launched incessant large-scale military operations, savagely suppressing the just struggle of the Afghan people against foreign invasion and bringing appalling disasters upon them. Hundreds of thousands of Afghans, including old people, women and children, have been massacred in cold blood, and countless houses, schools and mosques have been destroyed. As farmlands have been deserted, production has

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

has dropped, and the people there are leading an extremely difficult life. In addition, millions of refugees have been forced to leave their country and to drift into land that belongs to others. In the meantime, the Karmal régime in Afghanistan, with the backing of the aggressors, has frequently violated the air space of Pakistan and wantonly bombarded the peaceful inhabitants of the area.

By relying on its strong military muscle, a super-Power has carried out armed occupation of Afghanistan, a small, weak and non-aligned Islamic country, and has been hanging on there, openly violating and trampling the United Nations Charter and the norms governing international relations. This not only constitutes an encroachment upon the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of a Member State of the United Nations but also poses a grave threat to security in Asia and the peace of the world. This development cannot but arouse the serious concern of the international community over the situation in Afghanistan.

Following the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, which adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution demanding the withdrawal of foreign occupation troops from Afghanistan, the 15th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, the 26th meeting of the Moslem World League and other international organizations all issued statements and adopted resolutions expressing concern over the invasion of Afghanistan and demanding the immediate withdrawal of foreign aggressor troops from that country, the restoration of Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status and respect for the right to self-determination of the Afghan people. All this has given full expression to the prevalent aspirations and strong demands of countries and peoples throughout the world that love peace and uphold justice. This was also borne out by the statements on this question made by representatives of most countries when addressing the General Assembly in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

The valiant Afghan people have already persisted in their struggle against foreign aggression for six years. Fighting in defence of their national independence and survival, they have defied brute force and maintained their resistance, turning the whole of Afghanistan into a field of battle against the aggressors. The heroic struggles of the Afghan people have clearly shown that in the world of today the policy of seeking domination of the world by resorting to armed force and bullying the weak through one's own strength and by military conquest will get nobody anywhere. Whatever beautiful decorations may be attached to such hegemonist acts, they will not be accepted by the people and are bound to be discarded by history.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

China and Afghanistan are neighbours. Our two peoples share a time-honoured traditional friendship and have always lived in amity. After the establishment of official diplomatic ties in 1955, the relations between the two countries experienced a steady development on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. However, since the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by foreign troops, peace in that part of Asia has been undermined and the security of China also came under threat.

The Chinese Government and people vehemently condemn the foreign invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. It is the consistent position of the Chinese Government and people that the resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on the question of Afghanistan must be fully implemented, foreign troops must be withdrawn from Afghanistan immediately and unconditionally, the independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan must be restored, the Afghan people should be left alone to decide their own destiny, free from any outside interference, and the Afghan refugees must be ensured a safe and honourable return to their homeland.

We are in favour of a political settlement to the Afghan question and we have taken note of the efforts made in this regard by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. However, the Soviet authorities have refused to withdraw their troops to date and are even trying to compel others to accept the fait accompli created by their aggression and expansion, thereby placing a serious obstacle on the path to the just solution of this question. We maintain that all proposals for a political settlement must conform with the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and ensure the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions on this question. Besides, in the process of a political settlement, the views of the Afghan people who are resisting aggression must be taken into full account and be duly reflected.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

The Pakistani Government has made unremitting efforts for a political settlement of the Afghan question. We appreciate the just position of Pakistan in upholding the General Assembly resolutions and firmly demanding the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. The Pakistani Government and people have done their utmost to resettle properly and provide relief to millions of Afghan refugees, and the Iranian Government and people have also contributed to the relief efforts for the Afghan refugees. Their spirit of humanitarianism has won them praise and admiration from the international community and public opinion.

In a continued effort in search of an early solution to the Afghan question, Pakistan and some other countries have sponsored this year another draft resolution on "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security", which gives expression to the common desire of the overwhelming majority of countries and peoples in the world. The Chinese delegation is in favour of this draft resolution and calls on all other countries to give it their support.

Mr. STANGELAND (Norway): The tragic war in Afghanistan has now lasted for a longer time than the Second World War raged in Europe. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan continues, despite repeated calls by the General Assembly for the withdrawal of foreign troops. Each year has brought another escalation of military activities aimed at crushing the resistance of the Afghan people, and each escalatory step brings another wave of refugees from Afghanistan into the neighbouring countries.

The Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan is a serious violation of the fundamental principles and norms on which relations between States must be based. A situation established through the use of force in breach of recognized principles of international law must be unacceptable to any country. Especially for smaller countries, like Norway, it is of the utmost importance that the

(Mr. Stangeland, Norway)

principles of international relations be respected. In the case of Afghanistan, they are not.

