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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 13 November 1985, at 10.30 a.m.

President:

Mr. DE PINIÉS

(Spain)

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

- (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 11 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 28 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/40/709)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/40/L.11)
- (c) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/40/867)

Mr. OSMAN (Somalia): Six full years have passed since non-aligned Afghanistan was brutally attacked and its territories occupied by the vastly more numerous, well-equipped armed forces of a neighbouring super-Power. The Secretary-General's report (A/40/709), of 7 October, reveals some progress, but still gives little cause for hope that an end to that unprovoked aggression is imminent. The continuing endeavours, determination and concern of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative in their delicate and difficult task of mediation are nevertheless greatly to be commended. They should continue, confident of the full support of this Assembly.

The perpetrators of these breaches of international law have to date demonstrated scant respect for the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the non-use of force in the resolution of conflicts in international relations. In so doing, they have ignored the inalienable right of peoples to determine their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system, free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever.

A once independent, principled and non-aligned nation is today suffering under an alien and ruthless military occupation. Villages are being decimated or destroyed; homes, farms, crops and livestock are being set ablaze. But the indigenous national resistance movement is not intimidated either by hostage-taking or by the attempted brain-washing of young people. Somalia stands in awed

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

admiration of the courage and faith of the proud Afghan people in their tenacious fight for freedom, their total rejection of alien domination and their willingness to carry on so unequal a struggle against unjust subjugation and the tragic suppression of their national culture and values.

The cost in human lives and the injuries, misery and suffering have been intolerable. At the same time as every effort is made to promote a political solution to the conflict, generous international humanitarian aid must continue to be extended to the innocent victims of aggression and war - particularly the many refugees, who have fled from armed aggression and oppression. The brave and hospitable neighbouring peoples, particularly in Pakistan, have also been called upon to bear the burdens not only of massive refugee flows but of wanton and unprovoked attacks on refugee camps, assassination plots against the national leaders of the Afghan people in exile and countless other infringements of sovereign land and air space. All this, too, is dangerous and greatly to be deplored.

All genuine peace-loving nations throughout the world must redouble their support for negotiations and move with renewed vigour towards an acceptable, peaceful solution. We trust that such efforts will succeed and that the remaining obstacles encountered in setting up an acceptable framework for lasting peace will be overcome.

With regard to the terms of a political settlement, my Government strongly supports the calls of the non-aligned group of States for the withdrawal of foreign troops; full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan; strict observance of the principles of non-interference and non-intervention; and the right of the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in freedom, safety and honour.

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

The Organization of the Islamic Conference has likewise expressed its deep concern in similar terms more than once, and my Government is in full concurrence with its resolutions also.

We are dealing with a situation in which the relevance of the principles of the Charter is clear. It is thus incumbent on all Member States, individually and collectively, to do all they can to promote those ends, since the present situation continues to represent a serious threat to world peace and the stability of the entire region. Mutual respect expressed in mutual guarantees is clearly called for, on the basis of respect for the principles of the Charter and the established principles of international law.

My Government trusts that the matter will remain in the forefront of our attention until - sooner rather than later - an amicable and appropriate settlement is attained. As a sponsor of draft resolution A/40/L.11, my Government expresses its full support for the restoration of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Afghan people.

Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): It is regrettable that we have been seized year after year of the item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security", and that the resolutions of the United Nations on this question have remained unimplemented. Since 1980, the General Assembly has adopted by an overwhelming majority six resolutions which have set forth the main elements for a just political and lasting solution to the Afghani question. All those resolutions called for the maintenance of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence of Afghanistan and its non-aligned character. They affirmed the right of the Afghani people to choose its Government and its political, economic and social system free from any foreign intervention. They called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan, called upon all the parties concerned to endeavour to find a political settlement of the Afghani question and authorized the Secretary-General to use his good offices to reach such a settlement.

We are all still calling for those good offices to reach a comprehensive and just settlement of the Afghani question and we are still looking forward to the day when we will witness the end of the plight of the Afghani people as a result of the withdrawal of the military foreign forces from its territories, thereby putting an end to foreign interference in its internal affairs, restoring its legitimate rights and allowing the return of its refugees to their national homeland.

Egypt is in the forefront of those countries which have expressed solidarity with the people of Afghanistan in its legitimate struggle to restore its inalienable rights. Once again today we affirm our solidarity with this fraternal people out of our belief in and adherence to the rules of international law, the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and the resolutions of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). All these principles prohibit interference in the internal affairs of

(Mr. Khalil, Egypt)

States and the use of force in international relations, and grant peoples the right to freedom, independence and self-determination.

Egypt has affirmed its position through its support of all the resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Afghanistan, the resolutions of the non-aligned countries and the OIC. Once again we call for the implementation of those resolutions to achieve a just settlement of the Afghani problem.

Egypt rejects the claim that the question of Afghanistan is an internal problem in which the United Nations should not get involved. The Afghani question, as the Assembly is aware, is a problem of a people that was subjected to military intervention by a super-Power, and the evidence demonstrates that the negative political outcome of that intervention still poses a threat to international peace and security.

It is an open secret that the adoption of the resolutions of the General Assembly on Afghanistan by such an overwhelming majority is the clearest evidence of the unswerving resolve of the international community to reject the policy of fait accompli that was imposed by foreign military forces on the Afghani people, which is still suffering under harsh circumstances that have transformed many millions of its sons into refugees living in neighbouring countries and struggling to achieve independence for Afghanistan.

The reports of the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Felix Ermacora, have proved the serious violations of human rights that are perpetuated against the Afghani people. We have also taken note of the report of the Secretary-General submitted to this session of the General Assembly in document A/40/709 and we realize that the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, have spared no effort since 1980 in making contacts with all the parties concerned to find a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the question of Afghanistan. In this context, we would like to express our support for the unstinting efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative.

