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Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 9 November 1987, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic)

- The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security [31]
  - (a) Report of the Secretary-General
  - (b) Draft resolution
  - (c) Amendments
  - (d) Sub-amendments

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

## AGENDA ITEM 31

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

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/42/600)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION A/42/L.16
- (c) AMENDMENTS (A/42/L.19)
- (d) SUB-AMENDMENTS (A/42/L.21)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed today at noon. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Assembly so decides.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I now call upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, to introduce the draft resolution.

Mr. NOORANI (Pakistan): If the Soviet presence in Afghanistan continues beyond Christmas this year we shall be entering the ninth year of a conflict which has laid waste a great part of the countryside and many towns and cities, claimed tens of thousands of lives and driven nearly 5 million Afghans into exile and a life of anguish and deprivation. Today there are more than 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and nearly 2 million in Iran. Together they constitute one third of the total population of Afghanistan.

(Mr. Noorani, Pakistan)

It is not possible to realize the enormity of this tragedy, unless we are keenly conscious of the fact that this arithmetic deals not with lifeless objects but with a mass of human beings, men, women and children, who lived happily and proudly in a country which they and their forefathers built into a stalwart nation and whose ability to defend their freedom, sovereignty and independence against foreign aggression and occupation is legendary.

In the period of nearly eight years that has elapsed since the Soviet military intervention took place in December 1979, the valiant people of Afghanistan, represented by the resistance movement, have demonstrated to the world that they have lost none of their will to defend their liberty and none of their determination to accept any sacrifice necessary for regaining their independence and asserting their freedom. In the course of their freedom struggle, in which the entire population has participated, Afghanistan has suffered staggering losses.

Year after year, Afghanistan has been subjected to relentless military operations by the foreign forces in futile attempts to liquidate the Afghan resistance. This summer also, side by side with the much-bruited campaign of 'national reconciliation' and offer of 'cease-fire', major military offensives were launched in Herat in the west, Kunduz in the north and Kunar, Ningrahar, Paktia, Kandahar and Kabul in the east and south of the country, causing much bloodshed and destruction and producing new waves of refugees. Mr. Najib himself admitted a few days ago in Moscow that the foreign forces were stationed in 18 out of a total of 30 provinces of the country.

The tragic state of affairs in embattled Afghanistan, resulting from foreign military occupation, is not a figment of our imagination. The sufferings of the people of Afghanistan are well recorded in authentic reports by impartial observers and reliable witnesses from various parts of the world. These witnesses have courageously faced great risks and overcome seemingly insuperable difficulties to

(Mr. Noorani, Pakistan)

reach the heartland of Afghanistan and come back to inform the world of the ravages of foreign intervention, over which the Kabul régime has tried to draw a sophisticated propaganda veil.

The attempt to conceal the reality of the situation in Afghanistan is accompanied with efforts to promote a mythical picture of the situation. The myth of a credible régime in Kabul, based on the acceptance and consent of the people of Afghanistan, is sought to be sustained with wishful statistics churned out by propaganda agencies. One of the myths created to substantiate a false picture of the situation inside Afghanistan is the claim that there is no genuine resistance inside the country to the Soviet presence and its collaborators and that a handful of bandits are responsible for the conditions of instability in Afghanistan. Another myth is the invention of outside interference as the cause of the conflict and the inspiration behind the resistance.

The attempt to create this distorted perception is necessitated by the need to hide the fact that the only sanction behind Kabul's precarious authority is the strength of the Soviet forces, numbering more than 120,000 troops, fully equipped with sophisticated modern weaponry and using the latest techniques of war. This is how successive régimes in Kabul have been sustained during the best part of a decade since the advent of foreign forces in the country. This is what has frustrated all attempts by these foreign-backed régimes to establish their claims of legitimacy.

Parallel with the attempted distortion of the factual situation in Afghanistan, there is an effort on an international scale to promote the belief that the occupation forces entered Afghanistan by invitation to counter outside interference. This myth has been created and sustained to lend credibility to spurious reasons for the presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan and the wholly

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unacceptable contention that these forces will withdraw only after the cessation of that interference.

The Afghan resistance is the legitimate expression of the right of the Afghan people to fight for self-determination and the liberation of their homeland. This struggle is waged by the Afghan patriotic forces, and it is a travesty to call it interference from outside. It is the physical presence of the foreign troops that constitutes the real interference.

The fact that millions of Afghans have sought shelter in Pakistan is by itself the proof that Pakistan is not the source of aggression. People who are uprooted from their hearths and homes seek shelter not with the aggressor but away from it.

The international community is naturally concerned with the facts of the situation in Afghanistan and not with the surrounding myths. It has therefore declared the foreign military intervention illegal and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops. In doing so, the international community is conscious of the fact that the Soviet military intervention constitutes: contravention of the principles of the United Nations Charter; violation of the principles of non-use of force and non-intervention; violation of the sovereignty and independence of a Member State; suppression of the right to self-determination of a people; and a grave threat to regional and international peace and security.

The foreign military intervention in Afghanistan has world-wide ramifications, since the infringement of the universally recognized principles of interstate conduct, which it represents, creates a dire precedent for any country that may face a parallel situation.

(Mr. Noorani, Pakistan)

No wonder, therefore, that the desire to uphold these principles, in their practical application to the situation in Afghanistan, remains the main preoccupation of the international community. It is this preoccupation which is consistently reflected in the unequivocal decisions and resolutions repeatedly adopted by the General Assembly, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Islamic Conference and other international forums, calling for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces as the sine qua non for an early political settlement. The withdrawal of foreign forces is the only issue which continues to stall the efforts of the international community to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Afghanistan. This applies, in particular, to the Geneva process, which, as is clear from the Secretary-General's report contained in document A/42/600 of 29 September 1987, holds the best promise for the finalization of an early settlement. The principal outstanding issue at Geneva is the provision of a short time-frame, which represents the heart of the matter.

It is common knowledge that whenever negotiations are focused on the time-frame question, diversionary issues of procedure and format are raised to delay its consideration. In 1985, when the instrument relating to a time-frame was ready to be discussed, progress was halted by the unreasonable demand for direct talks. We rightly rejected such tactics, which were designed to turn an essentially international issue relating to the violation of a Charter principle into a bilateral question.

Again, early this year when the question of United Nations monitoring of the settlement was resolved, clearing the decks for addressing the time-frame issue, the other side raised the question of national reconciliation, making it virtually a pre-condition for the provision of a time-frame. That new demand was wholly outside the purview of the Geneva negotiations.

(Mr. Noorani, Pakistan)

The matter of national reconciliation is, in essence, a process which will determine the socio-political structure of a post-conflict Afghanistan and is, therefore, a matter to be resolved by the Afghans themselves. This matter has been raised, in the present circumstances, obviously to obscure the central issue of withdrawals. To describe the conflict in Afghanistan as an internecine struggle is to ignore the reality of foreign military intervention. The acceptance of the demand for national reconciliation as a pre-condition for withdrawals would be tantamount to encouraging future aggressors to create realities of their own choice before regulating their responses to calls for observance of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

The entire Afghan nation, including the Afghan resistance, the refugees and prominent Afghans scattered around the world, have rejected the Kabul offer of national reconciliation. They rightly maintain that genuine reconciliation cannot take place under the shadow of foreign bayonets.

The Secretary-General has stressed in his report that the degree of national reconciliation necessary to allow the Afghans to decide their own future cannot be achieved by military means. His report highlights the concern of the Afghans about the need to begin a process designed to reaffirm their right of self-determination, which is the principal objective of the settlement. Pakistan fully endorses that objective and the need for a mechanism to work out a satisfactory arrangement for the smooth implementation of a settlement. Pakistan is equally convinced that such arrangements are predicated on the premise of total freedom from the forbidding presence of foreign troops in the country. In that context we fully support the Secretary-General's observation that

"early agreement on a short time-frame for the withdrawal of troops would give decisive impetus to the Afghans' own efforts towards reconciliation".

(A/42/600, para. 8)

(Mr. Noorani, Pakistan)

There need be no doubt whatsoever in regard to the desire of the resistance leadership for the cessation of hostilities and national reconciliation. They firmly maintain that the departure of foreign forces from Afghanistan is essential for the attainment of these objectives. The resistance leadership has also publicly declared its objective of building a peaceful, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan, committed to pursuing a policy of peace and friendship towards all its neighbours.

Similarly, the Afghan refugees are unwilling to return to their homeland unless the conditions which drove them away from their homes are changed by a just settlement ensuring the withdrawal of the foreign troops. This is borne out by the report of the Special Rapporteur, Professor Ermacora, who, following his extensive interviews with the refugees, has observed that

"Regardless of the legality or otherwise of the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, the fact remains that their presence is the main reason for the intensity of the armed conflict and the existence of 5.5 million refugees and is an obstacle to the free exercise of the right to self-determination".

No matter how one looks at the situation, the continued presence of the foreign military forces meets the eye as the root-cause of the conflict in Afghanistan. The main reason for our disappointment with the recent Geneva rounds is their failure to produce an acceptable time-frame for the withdrawal of these forces from Afghanistan. Despite our best efforts to resolve the time-frame issue in Geneva last March and again in September, the other side did not respond meaningfully nor did it show an interest in sustained negotiations for that purpose.

The Geneva settlement cannot be finalized, nor will it carry credibility, without the availability of a short time-frame. After eight long years of the conflict the people of Afghanistan have a genuine desire for the return of peace and



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tranquility, which will be expedited by the early exit of foreign forces. The people of Afghanistan naturally want the period of withdrawal to be as short as possible. One reason for that is to shorten the agony of a presence which is a painful reminder of foreign domination; another is the fear that anything other than a short time-frame may tempt the foreign forces to continue to seek a military solution to the problem while the opportunity lasts.

We were heartened by the statement of General Secretary Gorbachev, as reported in Mardeka last July, that the Soviet leader favoured a short time-frame for the withdrawal of troops. We greatly look forward to the fruition of this important promise and hope for its reflection in the Geneva accords.

We hope that the next round of Geneva talks will take place without delay. We are committed to making every possible contribution towards ensuring the success of the talks. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity also to express our profound gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, for the perseverance and dedication with which they have pursued the cause of a political settlement in Afghanistan consistent with universally accepted principles.

We are also sincerely desirous of activating the Pakistan-Soviet dialogue, which has remained dormant since last February. Both sides have recognized the usefulness of this dialogue, and its early resumption will help the cause of a political settlement in Afghanistan.

(Mr. Noorani, Pakistan)

We have a vital interest in the return of normalcy to Afghanistan, as much for our deep sympathy for the people of Afghanistan and the pain we feel in our hearts at their suffering as for the well-being of our people and the peace and security of our region. Our people have suffered from the fall-out of the Afghan conflict in various ways. Our border villages and refugee camps have come under frequent and brutal air attacks in which hundreds of innocent lives have been lost. Pressure has been sought to be brought on Pakistan also through subversion and terrorism aimed at harassing the population, creating tensions, particularly in provinces with large Afghan refugee populations and thereby intimidating Pakistan into giving up its principled stand on the issue of Afghanistan. However, Pakistan is determined not to succumb to pressure and to continue its efforts for a settlement consistent with the principles and the verdict of the international community.