It is agonizing to witness year after year the continuing suffering of the Afghan people and learn about the disintegration of Afghan society. Hunger and starvation follow in the footsteps of this brutal war, which has resulted in the largest refugee problem in the world today: 4 million Afghans have fled their homeland and as many as 2 million may be displaced within Afghanistan itself. This situation cannot and must not be allowed to continue.

And yet, despite tireless efforts by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, there has been no real progress towards a negotiated settlement. In his report the Secretary-General notes with regret that despite an earlier agreement on the modalities for the Geneva talks and a conviction on both sides that a political settlement is possible, an impasse on the procedure for the negotiations has stalled the diplomatic process. My Government shares the regret and concern of the Secretary-General and urges all sides in the conflict to renew their efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement.

My delegation believes that the core of the problem in Afghanistan is the unwillingness of the Soviet invaders to address seriously the question of troop withdrawal. Without the commitment to a timetable for the total withdrawal of all foreign troops, we cannot see any end to the suffering of the Afghan people. We again urge the Soviet Union to contribute in a decisive way to a settlement by taking steps towards terminating its occupation of Afghanistan. We also ask the Soviet Union to consider seriously the possible positive effects a comprehensive settlement may have on other important international questions, and especially on East-West relations. The authorities in Kabul must also surely be aware, after almost six years of war and destruction, that their efforts to subjugate the Afghan people are futile.

(Mr. Stangeland, Norway)

The right of the Afghan refugees to return home with safety and honour has been identified as one of the essential elements of a settlement. This can be made possible through the implementation of the other three elements which constitute the draft resolution now before us: complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; restoration of an independent and non-aligned status for Afghanistan; and self-determination for the Afghan people.

My Government is also concerned about the adverse impact the Soviet military invasion has had on the situation in the region. Repeated armed attacks along and across the border with Pakistan constitute a violation of the territorial integrity of Pakistan. We strongly urge restraint in order to avoid a further escalation of the conflict.

(Mr. Stangeland, Norway)

The vulnerable position of Pakistan causes grave concern. Besides violations of its border and air space, Pakistan carries the tremendous burden of being host country to the largest refugee population in the world today. The way that the Pakistani authorities and the Pakistani people have handled the influx of approximately 3 million refugees demands the respect and support of the international community. I should also like to pay a tribute to the humanitarian relief organizations working in the area, particularly the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross, for their efforts to alleviate the suffering of the Afghan refugees. Over the last five years Norway has provided 175 million Norwegian kroner - approximately \$US 22 million - in humanitarian assistance and will continue to support the relief work for as long as it is required.

Mr. BUCCI (Italy): The views of the 10 member States of the European Community on the situation in Afghanistan have already been clearly expressed in this debate by the representative of Luxembourg. Italy shares and supports those views.

For the seventh time the question of Afghanistan is before the General Assembly. This Assembly has passed a number of resolutions stating clear and comprehensive principles for a settlement and expressing the deep and continuous concern of the great majority of the members of the international community. Repeated appeals have been made. The Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Under Secretary-General Diego Cordovez, have spared no efforts in order to bring the parties closer to a meaningful dialogue.

Nevertheless, the crisis has not subsided. On the contrary, the tragedy of the Afghan people goes on. The Soviet occupation continues. Today the situation in Afghanistan is still one of violations of freedom and fundamental human rights

(Mr. Bucci, Italy)

and of great human suffering, as is underscored by the plight of more than 3 million refugees whom the foreign invasion has forced to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. Furthermore, there is an increasing number of violations of Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity; air raids, bombings and shellings have claimed many victims inside Pakistani territory.

We do not believe that the solution to the problems of Afghanistan can be found by military means. We support a political settlement in accordance with the principles of the Charter and relevant United Nations resolutions. To this end, we have followed with the greatest interest the recent stages of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General. We have taken note of the technical progress made at the end of the fourth and fifth rounds of the proximity talks in Geneva between Afghanistan and Pakistan, in particular as far as non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, international guarantees and the return of refugees are concerned. However, key political issues, namely, those concerning the withdrawal of foreign troops, remain to be solved. We look forward to the next round of negotiations making progress also in these essential areas.

In accordance with the principles which our Government consistently supports and with the position we have maintained in the past, together with other member countries of the European Community, Italy supports without reservation draft resolution A/40/L.11. We firmly hope that it will be approved by the great majority of the countries represented in this Assembly, which we know to be in favour of the establishment of an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan so that its people may be free to decide its own destiny.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.