(Mr. Khalil, Egypt)

The position of Egypt is based on its faith that resort to force would only exacerbate the problem. We welcome therefore the report of the Secretary-General that there is also a growing conviction

"... that a negotiated settlement is the only possible way to achieve peace in Afghanistan." (A/40/709, para. 2)

The Report of the Secretary-General reveals the concrete progress that has been achieved in negotiations in the proximity talks that have led to an understanding on three of the four instruments that would constitute the political settlement. Egypt applauds this progress and looks forward to continued negotiations, using the same method that has proved successful, namely, the proximity talks, to reach a final agreement that would achieve the desired settlement. We associate ourselves once again with the Secretary-General in his appeal to both parties to have enough determination and resolve to make the negotiations successful, and to demonstrate political will.

The Egyptian delegation followed with interest the statement made by Mr. Yaqub-Khan, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, and we should like to take this opportunity to associate ourselves with those who have expressed their appreciation of the position taken by the Republic of Pakistan, expressing an urgent desire to achieve a peaceful, comprehensive and just settlement of the question of Afghanistan and for an intensified effort to be made in this direction. Egypt looks forward to the outcome of the round of proximity talks scheduled for next month and we hope they will be crowned with success.

Once again we should like to express our appreciation of and pay a tribute to the valuable contribution made by the High Commissioner for Refugees with a view to alleviating the plight of the Afghani refugees. In this context, we appeal to all States, international, national and non-governmental organizations to continue their assistance to those refugees.

(Mr. Khalil, Egypt)

In conclusion, we should like to say once again that Egypt is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution before this session of the General Assembly contained in document A/40/L.11 in support of international efforts aimed at finding a just political solution to the problem of Afghanistan.

Mr. ESTIER (France) (interpretation from French): Since 1980 the General Assembly has regularly had on its agenda the item "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security".

Nearly six years after the Soviet intervention in December 1979 the problem of Afghanistan has still not been solved. That foreign intervention is at the very source of the crisis. The military occupation is being continued, bringing in its wake fighting and suffering, while the external administrative and ideological hold is being strengthened. Moreover, the prospects for a settlement are still uncertain. In the circumstances, reflecting the grave concern of the international community, the General Assembly has understandably decided again to include this item on the agenda of its fortieth session.

Whatever arguments are invoked in an attempt to justify it, the Soviet occupation in Afghanistan is and remains a violation of a basic principle of the Charter, which first and foremost enjoins Members of the Organization to refrain from the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

France condemns such acts. The President of the Republic, Mr. Francois Mitterrand, has repeated this firmly on several occasions. Questioned recently about the situation in Afghanistan, the Prime Minister, Mr. Laurent Fabius, stated:

"With regard to all foreign military intervention of any kind, in the East or in the West, in the South or in the North, the attitude of France and of its Government can only be severe condemnation."

The trend of the situation in Afghanistan is in every respect disturbing. The internal resistance, bolstered by broad popular support, is fighting heroically, while more than 100,000 Soviet soldiers are still trying to crush it by force of arms. Large-scale offensives continued this year in most of the provinces of

(Mr. Estier, France)

Afghanistan, while the operations undertaken along the borders with large-scale military means have produced only futile and deadly confrontations. Such military action is a logical extension of the use of force decided on nearly six years ago, which France would like to denounce once again by stressing that it will not succeed in stifling the legitimate aspirations of the people.

The intensification of the fighting has exacerbated the suffering of the civilian population. To escape the war, four million Afghans have sought refuge in Pakistan and Iran. Tension continues along the country's borders, threatening to extend the conflict to the region as a whole. One cannot but be concerned in this connection about the continued violation of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. France condemns the repeated bombings of Pakistani territory, the territory of a country which, by receiving three million refugees, is already bearing the heavy consequences of a foreign war.

In Afghanistan itself, the repression is becoming worse. Responding to the international community's concern over the increasingly specific reports of violations of human rights in Afghanistan, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights appointed a Special Rapporteur. The report this expert submitted to the Commission confirms existing fears. He draws attention to cases of imprisonment which attest to a total lack of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as to several cases of torture and disappearances, in addition to violation of humanitarian rules in the present conflict. Reasons of State cannot justify the fact that fundamental human rights are thus being flouted. The French delegation solemnly urges the responsible authorities to put an end to these unworthy practices.

(Mr. Estier, France)

The fact that 119 delegations supported the resolution on Afghanistan last year and that the item is again included in the Assembly's agenda attest to the growing concern of the international community. French public opinion shares this concern and wishes to express its spontaneous sympathy to all those who have chosen to resist foreign occupation in order to protect their right to a national identity and their freedom.

For example, many of my fellow countrymen are working selflessly to relieve on the spot the suffering of a population paying a high price for its aspiration to independence. My Government salutes the dedication and courage of these French citizens who have, for several years in the field, been providing exclusively humanitarian and medical assistance to the sorely tried Afghan people. I wish to say this before this Assembly, which is deeply concerned with ensuring respect for human rights everywhere.

International public opinion cannot understand how an eminent Member of our Organization, one, moreover, entrusted with the special responsibilities vested in the permanent members of the Security Council, can have so far departed from the Charter of the United Nations and have ignored the resolutions of the General Assembly. Continuation of such an attitude does much harm to the image of this great Power in the world.

There can be no military solution to the crisis resulting from the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. That crisis can be settled only through political means. The international community has spared no effort to seek a solution, whether in the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Islamic Conference or on the initiative of the European Council, whose proposals are still valid. Right here, the General Assembly has called upon the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to exercise their good offices.

(Mr. Estier, France)

The goal of the efforts made must be a political settlement in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. These resolutions, I would like to recall, urge the withdrawal of foreign troops, the self-determination of the Afghan people, the restoration of Afghanistan's non-aligned status and the voluntary return of the refugees to their homes.

France fully endorses these aims. France believes that any settlement achieved outside the framework thus defined might produce only a semblance of a solution. In fact it is not enough to settle the situation "around" Afghanistan; the situation must be settled "in" Afghanistan, because both the problem and its solution lie in Afghanistan itself.

We are following the Secretary-General's efforts with interest. France supports this process of mediation and hopes that it will produce speedy progress, in particular towards an agreement on a time-table for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

In Afghanistan, nearly six years after the Soviet invasion, the fait accompli has still not acquired the force of law. The injustice has not diminished with time. It has merely become worse.