In addition to the threat to its security, Pakistan has borne the burden of providing shelter to the millions of Afghan refugees who represent the largest concentration of refugees anywhere in the world. We are providing these displaced persons with their barest needs as our humanitarian and Islamic responsibility and are grateful to the international humanitarian organizations, especially the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the World Food Programme (WFP), for providing valuable relief. I also wish to take this opportunity to reject the baseless allegations by Kabul that Pakistan has been obstructing the return of the refugees. The United Nations is welcome to ascertain the facts, which are well known to the international community.

The atmosphere of gloom surrounding the situation in Afghanistan is, nevertheless, penetrated by a ray of hope. There are positive signals in recent

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statements by the Soviet leadership reflecting interest in early withdrawals. The Geneva process is at an advanced stage, despite setbacks in efforts to resolve the time-frame issue. There is renewed optimism for the resumption of the Pakistan-Soviet bilateral dialogue. The international climate, especially in East-West relations, has shown visible improvement following the intermediate nuclear forces accords.

Afghanistan is a test case in a variety of ways for the strengthening of global confidence. An early settlement will underline the sincerity of General Secretary Gorbachev's global vision for peace. A just settlement will have a salutary impact all round, especially in Asia and Europe, and will contribute towards the ushering in of an era of genuine global détente. Its import for the developing countries will be far-reaching. A just political settlement will mark a watershed for the sustained strengthening of a world order based on respect for principles. Conversely, acceptance of continued foreign military intervention in Afghanistan will encourage the growth of hegemonic tendencies jeopardizing the security of the smaller nations and placing them at the mercy of their powerful neighbours.

Pakistan desires an early settlement of the Afghanistan conflict in the interests of peace and harmony in its own region which borders the Soviet Union. We seek to improve the atmosphere of our relations with the Soviet Union. This was reaffirmed by the Prime Minister of Pakistan in his address to the General Assembly last September:

"The Soviet Union is Pakistan's neighbour. My Government seeks to promote friendly and co-operative relations with the Soviet Union, despite our differences over Afghanistan. From this rostrum, I fervently appeal to General Secretary Gorbachev and the Soviet leadership to help resolve the

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tragic situation in Afghanistan on the basis of justice and equity. I assure the Soviet leadership of Pakistan's fullest co-operation." (A/42/PV.11, p. 36)

I now have the privilege of introducing the draft resolution entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security", which has been circulated under the symbol A/42/L.16, on behalf of its 48 sponsors, namely: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belize, 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 Kitts and Nevis, 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.

The contents of this draft resolution are similar to the contents of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in previous years. The rationale of maintaining the integrity of the text of the draft resolution is evident. This draft resolution has come to symbolize the just stand adopted by the world body on the Afghan issue. The draft resolution is free of polemics or recrimination and seeks a settlement of the Afghanistan problem consistent with the principles embodied in it. These include: first, the immediate and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; secondly, the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; thirdly, 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, fourthly, the creation of the conditions necessary to enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

(Mr. Noorani, Pakistan)

In the earlier part of my statement I repeatedly laid stress on the fact that the termination of military intervention constituted the crux of a settlement of the Afghanistan problem. Accordingly, the international demand for immediate and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan is the focal point of the draft resolution. This is the essential step for the restoration of the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned character of Afghanistan.

The draft resolution does not presume to prescribe or propose processes or arrangements relating to the political dispensation in Afghanistan following the withdrawal of foreign troops. That will be a matter of exclusive concern to the people of a free Afghanistan.

The principles outlined in the decisions of the international community need to be reaffirmed once again to maintain pressure for an early settlement and to provide impetus for the successful conclusion of the Geneva process. A settlement is within reach if an acceptable time-frame for withdrawals becomes available.

The finalization of the settlement will be welcomed by the whole world. It will set in motion positive dynamics and bring to a close a tragic chapter in the annals of Afghanistan. The Afghan people have a long history of living in peace and freedom and have never tolerated foreign intervention in their affairs. The withdrawal of foreign forces will undoubtedly pave the way for Afghanistan to resume its historic role as a factor of stability and peace in the region.

I tried to cover as briefly as I could the basic issues of the Afghanistan question in my statement today. I have tried to present the facts as clearly as possible so that we may be able to see beyond the rhetoric of the myths designed to obscure the reality of the situation in Afghanistan. We have no doubt that the international community will once again commit its overwhelming support to draft

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resolution A/42/L.16 and send the clear message that it cannot compromise on basic principles. The will of the international community, embodied in the draft resolution, is an instrument for the realization of a just and honourable settlement of the Afghanistan question consistent with the requirements of durable peace and the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the State Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan. I now call on the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, who wishes to introduce the amendments contained in A/42/L.19.

Mr. MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of the delegation of Democratic Yemen and of my own delegation, I have pleasure in introducing the amendments in document A/42/L.19, of 5 November 1987. This refers to draft resolution A/42/L.16, of 28 October 1987, on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

These amendments cover two main ideas which strengthen the text of the draft resolution. The first calls for strict observance of the principle of non-interference in relation to Afghanistan, a fundamental principle of the Charter and of international law which must be strictly observed in relations between States in order to safeguard the sovereignty of every State in its internal affairs and its free will, compatible with the interests of its people, without any outside intervention. Of course, strict observance of this principle by all countries is necessary to reduce tension in international relations and strengthen world peace and security.

The second amendment welcomes the progress at the Geneva talks, which the international community is following with interest and hope.

We have been inspired to present these amendments by the historical, cultural and spiritual relations that link us with Afghanistan and its neighbours, and by our concern to see peace and harmony prevail. Furthermore, we have noted the desire of many delegations of friendly countries to contribute to the search for a solution to the problems facing the people of this region, who are so dear to us.

Recent important events in Afghanistan constitute a positive factor and strengthen the hope of a peaceful, comprehensive settlement of the problem. Among these events, I would mention the declaration of the Afghan Government of 15 January 1987 extending the cease-fire to 15 January 1988, the attempt to draw up a draft constitution and the efforts to bring unity and harmony to the Afghan people.

(Mr. Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

In the light of the feelings of our brotherly feelings for the people of Afghanistan and neighbouring countries, we sincerely hope that these amendments will enjoy the unanimous support of the Assembly and this will make it possible for the draft resolution A/42/L.16 to be adopted unanimously - something that has never happened with similar draft resolutions in the past.

Mr. WAKIL (Afghanistan) (spoke in Dari; English text furnished by the delegation): The present debate on the situation around Afghanistan, which has once again been opened by this Assembly, contrary to the will of our people, prompts the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to elaborate on the issue meticulously and comprehensively.

In the view of our delegation, the experience of the decade of the last eight years on the issue, the impracticability of the previous resolutions and the recent developments in our country and in the process of the political solution of the situation around it, presuppose that the present session of the General Assembly will undertake a new approach to this matter. We must consider the issue concerning the situation around Afghanistan with a sense of responsibility, demonstrate sound judgement and seek practical ways to ensure the solution of the issue.

The April revolution, which was carried out on the basis of the will of the people of Afghanistan, opened a new path for the independent life of the Afghan people. No one can deny the right of our country to choose its own way of development. But, regrettably, with the lapse of these arduous years world imperialism, the United States at the forefront, in collusion with regional reaction, the reactionary circles of Pakistan in particular, has imposed a painful war on our nation. This war, with all its destructive dimensions, has left our



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compatriots bereft of their loved ones and brought irreparable economic and moral losses upon them. Huge amounts of assistance from the imperialist countries have been streamlined towards Pakistan to feed the flames of this war. Meanwhile, the territory of Pakistan has been transformed into a springboard for acts of naked aggression against Afghanistan.

What is even more regrettable is that, although they realize the uselessness of continuing the war and despite the fact that with the proclamation of national reconciliation by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 15 January 1987 the ground has been fully prepared for the cessation of war and the solution of all issues, the warmongers have expanded the dimensions of this undeclared war and further fueled its flames. Is not the doctrine of "fighting to the last Afghan" secretly put into effect by the United States an open crime as far as human rights are concerned?

The reason behind the endeavours of our enemies to continue and expand this human tragedy is clear. Their strategic interests are not in consonance with the normalization of the situation around Afghanistan.

The United States, which lost Iran as its regional gendarme directly after the fall of the régime of the Shah, because of the triumph of the national democratic April revolution in Afghanistan, sought to collude with the authorities in Islamabad and designate Pakistan its regional gendarme.

The specific goals pursued by the United States through this strategy are on the one hand to block the consolidation of people's power in Afghanistan and carry on the policy of war and fratricide "to the last Afghan", and on the other, to reinforce its military presence in our region in order to realize its greedy and infamous schemes by maintaining the tense situation around our country.

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The United States neo-globalist strategy envisages Asians fighting Asians, Africans fighting Africans, and Latin Americans fighting Latin Americans, in the interest of the United States.

The goals pursued by the United States in financing and continuing the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are quite clear: preserving tension in the vicinity of the frontiers of the Soviet Union and, in its own words, keeping the Soviets busy in Afghanistan; disseminating anti-Soviet propaganda concerning the situation in and around Afghanistan and the presence of the limited Soviet military contingent there; under the pretext of the existing tension around Afghanistan, transforming Pakistan into a strategic springboard in South West Asia, in the interest of the Rapid Deployment Force in the Gulf region; making use of the Pakistani forces, and launching endeavours aimed at reviving military pacts similar to those of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).

The United States, by arming Pakistan to the teeth, as well as equipping and arming the Afghan armed opponent groups and rendering great assistance to the Zionist State of Israel, tries to stand, on the one hand, in so-called defence of Islam and, on the other, in opposition to it, and thus to establish a balance towards this end.

At present, over 120 camps exist in the territory of Pakistan for the training, equipping and arming of the Afghan armed opponents, and in them the military and secret service advisers, experts and instructors of the United States, Israel, Pakistan and other Western countries teach the methods of murder, terror and repression to the extremist opponents.

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The question arises: what benefit does Islamabad derive from the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan? We should state clearly that that régime derives wide political and propaganda benefits, particularly in cementing its shaky bases and in its endeavours to divert the attention of the people of Pakistan from their own demands and wishes concerning various aspects of the so-called Afghan problem. Meanwhile, Pakistan has received great sums of military-economic aid from the United States and its allies such as Saudi Arabia, and has modernized the Pakistani army by purchasing sophisticated weapons.

This undeclared war, in which Pakistan plays a key role, has brought great material benefits to the ruling régime of Islamabad. Pakistan, under the pretext of performing a humanitarian duty with regard to the refugees, receives millions of dollars from various imperialist and reactionary sources and acquires big military and financial assistance from different sources, the United States in particular.

As we know, during the time of the Carter Administration, which launched a covert war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the United States offered \$400 million in military assistance to Pakistan. Later on, Pakistan received a package of \$3.2 billion for a five-year period on the basis of the agreement concluded in 1982.

Following that, Washington signed with Islamabad another contract - on a military-economic aid package to the tune of \$4.02 billion for the coming six years. Moreover, the selling or leasing of AWACS reconnaissance planes to Pakistan is on the agenda.