Our Assembly must once again display its determination to produce a true political settlement. The crisis of Afghanistan is grave. It can be ended only when a settlement is achieved on the basis of the principles of the Charter and strict implementation of the resolutions of this Assembly. It is on these conditions that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Afghanistan will be preserved, that the suffering of the Afghan people will cease, and that one of the threats to world peace will be eliminated.

As in previous years, the French delegation supports the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly for adoption.

Miss DEVER (Belgium) (interpretation from French): As the representative of Luxembourg has already stated the views of the 10 States members of the European Community and of Spain and Portugal on the question of the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, I need only discuss that subject briefly.

Is it not deplorable that during the Organization's fortieth-anniversary year, during which so many statements have been made recalling our commitment to the lofty principles of the Charter, the General Assembly is obliged to take note of the persistent refusal of the Soviet Union to implement six resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority and of the continuing presence of Soviet occupation forces in Afghanistan? This perpetuates a situation which is in open violation of the basic principles of the Charter, among them the non-use of force, respect for human rights, the right of self-determination and territorial integrity.

Those who had hoped that the passage of time would make us forget the persistent, increasingly brutal occupation, the terrible trials of the Afghan people, and the consolidation of a courageous resistance reflecting the struggle of a people to recover its independence and freedom, which relentless oppression has been unable to conquer, have hoped in vain.

The international community has not forgotten. It is not indifferent to the suffering inflicted on an entire population, whose human rights are systematically violated by the occupation troops, as reported by Mr. Ermacora in his interim report. We await with great interest the new report now being prepared by the Special Rapporteur. It is no surprise that nearly one-third of the Afghan population has been forced into exile to become refugees in neighbouring countries, thus creating grave problems for those nations.

The social and economic problems of Pakistan - which, in having accepted more than 3 million refugees, is already bearing the heavy burden of a foreign war - have been aggravated by the repeated bombardment of the territory of that country.

(Miss Dever, Belgium)

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the 10 States members of the European Economic Community, in their declaration on Afghanistan adopted on 23 July 1985, condemned the expansion of military operations and repeated their basic position on the overall situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

The international community is not indifferent, and its concern is demonstrated each year by the growing number of countries participating in this debate.

What is the international community demanding? It is demanding nothing less than the implementation of the principles of the Charter. It is demanding that, in accordance with those principles, Soviet troops be withdrawn immediately from Afghanistan; that that country, freed at last from foreign occupation, recover its status as a genuinely non-aligned independent country; that its people be enabled fully to exercise its right of self-determination; and that the return of the refugees take place in safety and honour. Would that not be the best way of commemorating the International Year of Peace in 1986?

In last year's vote on the resolution on Afghanistan, 119 States clearly expressed their desire for a political solution. It is essential that the Assembly not slacken its efforts or its pressure, so that the Soviet Union can understand the refusal of the overwhelming majority of Member countries to recognize this fait accompli, and understand its obligation to put an end to its occupation.

It is in that spirit that my delegation, as it has done in previous years, will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Assembly.

Mr. MEESMAN (Netherlands): In December 1979 the world was shocked by the news that the armed forces of the Soviet Union had crossed the border into Afghanistan and that the military occupation of that small non-aligned country was under way. In the years that followed, millions of Afghans were forced to flee

(Mr. Meesman, Netherlands)

their homes, and the situation continues to pose a grave threat to regional stability and to international peace and security. For we cannot escape the reality that the ideal of a world founded on the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations has been seriously compromised by the proven readiness of one super-Power to pursue its political aims by military means, and at the price of another people's independent national existence.

As the Ambassador of Luxembourg stressed in his statement on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community, and Spain and Portugal, this debate serves as a reminder that the international community cannot and will not acquiesce in the continuous attempts of the Soviet Union to subdue the people of Afghanistan by the use of its overwhelming military might and to impose on that non-aligned country a régime of its own making. The dangerous consequences of the Soviet intervention for the stability of the entire region are clearly visible in the frequent violations of Pakistan's territorial integrity and airspace. In that connection I wish to recall that in July the 10 member States of the European Community vigorously condemned the bombing of Pakistan's territory and called once again on the Soviet Union to terminate its intervention, which is at the origin of the conflict.

In giving its full support to the draft resolution on this question, the Netherlands Government joins the rest of the international community in its condemnation of the Soviet Union's violation of Afghanistan's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence. Together with the great majority of United Nations Member States, the Netherlands believes that the tragic suffering inflicted upon millions of Afghans and the destabilizing effects of the Soviet occupation can be redressed only through a negotiated settlement in accordance with the principles outlined in that draft resolution. First and foremost among the elements underlying a solution to the Afghan crisis is the

(Mr. Meesman, Netherlands)

removal of its principal cause: the massive intervention and the occupation of the country by Soviet troops. The withdrawal of those forces according to a fixed timetable is the keystone of a comprehensive settlement allowing the Afghan people to exercise freely its right of self-determination, enabling the refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour, and permitting Afghanistan to resume its traditional status as a neutral, non-aligned and independent State.

To our deep concern, the Soviet Union's resort to prevarication whenever this all-important issue is raised seems to point to a continued absence of political will to co-operate, genuinely and in a constructive spirit, in international efforts to bring about an agreement along those lines.

(Mr. Meesman, Netherlands)

The lack of tangible progress in these negotiations is the more troubling because the situation in Afghanistan has not ceased to deteriorate over the past six years. The scourge of war brought upon Afghanistan by the Soviet invasion is acutely felt by the entire population of the country. The resistance put up by the Afghan freedom fighters, whose indomitable courage in the face of such heavy odds bears testimony to the Afghan people's traditional fierce attachment to their independence, has kept large tracts of the country outside the effective control of the occupier. In response, the occupation army has resorted to scorched-earth tactics and the indiscriminate use of violence against the civilian population. Systematic bombardments of villages and the deliberate destruction of the rural infrastructure have laid waste much of the countryside and caused a huge exodus of refugees to other areas and neighbouring countries. As a result, agricultural production has dropped sharply and there are alarming reports about the threat of famine caused by food shortages and cases of malnutrition, in particular among children.