Based on press reports quoting Washington sources, almost half of the \$4 billion that has been allocated, through Pakistan, for the Afghan extremists to finance the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, ended in the pockets of the Pakistani rulers. Therefore, if we take into account the

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misappropriations by the Pakistani ruling régime, the assistance rendered by the imperialist reactionary countries, as well as by international organizations, to the refugees, reaches billions of dollars.

Justifying militarism by the so-called threat from the north, and justifying repressive measures against progressive movements in Pakistan, suppressing the Pakistani people, prolonging dictatorship and postponing elections, misusing the presence of refugees to attract billions of dollars in the form of hard currency, economic aid and foodstuffs, only a portion of which is being distributed among the refugees - these are the goals pursued by Islamabad in order to continue the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Repeated violations, aggressions and armed encroachments - including repeated violation of the airspace of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by Pakistan - leave no credit for Islamabad authorities in regard to international law and the norms of inter-State relations. In this connection we can cite the incident in which an F-16 Pakistani aircraft that had violated Afghan airspace was shot down by the Afghan air force this year.

Under the political pressure of the United States, Pakistan prolongs the efforts at the Geneva talks to achieve a final solution to the situation around Afghanistan, notwithstanding the principled flexibility shown and possible concessions made by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

As far as the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is concerned, at the Geneva talks we have always striven - by setting forth new concrete proposals and initiatives - to take a constructive and flexible position towards reaching an immediate political solution of the situation around Afghanistan. It was due to our flexibility that, at the last round of the talks, the gap between the positions of the two sides narrowed significantly. We should state that the Geneva talks

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could have proceeded at a more rapid pace had the Government of Pakistan not refrained from direct talks with the participation of the Personal Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General.

The Pakistani side states that it does not recognize the régime in our country. That is glossing over the existing realities. It should be stated in this regard that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan does not actually need such recognition. But it is worth mentioning that there are numerous examples in world history of even countries at war with each other resorting to direct talks. Diplomatic relations do exist between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and right now 48 Pakistani diplomats are stationed in their Embassy and two Consulates in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and 31 Afghan diplomats in our Embassy and three Consulates in Pakistan.

The leadership of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is convinced that the only way to end the all-out fratricidal war in Afghanistan, which has been continuing for the past nine years, and immediately to normalize the situation around Afghanistan, is the realization of a national reconciliation policy inside the country and the successful conclusion of the Geneva talks. We are optimistic about the prospects of those two processes, which are proceeding in parallel and are organically interlinked.

But it is surprising that since we launched the far-reaching invitation for national reconciliation, the assistance of the United States and its allies to the Afghan extremists has doubled. Since then, the United States alone has increased its financial assistance from \$500 million to \$600 million, and it will soon reach \$1,000 million. The number of Stinger missiles delivered to the extremists, which are being used to shoot down aircraft carrying innocent passengers, has increased

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from 60 to 600 units. Those are in addition to the British-made Blowpipe missiles. So far over 160 persons, including 22 children and 16 women, have been burnt in the flames of the downed aircraft. Recently the extremists committed another abhorrent crime by exploding a bomb in Kabul City, as a result of which 27 persons were killed and 30 others seriously injured. Such crimes cannot but shock every human being of conscience.

There are no words to describe the sorrowful faces of the orphaned children and bereaved families. There are no words to describe the lives of the Afghans away from their homeland, the incalculable destruction and the ruins of schools, hospitals, bridges and dams. Suffice it to say that the losses inflicted on our national economy as a result of the war exceed three-fourths of the investments made in the country in the last 50 years.

It is quite easy for some to say that the war in Afghanistan has left behind heavy losses, and for Mr. Reagan to give statistics to the effect that 1 million people have been killed. But the question is this: who is to bear the responsibility for all those losses? Why do those who indulge in such pronouncements not stop the war and give a positive response to the call for reconciliation and to our peaceful initiatives?

The representatives of cross-sections of the international community, including politicians, social figures, journalists, and businessmen, have recently visited our country. Of course, there were persons among them who did not agree with our views and did not side with us. But most of them admitted that the main cause of bloodshed in our country is foreign interference in the form of arming, equipping and training the mercenaries and the hostile propaganda aimed at hoodwinking the refugees and world public opinion.

(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

Are not the supply of modern and sophisticated weapons and huge sums to the opponents of the Afghan revolution, as reported in the Western media, and the decision of the United States Congress on the delivery of weapons and money to those opponents clear-cut manifestations of interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and aggression against it?

Do not the acts of the United States, Pakistan and their allies fully contravene the provisions of paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter and the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations? The Declaration states, inter alia, that:

"No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State.

"... Also, no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the régime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State." (resolution 2625 (XXV), annex)

Afghanistan, under this generally recognized principle of international law, has the right to seek the protection of this Assembly for its cause, in accordance with the objectives and principles of the Charter. The violations of those principles in regard to Afghanistan's revolution are nothing but aggression. The definition of aggression contained in General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 1974, describes, inter alia, 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, article 3 (g))

(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

Is not our country presently subjected to such an act of aggression? Do not the armed opponent groups infiltrate the territory of Afghanistan from Pakistan day in and day out?

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in order to put an end to such interference and naked aggression and to stop the great tragedy of the war, while carrying on the Geneva talks, has declared the policy of national reconciliation. This policy has received the vigorous support of the people inside our country, Afghans living abroad and political, humanitarian international circles. But, in parallel with the successes achieved by the policy of national reconciliation at the national and international levels, the United States and the reactionary countries of the region, such as Pakistan, have utilized all the ways and means of blocking the realization of the policy.

We have offered reconciliation to our Afghans and have called upon them, wherever they live, to return to their homeland with honour. We are providing every facility for those who return. A new department, at the level of a Ministry, has been established to administer their affairs. Based on various decrees of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the properties of the repatriates have been returned to them and their debts and taxes have been pardoned. Meanwhile, under certain conditions, they are exempted from military service for a long period of time. No individual or group will be persecuted for past deeds and activities, and all will enjoy the right of electing the State's central and local organs and to be elected to them. In the political, economic and local administrations, they will enjoy equal rights with all other nationals of Afghanistan. Under the newly promulgated law on the activities of political parties and the law of the press, they can have their own political parties and independent publications.



(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

The new constitution has been debated publicly and so far 2 million people have participated, and 15,000 proposals and ideas have been received. The draft envisages a new parliamentary system guaranteeing equal rights for all classes, including the bourgeoisie, land-owners, peasants and workers, and all strata - intellectuals, clergymen, craftsmen, merchants, private entrepreneurs etc. - to take part in free elections and in state affairs. All Afghans living abroad, including the Alliance of the Seven, the advocates of the ex-King of Afghanistan, and the followers of different parties and organizations can express their views concerning the constitution and hold talks with us.

Here we wish to declare to all those who have been unnecessarily concerned about the future non-aligned status of Afghanistan or the existence of any danger to Islam, that articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Constitution read, inter alia:

"The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is an independent, one and indivisible State which exercises sovereignty all over its territory.

"The religion of Afghanistan is the sacred religion of Islam.

"The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is a non-aligned country, does not join any military pacts and does not allow the establishment of any foreign military bases on its territory."

We have always opted for the continuation of a sustained and constructive dialogue with the opposition, the Alliance of the Seven and other organizations, and have launched all-out efforts to this end. No one can deny this fact. During the last 10 months, our Government has issued 14 statements on compromise and concessions. Although the policy of national reconciliation finds its way day-by-day to the hearts of our people and although there is a further increase in the number of its supporters and the policy continues to gain momentum, the extremists

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remain silent. At the same time, a broad campaign of propaganda and lies, which increases the dimensions of the psychological war with cunning methods, has been unleashed against this humane policy by imperialist and reactionary sources. At present, the Western mass media and radio stations, including eight radio stations in Pakistan, compete with each other to defame the policy of national reconciliation.

We have sufficient reason to claim that the proclamation of the policy of national reconciliation has deprived the opponents of their main, most publicized and fallacious slogans. Now there is no place for the demagogic utterances of the opposition that Afghanistan has been occupied by the Soviet Union, and that Islam has thus been endangered. The people realize more and more who their friends are and who are their enemies.

The yearly statements by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan in this Assembly, which, along with the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Voice of America, make assertions about the so-called danger to the sacred religion of Islam in Afghanistan and the threat to the culture and traditions of the people of our country, as well as the allegation that an alien system and ideology have been imposed on our people, are totally baseless and far from the truth.

Afghanistan has a history and culture going back thousands of years, and its values have never fallen victim to the onslaughts of marauding empires, including the British Empire, at various stages of its history. The culture of our country has not and never shall perish.

In order to establish the Government of National Unity, until it acquires a coalition character, the State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has offered 28 high-ranking state posts to the opponents and, in accordance with the

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new programme of the Party, which has been approved by the recent National Congress of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Party voluntarily refrains from monopolizing political power. The documents of the historic Second National Congress of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan will constitute the legal platform of national reconciliation.

Comrade Dr. Najibullah, 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, stated in his address to the Second National Congress of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan that:

"In political hysteria, the reaction swears that it will never accept the PDPA in the coalition Government. Undoubtedly, this is the hullabaloo of the White House. This is the White House which does not want the PDPA to chair the negotiations on the realization of reconciliation among Afghans. What can one say to all this? The people witness who herald life to the Afghans and who bring death to them. The people will solve this matter without mistake and their method of solution will be the right one. The people know what the PDPA has accomplished for a better and peaceful life."

In these complex measures, declared so far in the framework of national reconciliation, each and every Afghan who might have the least desire for a peaceful life in the folds of the homeland will find his appropriate place, as he has thus far. We once again propose to the opposition that it make every effort by peaceful means, rather than by war. In order to expand contacts with the opposition, the Revolutionary Council has been entrusted with the task of facilitating the opening in Kabul in the near future of offices of the opposition organizations based abroad, and they will be permitted to publish dailies, provided the leaders of those organizations agree in principle with the idea of reconciliation.

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Despite the short time-span, our progress towards ensuring peace is tangible. Over the last 10 months, since the proclamation of the policy of national reconciliation 1,600 villages have joined the people's power, and now we have 8,500 villages under our control. Moreover, all 45 cities of the country, including centres in all of the provinces, as well as 214 districts and sub-districts, are under our control.

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Some provinces have practically been fully freed from the hands of extremists, and people have proclaimed their territories as peace zones. The peace zone in Hazarajat is being established. It consists of five provinces, 28 districts and more than 7,000 villages. Until now, 90,000 people have been repatriated from camps located in Pakistan and Iran. This figure could have been much larger, had it not been for hindrances put up by the Pakistani and Iranian military guards, for 80 per cent of the refugees are willing to return home. Thirty thousand people from 174 armed groups have joined the people's power and together with them more than 100,000 persons have resumed a peaceful life.

Until now 7,849 people from the other side have been elected in the local organs of State power and Administration. More than 6,000 former opposition individuals as well as repatriates are working as members of the national reconciliation commissions and 361 people from the ex-ringleaders of opponent armed groups as chiefs and secretaries of the executive committees of State organs at different levels.