Popular resistance against the régime imposed by foreign armed intervention is repressed with a callous disregard of the most elementary principles of human rights. The country's prisons are crowded with thousands of political prisoners, torture and ill-treatment of persons taken into custody are commonplace and the number of death sentences and arbitrary executions is on the rise. As the Afghan people cannot be blamed for refusing to submit itself to the tyranny of a régime brought to power and backed by foreign troops, the Soviet Union carries a heavy share of the responsibility for the appalling human rights situation in that country.

The wholesale destruction and devastation visited upon the country convinced millions of Afghans that the only way to escape the continuous warfare and its attendant plagues was to seek refuge across the borders. In a massive exodus more

(Mr. Meesman, Netherlands)

than 4 million Afghan citizens, almost one third of the entire population, left their homes and fled to the safety of neighbouring countries. In Pakistan alone 3 million refugees have found hospitality and a generous welcome. However, the influx of so many uprooted people in search of shelter and food severely taxes Pakistan's already burdened economy. For that reason, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other international agencies have assumed an important part in international efforts to alleviate the situation.

The refugee problem can only be solved, however, in the framework of a comprehensive settlement negotiated on the basis of the United Nations resolution. Specific proposals for a solution in accordance with the principles of this resolution have emanated from the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the European Council. In the view of my Government, all these approaches retain their validity. The Netherlands continues to give its full support to the endeavours of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Cordovez, whose latest report we have studied carefully. The report rightly concludes that the successful outcome of the negotiations now requires an unequivocal demonstration of political will.

In the view of my Government, it is primarily up to the Soviet Union to muster that political will to break the present deadlock by clearly signalling its intention to withdraw from Afghanistan. It is time for the Soviet Union to recognize that there is no military solution to the question of Afghanistan. The continued use of force and coercion will turn Afghanistan into a permanent zone of war and exacerbate tensions in South-West Asia and, indeed, throughout the world. We are convinced, therefore, that the interests of all the parties concerned and the cause of peace and stability in general will be best served by a settlement in accordance with the draft resolution, to which the overwhelming majority of this Assembly will give the same support as it has given similar resolutions in the past.

Mr. MAHBUBANI (Singapore): Singapore is one of the smallest Member States of the United Nations. It is a militarily weak State. Because we are small and because we are militarily weak, we have a major stake in the efficacy of international law, in the principles of the United Nations Charter and in the United Nations collective security system. It is because our national security is threatened whenever a small or militarily weak State falls victim to aggression, intervention or interference by a bigger or militarily more powerful State that Singapore has been so outspoken in defence of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter wherever they have been violated, whether it be in Afghanistan, Kampuchea or Grenada. We believe that all small and militarily weak States share with us the same interest in protecting these principles which afford us a degree of protection in a world which is all too prone to violence.

When an item has been on the General Assembly's agenda for a few years and when we have heard the same arguments repeated several times there is a tendency to lose sight of the significance of the issue being discussed. Afghanistan is being considered by the General Assembly for the seventh time. There is a need, therefore, to pause, to take a fresh look at the subject and to remind oneself of the significance of the issue being discussed.

The Afghanistan issue is significant for many reasons. First, it is the only contemporary example of a small nation suffering from invasion and occupation by a neighbouring super-Power. This in itself is a remarkable fact when one remembers that throughout recorded history, as nations have grown in strength, they have almost inevitably evolved into empires. Today, with the advent of the United Nations and the acceptance by 159 Member States of the United Nations Charter, which has decreed "the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members", the international community no longer allows any nation, no matter how strong and powerful, to invade or occupy its neighbour - a right that the super-Powers of the

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past arrogated to themselves. If we here today in the United Nations fail to reverse the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, we shall only be helping to turn the clock of history backward. Therefore each and every Member State of this Organization, and - I stress this - especially each of the smaller States, has a powerful vested interest in the outcome of United Nations efforts to free Afghanistan.

Secondly, we take it as a given fact that the United Nations accelerated the decolonization of the world. This special role of the United Nations is enshrined in Chapter XI of its Charter, which states, inter alia, that the people of Non-Self-Governing Territories should be "allowed to develop self-government". If the Soviet Union succeeds in Afghanistan, the tide of decolonization, which is almost spent, may be replaced by a new tide of recolonization, which has so far surfaced in Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

For these two reasons, the Member States of this Organization should support the draft resolution before us calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the restoration of Afghanistan's freedom and independence.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

The opponents of this draft resolution have made only one major counter-argument: they say that it amounts to an interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. That argument is not new; we have heard it each year during the Afghanistan debate. Since it has been repeated again this year, perhaps we should once again briefly discuss who is really interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

The Soviet Union has argued that Soviet troops entered Afghanistan on 24 December 1979 at the invitation of the Government of Afghanistan and in accordance with the 1978 Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Good-Neighbourliness concluded between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. The critical question before us is who issued the invitation on behalf of the Government of Afghanistan. It could not have been President Hafizullah Amin, the then President and Head of Government of Afghanistan, because he was killed by Soviet troops on 27 December, three days after the Soviet invasion began. Was the invitation issued by Babrak Karmal? The fact is that on 24 December 1979 Babrak Karmal was not a member of the Government of Afghanistan and, therefore, had no authority to act on its behalf. He was then living in exile in Eastern Europe; he was brought back to Kabul by the Soviet Union on 27 December when Hafizullah Amin was killed.

Significantly, the first announcement that Babrak Karmal was the new leader of Afghanistan came in a radio broadcast from the Soviet Union.

It is difficult, then, to escape the conclusion that the Amin Government had never invited or consented to the entry of Soviet troops. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan is therefore without any legal justification. It is an act of aggression within the meaning of Article 2 (4) of the United Nations Charter and of General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX). The Soviet Union has also committed a

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crime against international peace, again as defined in General Assembly resolutions 3314 (XXIX) and 2625 (XXV). General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) contains the definition of aggression, while its resolution 2625 (XXV) contains the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The Soviet Union probably believed when it invaded Afghanistan and installed a puppet régime that the struggle would be over very quickly. It seemed to be an unequal fight: the clash of a titanic modern military machine with a group of fiercely independent but ill-equipped Afghan warriors. Few of us then expected the Afghans to survive long against the crushing power of the Soviet military machine.