One hundred opponents took part in the first Jirgah - Assembly - of Nomads and more than 400 in the first Jirgah of Hazara nationality, comprising half of the participants in the latter forum. Right now, Governors of four provinces are those who were previously the ringleaders of opponent armed groups.

Despite subversion and economic sabotage by the opponents, and resisting the undeclared and imposed war that resulted in many human and material losses, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has constantly developed the national economy, thanks to the heroic endeavours of the workers, peasants, craftsmen, artisans, traders and private entrepreneurs.

Progress has been made in the most important indexes in the middle of the last five-year period compared with the pre-revolutionary years.

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Based on 1978 prices, the gross domestic product and the national income have increased by 18 and 10 per cent respectively in comparison with the year 1982.

The private sector holds a major place in the national economy. The Programme of Action of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) stipulates:

"The revolutionary power will establish an economic and legal basis of long-term, effective and mutually beneficial co-operation with the private sector and national entrepreneurs both within the framework of the mixed sector and through individual co-operation."

The concept of joining efforts of State organs with national entrepreneurs has acquired a legal status. The law on national and foreign private investments has been adopted. Over the last five years, the volume of industrial production has grown by 29 per cent, including 50 per cent in the basic areas of heavy industry and infrastructural production by State and mixed sectors.

Over the last five years an additional sum of 83 billion afghanis has been invested to meet the needs of the socio-economic development of the country.

Over the same period certain successes have been achieved in the social sphere. Twenty-five thousand literacy courses enrolling 516,000 persons are active throughout the country. One thousand two-hundred forty-one schools have been opened to 703,000 students.

In recent years, 26 new health centres and hospitals have been built, the total number of which comes to 109. The number of physicians has more than doubled and the network of drugstores widened. Cultural services for the citizens have expanded, new public libraries and museums inaugurated, and the number of mobile movie sets increased.

Over recent years the salaries and wages of employees in the State, mixed and co-operative sectors have once again been raised by 19 per cent and those of the

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question and the pressing issue at the Geneva talks is the cessation of interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

It is no accident that the virtually completed document which both sides agreed to discuss first was the agreement on the principles of mutual relations, particularly on non-interference and non-intervention. Do the authorities in Pakistan not know whence the flood of modern American weapons and armed bands are infiltrated into Afghanistan?

Is it not that the so-called champions of human rights and freedom have paid visits dozens of times to Pakistan-based camps where Afghan extremists are undergoing military training?

Any effort to portray the return of the Soviet forces as the key issue is baseless and is nothing but an attempt to mislead and deceive public opinion and the international community. The main issue in the solution of the situation around Afghanistan is the cessation of interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its non-resumption.

I do not think there can be any doubt about the fact that the Soviet Union would really leave under a logical time frame if the interference ceased and reliable guarantees were given for its non-resumption.

The return of six regiments of the limited military contingent of the Soviet Union in October 1986 is a clear indication of our sincerity in words and deeds.

Following the revolution, new and regular organizations of army, police and security forces have been created. These militant armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which have mobilized more than half a million people in their ranks, have undergone quantitative and qualitative changes and have gained valuable experience as a result of nine years of struggle against the armed opponent forces despatched from abroad, and they are becoming stronger and would single-handedly be capable of defending the national sovereignty, territorial

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integrity and independence of the country were there no foreign interference. Despite these facts, however, we cannot rebuff foreign interference without the assistance of friends because it is acquiring greater dimensions every passing day and is increasingly endangering the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country.

The limited Soviet military contingent came to the country at the request of the legal Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in conformity with article 4 of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Good-neighbourliness between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, dated 5 December 1978, and with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, in order to help in rebuffing foreign aggression and interference which threatened the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country. Therefore, the reasons for their entry as well as the circumstances of their return are vividly clear.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has made it clear that the Soviet Union is sincerely in favour of a non-aligned, neutral and independent Afghanistan and will exert every effort to expedite the process of settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, thus making it possible for the Soviet forces to return to their country.

The fact that both Afghanistan and the Soviet Union want the limited Soviet military contingent to return to its peaceful country is evident and there is no ground for any doubt. It may be asked why, then, they have not returned so far. It is because there are forces which do not want them to return. Fortunately, those circles that, by hindering a political settlement, want the Soviet forces to stay longer in our country are being isolated now, because in the judgements on Afghanistan everywhere the most powerful tendency is in favour of peace. Any logic



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or judgement which would associate itself within this tendency would stand to survive. With the national reconciliation process the ground has now been paved to enable the Assembly this year to take the initial steps for adopting a stance acceptable to all and not allowing the limited hue and cry which echo in this hall only as a part of the psychological warfare to influence the course of its action.

As the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan declared at the beginning of this forty-second session of the General Assembly, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is ready to participate in drafting a resolution which would assist in the speedy solution of the situation around Afghanistan. We declare today that we are ready to support a resolution on the issue of Afghanistan with partial amendments and would sincerely co-operate in its unanimous acceptance by the members of this Assembly. Without any doubt such a resolution would be sound, would have more practical aspects and would have an effective role in this regard.

We would like to appeal to all those countries which desire the speedy solution of the situation around Afghanistan and an end to the devastating and destructive war in Afghanistan unanimously to lend their support and to cast their positive votes for the draft amendments proposed by the Syrian Arab Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, which would not make the resolution much different from the original version. As is clear to everyone, the previous debates on Afghanistan in the General Assembly and the adoption of one-sided resolutions sponsored by Pakistan have not had even the slightest impact on establishing peace in our region and have lacked practicable character. There is no reason for the United States and Pakistan to oppose these amendments, which would correct and complement the original draft resolution. If they do so, it will be a demonstration of their open opposition to the political solution of the situation around Afghanistan, and the representatives in this world body will be profoundly

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aware of their intentions. We need peace, therefore we support a resolution which would herald peace for our people.

We earnestly hope that the representatives present in this Hall will express their opposition to the unbalanced draft resolution introduced by Pakistan, which experience of the past eight years has shown to be nothing but a propagandistic ploy of certain anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet circles.

For the elimination of regional and world tension, common sense and political insight call for the representatives of member countries to co-operate with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union to remove tension in the region and for the cessation of interference in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Pakistan, the United States and their allies should not be allowed to misuse the decisions of this great Assembly of the world community for furthering their ill-intentioned aims.

We hope that the new realities which have been created as a result of the policy of national reconciliation in accordance with the common aspirations of Member States will find appropriate reflection. We would like members to join our voice, and the voices of all others. We would like to state that the General Assembly is faced today with a choice which could determine the fate of the ideals for which the United Nations stands. If the United Nations General Assembly is to witness an end to the bitter and painful catastrophe and a war imposed on the people of Afghanistan, it is high time for it to exert all its moral influence in favour of the sincere efforts to establish peace in this important region of Asia.

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The adoption of a just resolution in this Assembly would have a considerable impact on these efforts and on the atmosphere of the diplomatic talks. We are opposed to the draft resolution introduced by Pakistan, which is completely impracticable, is in contradiction of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter and constitutes brazen interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and we shall vote against it. If adopted, this draft resolution would be void of any legal and moral value and would not be binding on the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Let us reach a speedy solution to the situation around Afghanistan - a solution which is becoming closer - in accordance with the objectives set out in the United Nations Charter.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to introduce the sub-amendments contained in document A/42/L.21.

Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): On behalf of the Pakistan delegation, I wish to introduce the sub-amendments in document A/42/L.21 to the amendments proposed by Democratic Yemen and Syria (A/42/L.19), to draft resolution A/42/L.16, submitted by 48 sponsors, including my delegation.

In its text draft resolution A/42/L.16 is identical to the resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly since 1980, when it considered for the first time the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. The draft resolution represents the position of the General Assembly and its verdict on that intervention, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. It identifies the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan as the root cause of the problem and demands their immediate and total withdrawal. This demand is the focal point of the draft resolution and constitutes the essence of the international position on the Afghanistan issue. This position admits of no modification, since the circumstances of the intervention remain unchanged.

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

Let us examine the first amendment in document A/42/L.19 in this light. On the face of it, that amendment invokes the unexceptionable principle of non-interference in relation to Afghanistan. Essentially, however, the amendment aims at changing the emphasis and the logic of the draft resolution. The intention, clearly, is to introduce the contrived issue of interference as a new focal point in the draft resolution and dilute the present emphasis on the withdrawal of foreign troops, which is the central issue. The acceptance of such an amendment would lend credibility to the argument advanced at the time of the intervention that the foreign troops had entered Afghanistan by invitation to counter outside interference. This argument continues to be used to link the withdrawal of the Soviet troops to the cessation of so-called outside interference.

The international community has consistently rejected this argument and forcefully maintained that the only problem in Afghanistan is the presence of the foreign troops, which contravenes the international principles of non-intervention and non-interference and non-use of force.

Our sub-amendment in document A/42/L.21 to the first amendment in document A/42/L.19, serves to emphasize the international stand on the Afghanistan issue and to place the violation in relation to Afghanistan of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in its correct perspective. Our sub-amendment is necessary not only to rectify the erroneous perception that the first amendment in document A/42/L.19 seeks to inject into the draft resolution but also to maintain international pressure for a just settlement of the problem on the basis of the withdrawal of the foreign forces and preservation of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned character of Afghanistan.

The second amendment in document A/42/L.19 refers to progress in the Geneva negotiations. There is no doubt that the protracted Geneva talks, which started in 1982, have reached an advanced stage in terms of developing the texts of the

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

four instruments which will be component parts of the political settlement under negotiation. This stage in the evolution of the texts, however, is not recent, nor has it brought the process sufficiently close to a successful conclusion, which awaits the missing short time-frame for withdrawals.

A close examination of the Secretary-General's reports on the agenda item on Afghanistan relating to the years 1985 and 1986 shows that the instruments pertaining to the bilateral agreement on non-intervention and non-interference, international guarantees and the voluntary return of refugees stand virtually finalized since early 1985. Resolution of the central issue of the time-frame for withdrawals, however, continues to elude us. In fact, whenever the negotiations have come close to addressing this issue new diversionary questions of procedure and format have been raised to obstruct its consideration. The wholly extraneous issue of national reconciliation, raised early this year, now serves to deflect attention from the issue of the time-frame.

The persistent international demand for immediate and total withdrawals highlights the need for the provision of a short time-frame without further delay. Regrettably, this issue, which is central to the finalization of the settlement, remained unresolved at the Geneva rounds in March and September this year, when the other side showed little interest in sustained negotiations.

The Geneva negotiations have already continued for a period of more than five years, during the best part of which we have made persistent efforts to finalize the time-frame issue. Any further delay in settling this issue is bound to damage the process. While acknowledging the progress achieved so far at the Geneva negotiations, the General Assembly must not ignore the issue of the time-frame, which continues to obstruct the successful conclusion of these negotiations.

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

The sub-amendment, which emphasizes the need for the immediate provision of a short time-frame, finds full justification in the Secretary-General's latest report (A/42/600), of 29 September 1987, which clearly identifies the time-frame as the only outstanding issue for the finalization of the settlement.