It is therefore truly remarkable that almost six years after the invasion the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is not yet an established fact. The Afghan resistance movement has become a national liberation war, posing a real and formidable challenge to Soviet control over Afghanistan. The war has wreaked so many casualties on Soviet soldiers that the Soviet public - which has long been kept in the dark about the war - has finally begun to be told the truth. And here, since we have heard in the course of this debate so many accounts of Western press reports, I hope that I will be allowed to quote the following from an article published on the front page of yesterday's issue of The New York Times:

"... after almost six years of combat, after hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers have served in Afghanistan and thousands have been killed or wounded, the Kremlin cannot pretend that a few Russian soldiers are in Afghanistan temporarily only to help out."

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

Another article that I have read in a Swiss magazine - and, I hope, therefore more objective - helps to explain why the occupation forces have failed. It states:

"... countless facts attest to the unsuitability of these troops and the steady decline of their morale. Soviet pilots keep their aircraft at high altitudes when they anticipate enemy machine-gun fire, despite its minimal effectiveness. Soviet troops show little desire for combat; they hesitate to leave their armoured vehicles and occupy much of their time and energy with black-market transactions, swapping ammunition and even rifles for hashish and food. There has been a sharp rise in drug addiction; heroin ... with its deadly narcotic is beginning to turn up everywhere. Even though the resistance movement has taken few actual prisoners of war in the sense prescribed by the Geneva Convention, and there is only a small number of politically motivated deserters, it has become increasingly evident that Soviet soldiers are leaving their posts."

Those points were again reiterated in a three-part series published in The New York Times from 31 October to 2 November. Again, I shall quote the following passage from the article by Arthur Bonner in which he writes:

"Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan use drugs extensively, and some Russians sell gasoline, ammunition and stolen guns to support their habits, according to several Russian defectors living with Afghan rebels.

"In addition, several rebel commanders say that they have captured Russians while the soldiers were drugged or while they were trying to buy hashish or heroin from village merchants.

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"According to Western diplomats and analysts of the Afghan situation in Pakistan and elsewhere, Russian troops in Afghanistan have turned to drugs for the same reasons that many Americans did in Viet Nam: they are young, away from home constraints, bored, frightened and under fierce pressure to prove themselves. And many of the Russian soldiers in Afghanistan are said by the defectors to have a 10th-to-12th-grade education." (The New York Times, 2 November 1985, p. 1)

Clearly, therefore, we have enough evidence that the Soviet army in Afghanistan has become demoralized and undisciplined. One would have thought that, with such a demoralized army, the Afghan population might have benefited from it, but they have not.

As a result of the growing frustration at its inability to contain the resistance, the Soviet occupation army has resorted to even more brutal methods, principally against the civilian population. More powerful helicopter gunships, increased fire power and more cruelly the use of anti-personnel mines and booby-trapped toys have caused thousands of casualties. The countryside is gradually becoming depopulated with abandoned villages, bombed-out houses and desiccated orchards.

To get some idea of the casualties in Afghanistan, I should like to re-read what my colleague from Canada, Ambassador Stephen Lewis, said yesterday in the following remarkable little paragraph:

"For example, in the little field hospital in Peshawar during the month of July there were 199 war-wounded admitted, 478 surgical operations performed and 962 patients otherwise treated. But, take those figures, multiply them by the network of field hospitals and mobile emergency stations in Pakistan and

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

Iran, as well as the tens of thousands of casualties dealt with in Afghanistan itself, and further multiply them by 12 months in the year and by the almost six years for which a war has raged with unrelieved ferocity and then note the constant references to surgical, orthopaedic and paraplegic procedures, and one has in the ICRC reports the microcosm of a nation massacred and mutilated." (A/40/PV.73, p. 97)

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

And while all this has been going on, we have heard some reports here in the debate that life for the Afghans has never been better. We have been told that the number of doctors, hospital beds, and State-run pharmacies has doubled since 1979. But we have not been told whether they are adequate to serve the millions of Afghans killed or wounded by the war. We have been told that over a million Afghans have been saved from the peril of illiteracy; but we have not been told whether in the same period over one million other people have also been slaughtered. Again, as the Canadian Ambassador put it so eloquently yesterday:

"In the choice between literacy and life, they would, like all the rest of us, have chosen life. But why must they make the choice? Why can they not have both?" (A/40/PV.73, p. 102)

In addition to this ruthless policy of pacification, there has been, as noted by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in the discussion here, an effort to "Sovietize" the country. Varying estimates of 25,000 to 40,000 Afghans are said to be studying in the Soviet Union, in the hope of creating a new pliant and docile generation. Even more disturbing is the creeping annexation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. Power in the Government Ministries seems to be in the hands of a few high-level Afghan officials, but the key posts are held by Soviet citizens. Economic integration is in full swing. The country's total output of natural gas is piped to the Soviet Union.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

Time and time again we have been told that we should judge a nation by its actions. Only recently Mr. Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, gave an interview to Time magazine of 9 September 1985, when he said,

"There should be no difference between words and deeds. The deeds should match words."

So far, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan has resulted, according to certain conservative estimates, a quarter of a million casualties and, according to others, a million casualties. We have also seen one-third of its population fleeing as refugees, thus imposing a tremendous burden on Pakistan and Iran, and widespread destruction of the countryside. It has been a bitterly painful experience for the Afghan population. Some observers have tried to romanticize the Afghan resistance fighter. In fact, he has been fighting a sad, brutal and ugly war, a war that should be stopped immediately. Since all this suffering began with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, it is primarily the Soviet Union which has the responsibility today to help find a peaceful solution.

And here, a dispassionate analysis of the Afghan problem should also convince the Soviet Union that it is in the Soviet Union's interest to help find a solution to Afghanistan. The invasion of Afghanistan has proved to be a costly mistake. Firstly, as I have documented earlier, it has been costly to the morale of the Soviet army. Secondly, the war in Afghanistan has been costly to the Soviet Union in economic terms. Thirdly, it has been costly by damaging relations between the Soviet Union and the non-aligned countries, to which the Soviet Union has historically attached great importance. The overwhelming majority of the non-aligned countries have condemned Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and supported United Nations resolutions. Fourthly, it has been costly to the Soviet

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

Union's relations with the Islamic countries. Finally, as the Malaysian Ambassador said yesterday:

"At the international level, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan fills many of us with alarm and a deep sense of vulnerability, because we see a super-Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, with special responsibility for maintaining peace and security in accordance with the principles of the Charter, displaying its contempt for those very principles."