We are confident that the sub-amendments in document A/42/L.21, which have been submitted to preserve the integrity of the draft resolution, will be adopted with the support of the overwhelming majority in the General Assembly.

Mr. BIERRING (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the twelve member States of the European Community.

The issue before us today is a tragic reminder of one of the most serious violations of the United Nations Charter. The large-scale military intervention by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in 1979 represented the beginning of an era of unprecedented hardship and suffering for the Afghan people.

The Soviet occupation has continued for nearly eight years. The Afghan people are still deprived of their fundamental human and political rights by a régime set up and kept in power by military force. An overwhelming majority in the General Assembly has each and every year 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 independent and non-aligned status.

For many years the Soviet Union has turned a deaf ear to the clearly expressed demands of the international community that it should end the occupation. Recently there have been some indications of a more open and flexible attitude. We welcome indications that the Soviet Union would like to find an early political solution. But we have yet to see deeds to match these words. More than 110,000 Soviet troops remain in Afghanistan against the will of the Afghan people. Their military operations are not confined to Afghanistan itself. Attacks on Pakistani territory, including the refugee camps, have continued and indeed escalated; and we have recently seen a campaign of terrorist incidents in Pakistan.

The Twelve once again urge the Soviet Union to agree to a rapid and complete withdrawal of their troops in accordance with an irrevocable time-table. We utterly condemn the continued bombings of Pakistani territory, which constitute a clear threat to peace and stability in the region as a whole.

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

The Soviet Union must realize by now that the war it is waging in Afghanistan cannot be won. Despite the hardship and human misery endured during the occupation, there is no sign of any weakening of the Afghan people's resolve. In fact, the reverse is true, as recent developments on the military front have shown. The alliance of resistance parties formed two years ago continues to inform the international community of what is taking place inside Afghanistan.

The endurance of the Afghan people during eight years of indiscriminate warfare is indeed admirable. Over 1 million Afghans have died. As the occupying forces attempt to suppress a most courageous resistance, innocent men and women continue to lose their lives and homes. Brutal attacks, especially from the air, against the civilian population continue to lead to the destruction of villages, rural infrastructure and crops. Hundreds of thousands remain displaced and millions still live as refugees abroad. The Twelve strongly condemn the attacks on the civilian population, which are irreconcilable with the norms of international behaviour and violate fundamental human rights.

The massive exodus of refugees to neighbouring countries is yet another reflection of the harsh realities of the war in Afghanistan. Nearly 5 million Afghan refugees - approximately a third of the population - have been forced to find sanctuary in neighbouring countries, and there are close to 1 million displaced people within Afghanistan itself. The greatest concentration of refugees in the world today is to be found in Pakistan. It is self-evident that this places a heavy burden on its limited resources.

The Twelve once again wish to pay a tribute to the Government of Pakistan for the hospitality and generous assistance it has provided to the refugees and for its fortitude in the face of the continued and grave violation of its international borders. We also pay a tribute to other countries providing assistance through the



(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

relevant international relief organizations. For their part, the European Community and its member States will continue their significant contribution to international relief efforts for as long as it is necessary. However, the international assistance is no alternative to the return of the refugees to their homeland. The Twelve urge the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan immediately and thus to create the conditions necessary to allow the refugees to return in peace and safety.

The Twelve have consistently supported proposals for a political solution to the problem of Afghanistan based on the principles of the relevant United Nations resolutions. We have read with great interest the report presented to the General Assembly by the Secretary-General on 29 September 1987. We wish to reaffirm our continued support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, and to express the hope that their untiring endeavours will result in early agreement on the outstanding issues. The Secretary-General's report makes it clear that agreement on the time-table for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops will provide a decisive impetus for a final solution.

That remains the key element of a settlement. The last round of Geneva talks in September was called by the Kabul régime. We regret that the offer it put forward on the troop-withdrawal time-table did not match the expectations this had raised. We call upon the Soviet Union to demonstrate the innovative diplomatic approach needed to close the gap on the withdrawal time-table.

For eight years the Soviet Union has attempted to impose on the Afghan people a Government dominated by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, but they have clearly rejected it. The Twelve believe that the Afghan resistance must be part of a comprehensive solution to the Afghanistan problem. In recent months the régime in Kabul has made much of its so-called peace initiatives. In reality,

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however, these proposals seem primarily designed to do no more than keep the present régime in power against the clearly expressed wishes of the Afghan people. The Twelve hope that the Soviet Union and Kabul will reassess their positions and work for genuine reconciliation in Afghanistan, including arrangements leading to an act of self-determination enabling the Afghan people to decide their own future. We stand ready to support any move in that direction.

The continuing occupation of Afghanistan is a threat to the stability of the region and a constant danger to international peace and security. The Soviet Union cannot escape its obligations under the United Nations Charter.

The Twelve are confident that the General Assembly will once again vote to confirm its rejection of aggression and foreign occupation and its support for a genuine solution to the Afghanistan problem. The Soviet Union must now demonstrate in deed its commitment to international peace and security by complying with the relevant United Nations resolutions and honouring its proclaimed commitment to the principles of international law by withdrawing all its troops from Afghanistan.

Mr. FISCHER (Austria): Almost eight years have passed since the military intervention in Afghanistan. The continuing military occupation of that traditionally non-aligned country is a source of legitimate and deep concern to Austria. This concern is shared by an overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, which have on numerous occasions unequivocally condemned this foreign military intervention.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

As long as basic principles of the United Nations Charter, such as the non-use of force, the respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity as well as the right to self-determination are defied by powerful nations, international peace and security will remain elusive. Austria rejects any tendencies which seek military rather than political solutions.

It is obvious that a lasting solution to the problem of Afghanistan and, indeed, to numerous other problems on our agenda, can never be found by military means, but only by political means. The General Assembly has repeatedly outlined elements which are essential for such a political solution: the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops; the right of the Afghan people to determine its own form of government and to choose its own economic, social and political system; international guarantees for the non-use of force and for non-interference; and the voluntary return of all Afghan refugees in safety and honour.

The United Nations has, however, not restricted itself to the adoption of resolutions. It has been actively involved in the search for a political solution. We have studied with great interest the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Afghanistan. We concur with his view that substantial progress has been made in the past year towards achieving a comprehensive settlement. Let me take this opportunity to commend the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their efforts.

Although a narrowing of the time-frame for the withdrawal of foreign troops has taken place, we must remain aware of the fact that a decisive breakthrough in the negotiations has not yet taken place. Until recently, progress has indeed been very slow. However, we believe that solid foundations for a future settlement have been laid.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

In taking note of changing conditions, we see for the first time in years a genuine, if at present only faint, possibility of achieving a political settlement and bringing about an end to the suffering of the Afghan people.

Whereas a time-frame for the withdrawal of troops could probably be agreed upon rather soon, it would not automatically bring about an end to the tremendous suffering of the Afghan population inside the country or outside in refugee camps. The problem is not restricted to terminating the military intervention nor to solving bilateral problems between neighbouring countries. One of the major issues which also would have to be addressed is the reintegration of 5 million refugees, constituting about a third of the Afghan population. This will require a fundamentally new approach by the Government of Afghanistan. We have taken note with interest of the professed will of the Government of Afghanistan to address this issue. One of its measures led, inter alia, to the return of refugees, albeit only a small fraction of their total number.

The Geneva talks certainly are of great importance. However, there are some issues outside the scope of those talks, which will have to be addressed if the very complex question of Afghanistan is to be settled in a manner satisfactory to all sides.

As is the case in other comparable situations, the question of national reconciliation is of decisive importance. An approach where the Government in power designates its interlocutors would not seem likely to be acceptable to all parties concerned. We are aware, however, that the political forces in opposition or in exile are at present still lacking a common forum. A satisfactory manner of dealing with this question is certainly not facilitated by this situation.

We recognize that the measures announced by the Government of Afghanistan include some elements on which future progress probably could be built. However, doubts remain whether the measures undertaken so far will be sufficient to lead to

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

genuine national reconciliation. So far the activities designed to bring about national reconciliation cannot be considered as having been successful. Austria believes that more efforts should be undertaken in this regard. As Afghans both inside and outside their homeland have become more and more concerned about the need to ensure their right to self-determination, not piecemeal measures, but bold and decisive steps for national reconciliation are required. A national reconciliation limited to political forces inside the country will be of little value so long as all those millions of Afghans living abroad, including their political leaders, are not integrated into such a process.

On the question of human rights and fundamental freedoms, a new approach has been manifested by the Government of Afghanistan by permitting the Special Rapporteur on Afghanistan, Mr. Ermacora, to visit that country for the first time.

I have already mentioned that the United Nations has a role to play in solving the problems of Afghanistan. That role must not be limited to diplomatic endeavours. It could possibly also encompass some practical measures of assistance in the implementation of an eventual political agreement. It is perhaps too early to discuss this matter in detail, but once we reach the stage when this question will have to be addressed, the relevant United Nations organs should be prepared to take decisions without losing valuable time.

As has been stated in this Hall, history shows that opportunities once wasted can, if at all, only be reconstituted at tremendous cost. We do not know yet whether opportunities to reach a political solution have indeed already been wasted. *We do know, however, that we should spare no effort in finding an early solution to the question of Afghanistan.* This is not only a humanitarian imperative, but a necessary requirement to bring stability to a region which is of utmost concern to all of us. It would also play an essential role to improve

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

further the overall political climate and send a message to nations small and large, that perceived political problems require political rather than military solutions.

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland): As the General Assembly proceeds once again to the discussion of the recurrent item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security", there is mounting evidence of the evolution of the situation in and around Afghanistan, which indicates the possibility of a comprehensive and peaceful solution of the problem. It is encouraging to note that the two processes are converging and they have a common denominator: a search for peace.

In the Declaration of National Reconciliation, adopted on 3 January 1987, the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan proclaimed that "Our [Afghan] people are thirsty for peace" after years of internal strife, during which "the country had been flooded with tears and blood". Having in mind the ultimate interests of the Afghan people and with a view to ensuring the security of the people and country-wide peace, cessation of the fratricidal war and the progress and prosperity of the country, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in the framework of a policy of national reconciliation, declared on 15 January 1987 a unilateral cease-fire, proclaimed a general amnesty, promulgated a law on the establishment of a multi-party system in the country and offered negotiations with other political forces inside and outside the country.

Those measures created a new political atmosphere in Afghanistan, which is particularly discernible at the grass-roots level, in the work of local national reconciliation commissions. Much would depend upon how the leaders of other political forces, both inside and outside the country, would respond to those proposals for mutual understanding, negotiations, compromises and concessions that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is willing to make. Also at the international level, as the Secretary-General states in his annual report on the work of the Organization:

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

"Efforts to resolve the problem related to Afghanistan have reached an advanced stage". (A/42/1, p. 2)

And to quote again from the Secretary-General's report on agenda item 31:

"Substantial though not sufficiently sustained progress has been made in the past year in the efforts to conclude the international instruments that will comprise the settlement". (A/42/600, para. 2)

Complementing earlier agreements on non-interference and non-intervention, on the return of refugees, on international guarantees, the relevant provisions of the draft fourth instrument on interrelationships were finalized. In addition, the gap between the positions of the two sides on the time-frame of troop withdrawals has been narrowed from initially 45 months to 8 months.