(A/40/PV.73, p. 83)

It is encouraging to read in the report of the Secretary-General that the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States have reiterated on several occasions their Governments' support for a negotiated political settlement and for a continuation of the Secretary-General's efforts. However, as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has documented in his address here on the subject, some of the more recent negotiations have unfortunately failed, because of new conditions created by the Kabul régime. We sincerely hope that the creation of new conditions is not an attempt by the Soviet Union to buy time to consolidate its position in Afghanistan. Indeed, in principle, my delegation supports direct negotiations in any conflict, but for the direct negotiations to succeed they should always be between the parties principally involved in the actual fighting - in the case of Afghanistan, between the Soviet Union and the Mujahideen.

Finally, the draft resolution that we have before us is a moderate one. It has been gently crafted to provide the Soviet Union a diplomatic way out of Afghanistan. It includes only elements based on the principles enshrined in the Charter, namely, first, it calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; second, it calls for the restoration of Afghan independence; third, it asserts the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future; and fourth, it guarantees the right of the refugees to return to their homes.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

It also provides a renewed mandate for the Secretary-General and his Representative to continue their constructive efforts to find a solution to the Afghan problem.

We therefore hope that more nations will vote for the draft resolution this year, which has been co-sponsored by 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, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, the Philippines, Qatar, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Zaire and my country, Singapore. We feel that the larger the vote for this draft resolution of the United Nations, the more likely it is that Afghanistan will regain its freedom and independence, and the more likely it is that we will have a safer world for the smaller nations in the next forty years.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): We have heard the last speaker in the debate on agenda item 28.

I shall now call on those representatives who would like to explain their vote before the vote.

May I remind members that, in accordance with decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): My delegation will vote for the draft resolution on Afghanistan. On behalf of my Government, I wish to explain the following clarifications.

The tragedy of the invasion of Afghanistan by Russian forces is not only a violation of all norms of international law and an illegal intervention which totally disregards the Islamic cultural character of the Moslem people of Afghanistan, but is also a threat to the peace, security and stability of the region as a whole.

The Islamic country of Afghanistan, because of its geographical location, sharing 800 kilometres of borders with us, and the deep-rooted common heritage of our two nations, is of vital importance to our country. Because of our common history, our common language and above all our common Islamic religion, the destiny of the people of Afghanistan is inseparable from the destiny of our people. Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran cannot remain silent about, or indifferent to, the military occupation of Afghanistan, the bombardment of its civilian areas and the brutal massacre of hundreds of thousands of innocent people.

Moreover, the occupation has caused the displacement of approximately 5 million people, nearly one third of the entire population of Afghanistan, of whom around 2 million have taken refuge in the Islamic Republic of Iran; the rest are in Pakistan. The Moslem people of Iran, in spite of the heavy burden of the imposed war, is pleased to host its Afghan brothers and sisters, notwithstanding the heavy load this hospitality puts on our strained economy, which must not go unnoticed.

However, the fundamental problem is that what are usually described in oversimplified terms as the internal affairs of Afghanistan do not seem to be so internal; the overflow of these so-called internal affairs has been affecting others considerably. That is because the so-called democratic régime in Afghanistan represents only those external forces without whose constant firepower

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

support the régime cannot remain in power, and which are prepared to exterminate many more hundreds of thousands of the Afghan people in order to keep that unwanted régime on its paralysed feet.

By any standards, those who cannot rule without the military support of foreign forces can have no claim to legitimacy, and any invitation issued by such an illegitimate régime in order to meet an overstated, so-called military contingency has no validity. We see no justification whatever for the land of Afghanistan becoming a battleground for foreign forces ranged against the Afghan people, so many of whom remain refugees in other countries.

In the view of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the only possible political solution to the problem of Afghanistan is the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet military occupation forces from Afghanistan, the voluntary return with honour of the Afghan refugees to their homeland and recognition of the Afghan people's inalienable right to self-government and self-determination.

We believe that all talks in which the people of Afghanistan, the main party to the negotiations, are not present are invalid.

The representative of Mr. Karmal's régime called in his statement for direct negotiations without further delay, and, surprisingly enough, the Afghan Mujahideen, the real party to the negotiations, are also eagerly urging the same. Thus, if good will prevails, real, constructive negotiations can start immediately; but the present talks in Geneva - with all respect to the initiative of the Secretary-General, and notwithstanding the good will and valuable efforts of his Personal Representative - no matter how successful or rich in content those talks may be, are devoid of validity, because of the absence of the Afghan people.

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran therefore has reservations about the eighth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution.

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Islamic Republic of Iran)

Bearing in mind the foregoing points, the Islamic Republic of Iran has had the situation in Afghanistan under close surveillance, and is of the opinion that a solution to the problem which guarantees Afghanistan's freedom and independence, free from the intervention and interference of all foreign forces - I stress "all" - is not at all impossible. We still remain optimistic, and we hope that such a solution will be found.

The present struggle is best explained by the Holy Koran, when it refers to what is apparently the only legitimate factor in the complex situation affecting the people of Afghanistan. It says:

"Sanction is given unto those who fight because they have been wronged; and Allah is indeed Able to give them victory" (The Holy Koran, XXII: 39).

Such is the struggle of the Afghan people.

Mr. MOYA PALENCIA (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): It is the first purpose of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures to prevent and remove threats to peace and to quell acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace. That purpose gives rise to the cardinal principle in Article 2.4 of the San Francisco Charter, which says:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state."

Mexico considers that that rule is of universal validity and cannot be subject to interpretations or exceptions. We have always defended it firmly in all forums as a basic principle of peaceful coexistence, with an unbreakable link to two other

(Mr. Moya Palencia, Mexico)

important principles that our country has helped to introduce into positive international law: respect for the free self-determination of peoples and absolute non-intervention by one State in the affairs of another.

Mexico has always condemned acts of aggression, whether direct or indirect, illegal occupation and any other overt or covert action involving the threat or use of force or aimed at toppling or destabilizing legitimately constituted Governments. We have said so since December 1979 with regard to the presence of Soviet troops on Afghan territory, and in January 1980 the Government of Mexico proposed the convening of what became the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly, to consider the question now before us once again. Since then we have given our resolute support to all the resolutions adopted by the Assembly.

(Mr. Moya Palencia, Mexico)

Unfortunately, and despite the appeals contained in these resolutions, foreign troops have not been withdrawn from the territory of Afghanistan, nor has it been possible for the brave people of that country to exercise freely their right to determine their own form of Government and to choose their political, economic and social system without foreign intervention of any kind. Regrettably, the report on the valuable efforts made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, reflect stagnation in the negotiations on this problem, which also includes the displacement of countless refugees from the invaded country.

The situation in Afghanistan is an example of a regional conflict which must be solved through peaceful legal means in which the occupying State must abandon any attempts at hegemony. The fact that a large majority of Members of the United Nations has condemned this occupation ever since it occurred attests to its general repudiation and the demand for its cessation. The United Nations must continue to react firmly and with imagination in this case, as in others, with a view to promoting the settlement of disputes and purposefully seeking the maintenance of peace.

In strict loyalty to its policy of abiding by the principles of the San Francisco Charter, maintaining its determination to strengthen the role of the competent bodies of the United Nations in order to guarantee peace and prevent invasions and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of States, Mexico, for the reasons given earlier and reiterated, resolutely supports draft resolution A/40/L.11. Mexico earnestly hopes that foreign troops will be speedily withdrawn from the territory of Afghanistan and that the Afghan people will be allowed complete freedom of action, and recalls that, as in the case of other regions and conflicts, it has repeatedly stated its commitment to the same principles.

Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In explanation of vote the Soviet delegation would like to reaffirm its conclusion, shared by several other delegations which have also spoken here, that the discussion which has taken place once again demonstrates and confirms the obvious fact that some countries have tried to use it to camouflage the undeclared war they have been waging against Afghanistan. It was not difficult to see that particularly vicious and slanderous attacks on Democratic Afghanistan and its policy were made by those who are the main participants in that war, and above all the United States and Pakistan and certain other countries which support them. In their statements the representatives of these States deliberately passed over in silence what their Governments were doing to undermine and overthrow the people's revolutionary system in Afghanistan. It is perfectly understandable that they do not want to admit the facts about who is arming and directing those who are destroying schools, who is to blame for the deaths of hundreds of peaceful Afghan civilians, and who is preventing the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan from carrying out its constructive policy of developing the economy and raising the material and cultural standards of living of the people.

But these facts cannot be hushed up. All of those who really want to know the truth can find it. The most recent information in this respect is that on 5 November a press conference was held in Kabul at which new documented facts were presented about the subversive activity of and direct interference by the United States and other Western countries in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Mention was made at the press conference of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) group headed by Charles Thornton which, at the beginning of September of this year formed a band of counter-revolutionaries who infiltrated illegally into the territory of Afghanistan. This band included the American citizens Jack Jackson, John Morgan and Peter Shlotter, who were CIA operatives. During an armed clash a number of these CIA men were killed, and although it was possible to have their bodies sent

(Mr. Safronchuk, USSR)

into Pakistan, their personal documents, maps with plans for subversive activities as well as diaries and notebooks were left behind at the scene of the clash.

Analysis of these documents indicates that these CIA operatives had taught the bandits how to use modern weapons and to organize subversive activities, and had gathered intelligence material.

Among the documents seized were two instructive letters. One was addressed to the head of the band called Ismail, and contained instructions on how to dress these bandits in the uniforms of Afghan and Soviet servicemen, how to kill, destroy and plunder, and how to disseminate rumours to the effect that all this had been done by Afghan and Soviet soldiers. These are the kinds of unsavory devices resorted to by those who here have been championing the rights of the Afghan people.

In so far as some of the speakers here have attacked the policy of the Soviet Union using data from the so-called report of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Afghanistan, I should like to say a few words about that report. The Soviet representatives in the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council have already had the opportunity to unmask these unworthy lies. Once again we should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that this so-called report contains totally unfounded, absolutely fabricated accusations regarding Afghanistan. For example, it asserts - without any reference whatsoever to sources - that allegedly the Afghan economy has been practically destroyed, that there is a decline in agriculture, that production of foodstuffs is at a standstill, that there is a lack of food, and that in some regions there is a threat of famine. These are all complete fabrications. As is clear from official statistical data cited here, the gross national product of Afghanistan since 1978, that is, after the revolution, increased by 11 per cent and exceeded the pre-revolutionary level.

(Mr. Safronchuk, USSR)

The processing and power industries increased threefold and agricultural production by 7.3 per cent. Foreign trade doubled. Supplies to the population of necessary products and goods increased and workers' salaries doubled. As a result of the land reform, hundreds of thousands of peasant families received land and water and their living standards were considerably improved. Furthermore, there is not only no threat of famine in Afghanistan, but Afghanistan exports agricultural and food products and the people have a far better supply of food than those of other developing countries.

Thus, the report is nothing but a crude falsification and those who base themselves on such documents - as the representative of Canada, in particular, did yesterday when he was whipping up emotions - merely show to what a low level they have sunk by getting dragged into a discussion of these kinds of fabrication.

All this is being done with only one objective in mind: to divert the attention of the Assembly from the real, crude, mass violations by the racist régime of Pretoria of the human rights of the indigenous population of South Africa, the violations by Israel of the human rights of the population of the occupied Arab territories and the crude violations of human rights in Chile and several other countries.

The initiators of this war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and those who participate in it are trying to use the United Nations to interfere in the internal affairs of that country. This again reaffirms that they want to prevent Afghanistan from advancing along the path of democratic, revolutionary change. They are trying to send the people of Afghanistan back to mediaeval backwardness and obscurantism and to destroy the fruits of the April Revolution. In view of all this the Soviet delegation will vote against the draft resolution under discussion since we believe -

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I apologize for interrupting the speaker, but his 10 minutes have passed and I must thank him for concluding his statement.

Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has consistently and categorically objected to the inclusion of the artificial question of Afghanistan on the agenda of the General Assembly and firmly rejects any discussion of its internal matters in this Assembly or in any other international forum.