We commend the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative for the achievement of a political solution of the problem. We consider that it is essential to ensure that the settlement is broadly supported and effectively implemented. In that respect, we share the Secretary-General's opinion about the important role of all Governments in a position to do so to facilitate the achievement of a comprehensive settlement.

The Soviet Union expressed strong support for the United Nations diplomatic process according to the report by the Secretary-General on his talks with the Soviet leadership in Moscow in June 1987. And in an interview reported in l'Unita on 18 May 1987, General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev expressed the Soviet Government's full support for the position of the Non-Aligned Movement that Afghanistan should remain an independent, sovereign and non-aligned country and:

"should Afghanistan wish to become a neutral State again, it is up to the Afghan people to decide".



(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

The expression of goodwill on the part of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan should be matched by the curtailment of outside interference in the internal affairs of the country and cessation of destructive internal activities supported and financed from abroad.

Concerning the current debate, the General Assembly could make a positive contribution to the speedy political solution of the situation relating to Afghanistan if it were to adopt a fair and unbiased approach to the matter and if it took into account the developments which have taken place in and around Afghanistan since the last session of the Assembly. Such an approach presupposes that any draft resolution on the subject under discussion should contain, inter alia, a call for the strict observance of the principle of non-intervention in relation to the situation in Afghanistan and support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative in promoting a comprehensive settlement of the Afghan problem by peaceful means, while welcoming the progress achieved so far at the Geneva talks.

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): The tensions and instabilities surrounding international relations have their roots in the presence and escalation of crises and the existence of hot spots of tension. The tribulations of our contemporary world are due to the use of force and intervention, threats against sovereignty and territorial integrity, the denial of the rights of peoples and States to determine their own future in freedom and to choose the means to internal development and foreign policy. The best proof of this fact is that the General Assembly for the ninth consecutive session is considering the tragic and critical situation in Afghanistan. Furthermore, and for the ninth time, the overwhelming majority of sovereign States will condemn the flagrant sweeping foreign intervention, reflected in the continuing foreign

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

presence on Afghan soil and the subjection of its valiant people to occupation, an intervention accompanied by repeated barbaric battles and enormous suffering, an occupation aimed at forcing a sovereign and independent people, with a distinct Moslem identity, to kneel before an occupation attempting to undermine its religion, culture and traditions.

What more eloquent expression and clearer testimony of the will of the overwhelming majority of the Afghan people than its valiant resistance to all attempts aimed at imposing an unfriendly régime. The Afghan people is seeking to regain its freedom and independence which it has enjoyed for centuries and has defended with dignity and valour.

We cannot accept the justification of the use of force or intervention in all their forms in the internal affairs of others, regardless of the party committing the intervention, or where it takes place. Furthermore, we cannot defend the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their implementation in a selective manner. Therefore, all pretexts or justification for the military occupation of Afghanistan cannot change and indeed cannot cover up the fact that it is a violation not only of the principles and objectives of the Charter, but indeed of all the rules of civilized behaviour amongst States, particularly a fundamental principle in the Charter committing all States Members of the United Nations to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of other States.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

I would once observe that there can be no military solution to this crisis caused by the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. As all members are aware, the crisis can be resolved only by peaceful political means in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the Afghan people, which are guaranteed by international laws and instruments. A settlement cannot be achieved through cosmetic changes or symbolic initiatives. In seeking a settlement the international community has spared no efforts within the Organization and outside it, in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and elsewhere.

It is appropriate in this context to mention the role played by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, from its conference in Fez in 1980 to its latest summit conference, held in Kuwait in January of this year. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has continued to reaffirm the commitment of the Islamic Ummah to its principled position vis à vis the military intervention by a foreign Power in Afghanistan. It has called for a peaceful settlement based on the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Islamic Conference.

Proceeding from this and its firm commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, Kuwait joins its sister States in the Islamic Conference and the non-Muslim States Members of this Organization in insisting that a comprehensive settlement to the Afghan problem must be based on the following: the immediate unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; enjoyment by the Afghan people of its right to self-determination; respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan; maintenance of the distinct Islamic identity of Afghanistan, and the return of the refugees to their homes in full security and dignity.

Kuwait calls on all parties concerned to redouble their efforts to hasten the finding of solutions to the most important issues, particularly those related to the time-frame for the withdrawal of foreign troops, which we hope will be short.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

Failure to reach agreement on these issues, or any delay in doing so, will only mean more suffering for the Afghan people and more threats to peace and stability in the area and outside it. The path to a settlement must be kept free of foreign intervention and pressure so that the settlement is safe from their negative effects and the situation in Afghanistan is not exploited to serve the interests and aims of non-Afghan parties.

In this context, Kuwait expresses its appreciation of and support for the constructive efforts and actions of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative. We find much comfort in the report of the Secretary-General of 29 September of this year (A/42/600) concerning the item under consideration, particularly his references to the progress achieved at the Geneva talks and the efforts at national reconciliation under way in Afghanistan and their effects vis-à-vis normalization of the situation inside and outside Afghanistan. Even we appeal to the Secretary-General to persevere in his efforts to promote a peaceful settlement and to seek and provide appropriate guarantees to solve the Afghan crisis.

We appeal to our Afghan brothers to begin the process of affirming their right to self-determination, which is fundamental to a settlement, through the creation of an acceptable mechanism for dialogue and decision-making to assist them in establishing procedures for the peaceful implementation of the settlement. We urge them to re-establish the appropriate constitutional policies and procedures to ensure a durable peace in Afghanistan and the region.

We wish to pay tribute to the neighbouring States of Afghanistan for the humanitarian role they have played in hosting and assisting Afghan refugees. The subjection of the Afghan people to such a huge military occupying force has compelled millions of Afghans to seek refuge in neighbouring States; their number is unprecedented. Thus, in addition to the grave loss of life and property and

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

other consequences endured by the Afghan people, the negative effects of the situation have spread to these neighbouring States. We must therefore express our deep concern that, in the absence of a settlement to the Afghan crisis, the entire region will become an arena for power struggles whose consequences are unimaginable.

We again appeal to all the parties concerned to work towards a rapid political settlement in accordance with the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions in order to create appropriate conditions for the return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland in peace and dignity.

In this context, we wish to pay tribute to those States that have received refugees for the efforts they have made despite the great pressures on them and their effect on their economic and social development. We also pay tribute to national and international organizations for their humanitarian role in this regard. We appeal to them to continue providing such assistance to lessen the suffering of the Afghan refugees until the final settlement of the Afghan crisis.

In calling for a peaceful settlement of the Afghan crisis, Kuwait cannot fail to commend and express its admiration for the Afghan people for their heroic struggle for the liberation of their homeland from foreign occupation. We support the role played by Afghan Mujahidin movement to recover Afghanistan's independence, Islamic identity and neutral status.

For its part, Kuwait will continue to assist and support the Afghan struggle until victory. We hope for further positive developments in this crisis, and to that end we call on the international community to continue exerting the political pressure that has achieved the progress attained so far, and to hasten the work towards a political settlement so that peace and security may return to Afghanistan and the region as a whole.

Mr. SHIRABI (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): In a few weeks eight years will have elapsed since the armies of Afghanistan's great neighbour crossed the frontier to establish in the capital a puppet Government, which deprives the Afghan people of their freedom. Those people, whom history has known as being among the foremost freedom-fighters, are thus deprived of their liberty and have had imposed upon them a system they reject. There has been established in the country a régime whose allegiance lies outside its borders. All this took place in broad daylight, before the eyes and within the hearing of the United Nations and all its Member States.

Afghanistan, the country of a formidable Muslim people, a courageous, proud people, finds itself suddenly the battlefield in a ferocious struggle being waged by its people in defence of their freedom, their religion and the dignity of their country and homeland. The problem of Afghanistan has consequently entered the arena of great-Power conflict, and the Afghan people are paying the price. The States of the region find themselves in a new whirlpool of rivalry between big and big, including rivalry for the smaller.

Today one Afghan citizen in four is a refugee in a neighbouring country, a refugee from the injustice that has befallen his country and evidence of the way his rights have been trampled and his home has been violated. He is demanding a dignified return under the banner of his religion and honour. He is seeking to regain his full national rights, under the banner of a just struggle by force of arms, paying in blood and resources, using his strength of resolve and belief, which are stronger than any weapon.

The heroic Afghan people stand today with their backs to the wall of no retreat, struggling in defence of their homeland. They appeal to the conscience of the world, asking: where is the Charter, where are the human rights, where are the

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

rights of peoples? They have been waging their struggle for eight years, paying the price with the sacrifice of their sons, their blood and their resources. They confront the strongest military land forces in history, entrenched on their territory by force of arms.

The relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union were among the best examples of good-neighbourly relations between two countries differing in the nature of their political, social and economic systems and with contrasting views of life. Today they have become one of the worst examples of coexistence, even between neighbours.

The argument that the invasion can have any justification whatsoever distorts the concepts of the independence of peoples, the basis of co-operation between nations and the sanctity of sovereignty and dignity in our times. It even distorts the concepts of independence and sovereignty enshrined in the United Nations Charter, whose very basis it contradicts. Why should there be an occupation army to guarantee the stability of a régime? It is never possible for a puppet Government which sneaks into a position of power under cover of darkness and whose survival depends on an army of occupation to stay on indefinitely, no matter how long it is supported.

History has known many régimes of darkness which were established by armies of occupation and described in most appealing terms, but enlightened peoples were never fooled by this, and the days of those régimes were numbered since they depended upon the ability of the occupier to impose its will. The foreign occupier in Afghanistan, which is confronting the steadfastness of the Afghan Mujahidin, is perplexed and wondering where it should go in the face of the determination of the Afghan people either to be martyrs for the sake of God or to win a victory through the will of God.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

All sectors and classes of the Afghan people are engaging in a war of liberation, while a puppet Government sits in the capital, Kabul, incapable even of controlling that city and claiming to represent the Afghan will. We all know that it does not control its own day-to-day affairs and does not know what the outcome will be or what the agenda for the morrow.

We reiterate our appeal to the Soviet Union, a super-Power, a permanent member of the Security Council and a State whose stand in defence of the rights of the Arabs in Palestine and against Zionist invasion is appreciated; which supports the right of the people of Namibia to independence and sovereignty; which condemns the oppression of man by man in the lands of Palestine and South Africa; and which upholds the right of those peoples and their countries to freedom and condemns imperialistic expansionism with regard to them, we ask it today, as it has been asked for the past eight years, to do what it has been calling on others to do in support of freedom in the other areas of the world afflicted by occupation and colonialism. We ask it to restore freedom to the Afghan people and to leave their land and country to them. We reiterate our appeal that it leave Afghanistan to the Afghans.

The Afghan people, proud, free and strong, once tied to their neighbour by the strongest of friendly, good-neighbourly relations, have become one of the worst victims of good-neighbourliness. The friend has become the prey of a friend almost overnight.

The talks which have been taking place for years to solve the Afghan problem would not need the complex arrangements envisaged if the army of occupation were willing to depart from Afghanistan and win a round for peace. If there is a price for a solution, the Afghan people, who are innocent of the blood of invasion, should not be the ones called upon to pay it. Indeed, they are not capable of



(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

paying it, since the occupation has drained their resources. It has aroused all their fears and anxieties, causing their dream of tranquillity to remain unrealized, since the basic elements of peace and trust are lacking. Moreover, faith in good-neighbourly relations is possible in conditions that strengthen and support such good-neighbourliness.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

Before I conclude my statement, I should like on behalf of my country to express the appreciation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for hosting nearly 4 million Afghani refugees who, with dignity, have escaped to Pakistan, where the Pakistani people have treated them with the care required by Islamic brotherhood. We call upon all countries of the world to assist the Afghani refugees and to co-operate with Pakistan to meet the refugees' basic needs.

Problems of freedom, independence and sovereignty, the rights of peoples, and the dignity of nations constitute one single whole for the international community. It cannot be divided geographically or classified according to colour or form. It cannot be underestimated in the twentieth century, now that we are on the threshold of the twenty-first. We hope that the Soviet Union will respond to the world-wide international wish, as reflected in the General Assembly's resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority, and leave the country to its people, restore the rights to their legitimate owners, and redress in the future what it has already spoiled. After a very costly experience, it should by now have realized that right is above might and that resolute belief will prevail over the strength of armies. We hope very soon to stand here and hail a free and peaceful Afghanistan, a friend of all its neighbours and dear to all its friends.

Lastly, I wish to salute the Afghani Mujahidin, who are paying the highest price to realize the highest ideals.

Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (interpretation from French): For the eighth consecutive year the General Assembly has taken up consideration of the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. It is doing so because the reasons that led the United Nations and other international forums to be seized of the matter are still very much with us today.

(Mr. Sarré, Senegal)

The suffering and plight of the Afghan people, just like all other cases of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of Member States that are considered every year in this forum, are evidence that, despite professions of faith from this rostrum, more than 40 years later the principles contained in the San Francisco Charter remain an elusive goal rather than a daily fact of contemporary international relations.

The rule of law based on non-intervention, the inviolability of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of States and respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and for the non-use of force in international relations has for eight years now given way to the use of force, thus undermining morality and international law.

Whatever the reasons given to explain or justify foreign intervention in Afghanistan, one is tempted to say that such intervention constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles and rules governing inter-State relations with which are associated the ethical values of the community of nations.

That is why, on the basis of the principles of the Charter, the Organization has from the outset defined the conditions for any solution to the Afghan problem. Need we recall that these necessary conditions remain the withdrawal, without pre-condition, of foreign troops from that country; the restoration to the Afghan people of its inalienable right to determine its own future without outside intervention or constraint; and the creation, by means of sincere negotiations between the parties concerned, of conditions enabling the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes.

We must note, however, that the situation has not at all improved. The Afghan people, more than 20 per cent of which has been forced to flee their homes and live

(Mr. Sarré, Senegal)

in exile, continue to pay a high price for recognition of their legitimate right to sovereignty and their aspiration to peace.

There is no doubt that at the diplomatic level considerable progress has been made in the context of the Geneva talks conducted under the aegis of the Secretary-General. The consultation machinery established by the Secretary-General, which is handled so competently and devotedly by his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, has indeed allowed for ironing out many of the difficulties that arose throughout the negotiations. But it remains - and this is our wish - for the parties concerned to display more political will to achieve all the good intentions they have announced so far, especially with regard to the time-frame for the rapid withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in Afghanistan for almost a decade now.

In the interest of peace, and in order to restore stability to the region, it is essential to maintain the momentum of the negotiations by further promoting the continuation of responsible, serious and constructive dialogue within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

The improvement in East-West relations, more particularly between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the two designated guarantors on this question, should certainly allow the Geneva talks to enter into a decisive stage.

Senegal, which has always opposed acts of interference in the internal affairs of other States, especially when they take the shape of foreign armed intervention, wishes to take this opportunity once again to express its solidarity with the people of Afghanistan in its present difficulties.

The people and the Government of Senegal will, as in the past, continue to support efforts for peace undertaken at various levels, since we are convinced that

(Mr. Sarré, Senegal)

the persistence of any side in trying to find a solution by force will merely prolong the conflict and heighten tension in the region.

The tenacious pursuit of these efforts should ultimately allow the Afghan people to find a way out of the impasse and resignation in which it finds itself today and to make real progress towards the political solution the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations have been awaiting for almost eight years.

It is in that spirit that this year Senegal is once again a sponsor of the draft resolution submitted under this agenda item on the situation in Afghanistan. The generous and objective approach reflected in the draft resolution is intended to facilitate the continuation of ongoing negotiations between the interested parties while at the same time not losing sight of the fundamental Charter principles.

By supporting it, as it has done in previous years, and by resisting any attempt to distort the facts of the Afghan tragedy, the overwhelming majority of the membership of the Assembly will have strengthened its determination to restore justice and peace to Afghanistan.

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

Of a nation of 16 million, more than a million have been killed, 4 million have been displaced and more than 5 million have become refugees in Pakistan and Iran, where thousands more arrive each month. Massive air-raids, round-ups followed by the total destruction of villages and the massacre of their populations, repression and crimes by the invaders have depopulated the countryside and spread death, mourning, enormous suffering and ruin.

That has been the situation in Afghanistan since 25 December 1979, when the Soviet Union sent what it called a limited contingent of the Red Army to "liberate" and "pacify" the country and its inhabitants. Entire regions are today without a sign of life. There, the Red Army has succeeded in establishing peace: the peace of the cemetery.

The invasion and occupation of Afghanistan are flagrant violations of the United Nations Charter and international law. They pose a grave threat to peace, security and stability in South Asia and throughout the world. The entire international community is in agreement; and behind their continued pretexts aimed at justifying their adventurism, the invaders themselves are well aware of this. Television footage brought back by journalists, sometimes at the cost of their lives; voluminous testimony by Afghans in countries of refuge; statements by Red Army deserters; and reports by Mr. Felix Ermacora, Special Rapporteur on Afghanistan of the Commission on Human Rights, and by non-governmental organizations such as Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch: all these have educated, shocked and outraged the international community. They have supplied uncontested and uncontestable proof that the war of invasion and occupation in Afghanistan is a crime against peace and against mankind.

(Mr. Thiounn Prasith,  
Democratic Kampuchea)

For nearly eight years the General Assembly, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement have condemned those crimes and repeatedly appealed to the Soviet Union to end them by withdrawing all its troops from Afghanistan so the Afghan people can exercise its right to self-determination and so Afghanistan can regain its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status. That constitutes firm and continuing support for the just and legitimate struggle of the Afghan people and its Mujahidin; over the past eight years of suffering imposed by the invaders, they have demonstrated, with unequalled heroism, their unshakable determination to defend their freedom, honour and national identity, and their undeniable ability to liberate their country from Soviet domination.

Pakistan has become a front-line State, and has generously and compassionately welcomed more than 3 million Afghan refugees. Increasing pressure from the Soviet Union and the puppet régime in Kabul - including stepped-up air raids and a systematic campaign of terror against Pakistan - has resulted in hundreds of civilian victims, but has not been able to shake Pakistan's firm position of principle, based on the United Nations Charter, the principles of non-alignment and international law.

There is no doubt that the courageous struggle of the Afghan people and its Mujahidin and Pakistan's unshakable position of rejecting the Soviet fait accompli in Afghanistan have made it possible to contain the thrust of Soviet expansionism in South Asia and safeguard international peace and security.

The people of Kampuchea and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea - which for nine years have been waging a struggle very similar in its causes, effects and evolution to that of the Afghan people - can only rejoice at that. On behalf of the Kampuchean people and its Government I wish to express our firm and

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Democratic Kampuchea)

unswerving solidarity with and sincere admiration for the Afghan people and its Mujahidin and the people and Government of Pakistan.

The invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam, supported by the Soviet Union, has persisted since 25 December 1978; the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union itself has continued since 25 December 1979, or exactly one year later. The firm and unswerving support of the international community together with the heroic and determined struggles of the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan have not only bogged the enemy down in the field, but have made the ultimate liberation of those countries a certainty. To make that liberation possible it was necessary for the international community, including the General Assembly, to condemn and reject the manoeuvres, lies and pressures of the invaders, and for the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples to wage their struggle with great stubbornness and sacrifice.

But while the liberation of Afghanistan and Kampuchea has become inevitable, the path of struggle is strewn with traps, subterfuge and sacrifice, for the enemy is not ready to give up its expansionist ambitions. It is important to remember that for 50 years Kampuchea has been a strategic objective of Viet Nam. After having destroyed and absorbed the Islamic Kingdom of Champa to create present-day central Viet Nam, and after having annexed lower Kampuchea to create present-day South Viet Nam, Viet Nam stubbornly continues to try to absorb Kampuchea and Laos into the "Indochinese Federation", intended eventually to become a "Greater Viet Nam".

It is important also to recall that in its push to the south and its quest for warm-water ports, the Soviet Union has already absorbed the Islamic States of Khiva and Bukhara, in 1924; these were subsequently dismembered and incorporated into the "Soviet Socialist Republics" of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan. It is



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illuminating to note that at that time the Soviet Union sent to the two Islamic States of Khiva and Bukhara what it called "limited contingents" of its army; they remain there to this very day.

I recall those historical facts to place the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan in its true context and to stress what is really at stake for the invaders. As Viet Nam is in Kampuchea, the Soviet military is totally bogged down in Afghanistan; it has had to change the tone of its rhetoric, but has thus far shown no sign of really abandoning its ambition to dominate if not annex the country. Since it cannot conquer the country by military force, it is trying to do so by political and diplomatic manoeuvres and subterfuges such as the "partial withdrawal" of its troops; the change of puppets in Kabul; the proclamation of a "cease-fire"; "national reconciliation"; "halting" foreign interference; and so forth.

Soviet rhetoric and proposals on the problem of Afghanistan are in no way different from Vietnamese rhetoric and proposals on the problem of Kampuchea. Behind the rhetoric on defending international peace and security, they are trying to spread confusion, obscure the root cause of the problem and get the international community to recognize the faits accomplis of their expansionist policies.

(Mr. Thiounn Prasith,  
Democratic Kampuchea)

For almost seven years indirect negotiations between Pakistan and the Kabul régime have been taking place in Geneva, under the auspices of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to extend to them its warmest appreciation of their tireless and devoted efforts, which have achieved some progress. Nevertheless, for some years now the report of the Secretary-General has stressed that

"two important issues ... could not be resolved: arrangements to ensure effective implementation of the settlement and the time-frame for withdrawal of troops". (A/42/600, para. 3)

These are fundamental issues upon which a solution and a just and lasting political settlement of the problem of Afghanistan depend, as well as the bringing about of peace, security and guaranteed stability in South Asia.

The refusal of the Soviet Union to resolve these two issues shows that it is ready for anything except the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan and the exercise by the Afghan people of their right to determine their own future.