We wish to point out that the submission of draft resolution A/40/L.11 constitutes a gross violation of the United Nations Charter and outright and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The real sponsors of the debate and the draft resolution have arrogated to themselves the right to advise the Afghan people on the form of the socio-economic and political system they should adopt. We must emphasize that the Afghan people have already chosen their path and nothing will deter them from following it. Despite the imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary undeclared war launched against our revolution and people, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, with the resolute support and backing of the Afghan people, has continued with unshakeable determination to implement a comprehensive programme of economic and social reforms in the interest of the overwhelming majority of our proud and noble people.

The draft resolution also contains a reference to the so-called refugees. The Pakistani authorities, with a view to giving a highly dramatic and sentimental magnitude to the matter, have deliberately and irresponsibly fabricated numbers which are grossly at variance with the real numbers of refugees. There is, of course, another reason for so highly inflating and exaggerating these numbers:

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

that is, to pocket hundreds of millions of dollars from Governments and international relief agencies in the name of refugee assistance. Revelations by some United Nations sources and others fully substantiate what we have been stating in the past few years about double registration, over-registration, fraud and embezzlement, and registration of large numbers of Afghan nomads and local inhabitants as refugees. As for bona fide refugees, a general amnesty has been declared for all Afghans temporarily living abroad. Regrettably, however, every effort is being made by Pakistan to prevent the dissemination of this declaration among the Afghans living there. But despite the deliberate obstacles placed in their way by Pakistan with the help of the counter-revolutionaries, many thousands of those Afghans have already returned to their homeland.

There is also a reference in the draft resolution to the "withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan". We must state emphatically that the limited military contingent of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan is there at the explicit request and wish of its lawful and legitimate Government. This contingent was invited for the sole purpose of helping the Afghan people and armed forces to repel aggression from outside. The reasons for which this contingent was invited into the country not only persist but have become all the more overwhelming as a result of the steady and rapid escalation of the undeclared war and the lack of any realistic hope for the reversal of the present situation.

The dichotomy between the words and the deeds of Pakistan and its imperialist and hegemonist masters is obvious in the light of the fact that ever greater quantities of increasingly sophisticated arms and equipment are being channelled to the counter-revolutionary criminal bands stationed in Pakistan. There are now 120 mercenary training camps in Pakistan, while eight guerrilla training centres have also been established in the Sinkiang province of China, in the district of Azgar,

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

Gogirfeng and Maryang. In addition, selected groups of counter-revolutionary cut-throats are trained in some military bases inside the United States. By training large numbers of terrorists and murderers and providing them with highly advanced weaponry, the enemies of our revolution are trying to make it more difficult to reverse the present pace of development, which they regard as dangerous, and thus prolong bloodshed and delay a negotiated solution of the situation around Afghanistan.

The draft resolution also pays lip-service to the diplomatic process of negotiations between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the intermediary of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General. No one should fail to notice the stark contradiction between the seriousness and necessity of those negotiations on the one hand and the propagandist and hypocritical nature of the present exercise imposed on the Assembly on the other. Common sense and wisdom dictate that, for any negotiations to achieve success, it is highly necessary and pertinent that an atmosphere of trust and confidence between the negotiating parties is created. We do not believe that any step was taken towards the creation of such an atmosphere by the slanderous and acrimonious allegations that characterized the debate on the item. All realistic and reasonable delegations should agree that the debate and the draft resolution will have very harmful and dangerous consequences for the prospects of negotiation.

For these reasons, and in conformity with its position of principle, the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan strongly rejects the draft resolution and will vote against it. Even if adopted, the draft resolution will be totally void of any legal or moral validity and will in no way be binding on the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It is apparent that no acceptable and viable solution could be expected from the adoption of such a

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

one-sided, biased and unrealistic draft resolution. The only correct path towards a solution is the path of direct bilateral negotiations, which has been proposed by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its well-known proposals of May 1980 and August 1981 and which constitutes the basic purpose of the United Nations mission of good offices.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

If there is any honesty or sincerity in the claim of Pakistan and its mentors that they wish to find a solution, the present futile and harmful exercise in the Assembly must be abandoned once and for all, and direct bilateral negotiations should be started without any further delay for the purpose of working out all the instruments necessary for normalizing the situation in South-West Asia.

The international community must bring moral pressure to bear on Pakistan and its patrons to adopt a constructive and businesslike attitude and embark on direct negotiations. That is the shortest, easiest and most logical way to find a solution.

Let the future determine who stands for a negotiated political solution and who is preventing such a solution by evading negotiations.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/40/L.11.

The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/40/867.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mongolia, Poland, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam

Abstaining: Algeria, Benin, Cape Verde, Congo, Cyprus, Finland, Guinea-Bissau, India, Iraq, Mali, Nicaragua, Sao Tome and Principe

Draft resolution A/40/L.11 was adopted by 122 votes to 19, with 12 abstentions (resolution 40/12).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall call now on representatives that wish to explain their votes.

Mr. EL-GERBI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation voted against draft resolution A/40/L.11 as it believes that such a resolution will not help in solving the problem. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya believes in the Islamic, non-aligned character of Afghanistan and that the Afghan people should have an opportunity to choose the régime it wants and needs, without

(Mr. El-Gerbi, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

foreign intervention of any kind. We must not allow the imperialist forces to prolong the tension in the area in pursuance of selfish interests. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya supports the good offices of the Secretary-General in the search for a lasting solution of the problem.

Mrs. EL-ALI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation voted against draft resolution A/40/L.11 on the basis of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The present discussion implies interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Syria supports the principle of safeguarding the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. I wish to reiterate the following words spoken at this fortieth session by the head of the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic:

"we reaffirm the need to recognize the right of the legitimate Government of Afghanistan to defend its country's independence and sovereignty against any foreign interference. We are totally committed to ensuring that this country, which is linked to ours by ancient historical ties, remains a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We hope that the countries neighbouring on Afghanistan, with which we have the same close historical ties, will be able to resolve the difficulties among themselves. We are closely following the ongoing negotiations in Geneva through the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, and we wish him all success." (A/40/PV.16, pp. 69-70, 71)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The General Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 28.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.