In the circumstances it is difficult to conclude that the indirect talks in Geneva will soon lead to a just and lasting solution of the Afghan problem. What is clear is that the Soviet Union has agreed to these indirect negotiations simply in order to blunt the world community's condemnation of its invasion of Afghanistan and in the hope of gaining time to impose a military solution. To understand this it suffices to recall that all Soviet proposals or resummptions of indirect negotiations have been preceded, or accompanied, or followed by a stepping-up of Soviet military activity against the national resistance.

Today the Soviet Union claims that the indirect talks in Geneva have made substantial progress, thanks to its proposal to withdraw all of its troops in

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Democratic Kampuchea)

16 months and that the process of "national reconciliation", which is to be concluded before this withdrawal, is proceeding effectively. But the total withdrawal of Soviet troops remains dependent upon the cessation of what Moscow calls foreign interference, whereas in fact the only foreign interference in Afghanistan is precisely the presence of some 120,000 Soviet soldiers. Let those forces leave, and foreign interference will cease of itself.

Obviously, the Soviet condition means that the Red Army has no intention of withdrawing from Afghanistan. By proposing a maximum time-frame of eight months for the total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, Pakistan has made a very big concession.

On 24 September last, in his important address to this Assembly, Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo, Prime Minister of Pakistan, stressed:

"The insistence on an extended time-frame for troop withdrawal arouses legitimate suspicion of a lurking desire to pursue the military option to crush Afghan resistance even after a settlement has been signed."

(A/42/PV.11, p. 31)

The national reconciliation within the framework of the puppet Kabul régime to form a so-called coalition government in Afghanistan which would negotiate with Moscow the withdrawal of Soviet troops is nothing but a device designed to force the Afghan people and its Mujahidin, as well as the international community, to accept de facto recognition of the régime set up by the Soviet troops in Kabul and subsequently to accept the masquerade of negotiations between Moscow and its puppet - in other words, its alter ego.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan quite rightly pointed out that:

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"Nor can the demand for 'national reconciliation' be made a pre-condition for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan. The Afghan resistance has rejected the proposal, because 'national reconciliation' under foreign occupation would, by definition, be hollow and transitory". (A/42/PV.11, p. 31)

Indeed, like Viet Nam in its manoeuvre for so-called national reconciliation in Kampuchea, the Soviet Union, by calling for national reconciliation in Afghanistan before withdrawing all its troops, is revealing its bad faith and the true objective of this manoeuvre, which is the maintenance of its occupation of the country, if not actually creating there a régime that will be forever meek and submissive.

On 17 September 1987, at the opening of the forty-second session of the General Assembly, the Soviet press published the text of an article by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev, entitled "Reality and safeguards for a secure world". The Soviet delegation circulated that article as a United Nations document. In the article Mr. Gorbachev said:

"A prerequisite for universal security is unconditional respect for the Charter of the United Nations and the right of peoples to exercise the sovereign choice of the ways and forms of their development, revolutionary or evolutionary. This applies also to the right to the social status quo, for this too is an exclusively internal affair. Any attempts, whether direct or indirect, to influence the development of 'other people's' countries and interfere with it must be excluded. Equally impermissible, too, are attempts to destabilize existing Governments from outside." (A/42/574, p. 6)

(Mr. Thiounn Prasith,  
Democratic Kampuchea)

But there is a big gap between words and deeds. The international community expects of the Soviet Union not statements or declarations but actual deeds. As a German proverb goes, "People talk of good deeds without doing them but they do bad deeds without talking about them". More than rhetorical declarations or disarmament treaties, the total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the cessation of Soviet support for the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea would contribute, without doubt, to increasing confidence in international relations and convince the international community of Moscow's good intentions in preserving international peace and security. But until the Soviet leaders have taken those measures their declarations and their acts in other fields are nothing but tactics to maintain their ability and their forces with a view to consolidating what they have already gained in their policy of expansion and domination - in this case in Afghanistan - and through their Vietnamese proxy in Kampuchea.

Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan at the end of the last century, described Russian expansionism in the following terms:

"The Russian policy of aggression is slow but sure. Its means of advancing resemble that of the elephant, which examines carefully the place where it is going to put its foot down but once it has put its weight on that place it never goes backwards and never takes a second step with undue haste until after it has put all its weight on the first foot and crushed everything underneath it."

There can be no denying that the underlying cause of the problem of Afghanistan, like that of the problem of Kampuchea, is the invasion and occupation of the country by foreign troops. In Afghanistan, only the immediate total and

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unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops will make it possible to solve the problem, restore the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and open the way for the return of the Afghan refugees in safety and honour to their homeland. This withdrawal would mark the end of foreign interference in Afghanistan and open the way to national reconciliation, which is the internal affair of the Afghan people.

In his report the Secretary-General has quite rightly pointed out that "early agreement on a short time-frame for the withdrawal of troops would give decisive impetus to Afghans' own efforts towards reconciliation." (A/42/600, para. 8)

(Mr. Thiounn Prasith,  
Democratic Kampuchea)

It is with this understanding that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/42/L.16, introduced by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan. This draft resolution provides an appropriate framework applying the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter to a just and lasting solution of the Afghanistan problem. It is identical with resolutions already adopted by our Assembly in previous years by overwhelming majorities. In its essence and its basis, the situation in Afghanistan has not changed, in spite of the manoeuvres and propaganda of the invaders designed to persuade us otherwise, and my delegation will support this draft resolution.

In voting in favour of it, my delegation would like to stress once again the following points. First, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States are not negotiable. This principle applies to Afghanistan, to Kampuchea and to all States without exception. Secondly, national reconciliation and the exercise of the right of self-determination are the internal affairs of States and cannot exist within the framework of a puppet régime imposed by foreign forces - still less in the presence of such forces. Thirdly, it is both a sacred right and a patriotic duty for all peoples, in particular the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples, to struggle in all possible ways to free their countries from invasion and foreign occupation. The Soviet people, which waged such a valiant struggle against fascism and nazism, should understand this more than most.

In the article I mentioned previously, Mr. Gorbachev wrote the following:

"The permanent members of the Security Council could act as guarantors of regional security, and would for their part assume the obligation to refrain from the use or threat of the use of force and from conspicuous displays of military strength, for this practice is one of the factors in sparking regional conflicts.

(Mr. Thiounn Prasith,  
Democratic Kampuchea)

"... A decisive increase is required in the authority and role of the United Nations". (A/42/574, pp. 7 and 10)

The draft resolution (A/42/L.16) is in keeping with that wise lesson, which can only gratify all those imbued with the ideals of peace and justice. Everyone would like to believe that, in accordance with that profession of faith, the Soviet delegation would naturally support this draft resolution without any amendment, which would enable it to be adopted by consensus. If that were the case, it would give us concrete proof of true progress in the search for a political settlement of the problem of Afghanistan, while at the same time it would demonstrate its sincerity with regard to the United Nations and its Charter. Glasnost would be no longer an empty word but a reality which could lead to the establishment of a world of peace and stability.

However that may be, it is more than ever necessary that our Assembly give massive support to this draft resolution. In doing so, it would be making a valuable contribution to a rapid, just and lasting solution to the problem of Afghanistan and would make it possible to save countless human lives in that nation which has already suffered too long and whose people continue to give us such an admirable example of heroism and dignity. Once again, reflecting the will of the international community, our Assembly must reiterate its determination never to countenance the idea that in international relations might is right but to defend resolutely the United Nations Charter and international law, which are the guarantors of international peace and security.

Mr. VALENCIA (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): There is no denying the obvious fact that after eight years of persistent struggle Afghanistan continues to suffer the agonies of a military occupation which defies the



(Mr. Valencia, Colombia)

principles of the United Nations Charter. The General Assembly has repeatedly shown, by broad majorities, that it is not willing to tolerate an attempt to impose on the people of that country a régime established and maintained by power and force. That occupation has been condemned time and time again, and, in equally strong terms, the immediate and total withdrawal of the foreign troops has been called for, as well as a search for a negotiated political settlement. The latter, however, seems to have proved even more elusive.

The serious concern of the international community at the seriousness of the situation prevailing in Afghanistan has found expression in various forums, and in all of them it has been clearly demonstrated that the vast majority of countries are firmly convinced that there is no military solution for the Afghanistan problem and that a political solution is the only possible one.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations and his Personal Representative not only initiated the diplomatic process towards a solution of the problem of Afghanistan but continue to undertake dynamic mediation efforts and are taking further steps which call for recognition and support from the entire world.

In the tragic case of Afghanistan we see several factors converging which make it a problem affecting the entire international community. First and foremost, the aggression against an independent, non-aligned State alters established parameters and gives rise to fears concerning situations which might be similar. The intervention of a major Power in Afghanistan and the continuation of the state of war threaten the entire region of South-West Asia with destabilization, the implications of which could extend to the endangering of international peace and security. Nations in other areas of the world have gradually become involved in the conflict and, with the interdependence prevailing in the world today, the repercussions of that war have extended to the farthest corners of the earth.

(Mr. Valencia, Colombia)

A painful and inevitable result of this situation has been the population exodus to neighbouring countries. Millions of Afghans have been forced to flee their country, and this has placed a heavy burden on the countries which have generously received them. Thanks to the assistance given by other States and new international organizations, the situation has so far been manageable, but all countries must provide humanitarian support until the necessary political conditions have been created to enable the refugees to return to Afghanistan in safety and honour.

In their search for the hoped-for political solution, the Members of the United Nations are now confronted with two important points which must be resolved without delay in order that the arrangement may be viable: an early, irrevocable and total withdrawal of all foreign troops from the entire territory of Afghanistan and the exercise of true self-determination by the Afghan people.

(Mr. Valencia, Colombia)

For the whole world it is indispensable that Afghanistan's sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status be preserved, as well as its people's inalienable right to determine their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system, free from outside intervention and without any constraint. Many contradictory statements are made today on behalf of the Afghan people, but it is that people that must be allowed to speak freely for itself and to act accordingly. That is what the international community demands.

Colombia is deeply convinced of the importance of finding peaceful solutions to international problems. Hence, we express our gratitude to the United Nations Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, for their efforts to find a comprehensive, peaceful solution.

Colombia, as a peace-loving country deeply respectful of the fundamental principles of the Charter and aware of the importance of strengthening the principles of international law in relations among States, is once again co-sponsoring a draft resolution on this item. That draft resolution, which has been submitted to the General Assembly for its consideration, takes a constructive approach that highlights the urgent need for a just political solution and reaffirms the principles and conditions that are regarded as essential to that end. My country trusts that the Members of the United Nations will demonstrate their overwhelming support for the draft resolution by voting in favour of it.

A political solution to the Afghanistan problem would contribute to restoring political stability to South-West Asia and to reducing tension between the super-Powers. It would also be of benefit in the quest for solutions to other international questions.

(Mr. Valencia, Colombia)

A just settlement of the Afghanistan problem, based on the principles of the Charter, must be found if we are to reaffirm the concept of a world order based on justice and to maintain faith in the capacity of the United Nations to preserve international peace and security.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.