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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
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AGENDA ITEM 116

**The situation in Afghanistan and its implications
for international peace and security**

1. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): We are meeting today because of our profound concern about two of the most fundamental purposes for which the United Nations was established; namely the safeguarding of international peace and security, and the upholding of the right of peoples to determine their own political, economic and social systems free from outside intervention or coercion. Today in Afghanistan both those purposes of the United Nations continue to be frustrated.

2. The General Assembly has considered the situation in Afghanistan for almost a year. The response of the international community to that challenge may well be of decisive significance for the future of the world order.

3. As we proceed to debate this issue I urge representatives assembled here to bear in mind that the Afghanistan crisis not only impinges on that country or on those in its immediate neighbourhood; it threatens the very basis of the United Nations. The outcome of our deliberations will therefore be of the greatest import not only for the peoples of Afghanistan and its immediate neighbours, but for a great many of the small States of the world that constitute the overwhelming majority of the Members of the Organization.

4. More than 10 months have passed since the General Assembly met in emergency special session to consider the grave situation arising from the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. On that occasion 104 States Members of the United Nations gave their verdict in clear and emphatic terms on the violation of the independence of non-aligned Afghanistan and called for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from that country in order that its people could determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever.

5. That unequivocal call representing the will of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world has so far remained unheeded. On the contrary, the situation in Afghanistan has been further aggravated. In recent months we have witnessed an alarming intensification of the conflict within that country. The Afghan people have stepped up their resistance to the foreign military forces and to the régime that has been imposed on them. The number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan has been heavily augmented; repressive measures against the Afghan population continue unabated and tens of thousands of refugees are forced to seek shelter in Pakistan every month. Nevertheless, the broad masses of the Afghan people are offering fearless resistance, true to their age-old traditions of freedom and independence. That resistance, which is entirely indigenous and not abetted from outside, is not confined to any particular part of Afghanistan, but extends across the entire country. The indomitable people of Afghanistan who possess only primitive weapons are pitted against the awesome war machine of a military super-Power in defence of their inalienable national rights. Though their towns and villages are being ruthlessly bombed, their homes destroyed and their fields laid waste, their heroic struggle continues.

6. The tragedy that has befallen the people of Afghanistan has been a matter of deep concern to the entire international community. The military intervention has set back the process of détente, reversed the trend towards the relaxation of international tensions and darkened the prospects for disarmament. It has opened an ominous new chapter in the history of super-Power rivalry and contention for spheres of influence and hegemony. The climate of mutual trust and confidence among the major Powers, painstakingly built up over more than a decade on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and détente and reflected in the Helsinki Final Act¹ and the strategic arms limitation talks, has been vitiated by the armed intervention in Afghanistan.

7. The attainment of the goal of transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace has been no less jeopardized.

8. Two basic facts lie at the heart of the Afghanistan tragedy. First, an attempt was made to determine the outcome of purely internal political differences among the Afghan people by the introduction of a large foreign military force. Secondly, no effort was made to arrive at a peaceful political settlement even when it became manifest that the people of Afghanistan would not acquiesce in the imposition of a régime by foreign military occupation.

¹ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

9. It is but natural that the international concern over the armed intervention in Afghanistan should have been felt most intensely by the States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which are bound to Afghanistan by lasting ties of common faith, culture and history. The Islamic nations also share the apprehension of other non-aligned countries that that intervention, if allowed to establish itself in Afghanistan, would constitute a most dangerous precedent for similar interventions by major Powers against their smaller non-aligned neighbours. Furthermore the members of the Islamic Conference could not but feel a sense of special obligation to find a peaceful and honourable solution to the Afghanistan crisis so that the sufferings of the Afghan people could be brought to a speedy end. Accordingly, the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, meeting in extraordinary special session in January 1980 and again at the eleventh session in May in Islamabad considered ways and means of resolving this crisis.

10. The framework of principles within which the Islamic Conference approached the situation in Afghanistan was none other than that set forth in General Assembly resolution ES-6/2 itself, namely: the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign forces from Afghanistan; respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan; respect for the inalienable national right of the people of Afghanistan to determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social system free from outside interference; the creation of the necessary conditions for the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees to their homes.

11. In order to promote a peaceful and honourable political solution consistent with the aforementioned principles, the Islamic Conference established a Committee comprising the Foreign Ministers of Iran and Pakistan and the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference [see A/35/419-S/14129, annex III, para. 69].

12. It is a matter of record that, since its establishment in May 1980, the Committee of the Islamic Conference has made sustained efforts to hold consultations with all the parties concerned with a view to identifying a common basis for a just and honourable political solution of the Afghanistan crisis. In pursuance of that objective the members of the Committee took a number of initiatives, collectively as well as individually. The Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference undertook a number of consultations and I myself visited several capitals.

13. The Committee had hoped to meet separately with the leaders of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the leaders of the Afghan resistance movement on 20 and 21 June 1980 at Mont Pelerin in Switzerland. To our profound regret the Kabul authorities did not respond positively to that initiative.

14. The Committee was, however, greatly encouraged by the response of the leaders of the Afghan resistance, who, while reiterating their determination to continue their national struggle, pledged themselves to co-operate with the Committee in its search for a political solution on the basis of the four principles

already enumerated. In their statements, the Mujahdeen leaders affirmed their commitment to the pursuit of positive and active non-aligned policies, non-involvement in bloc rivalries and friendship with all countries, especially with the neighbours of Afghanistan.

15. The Islamic Conference was particularly mindful of the fact that peace and tranquillity would not return to Afghanistan unless the Afghan Mujahedeen were brought into the peace process.

16. Pakistan has a direct and vital stake in a peaceful political settlement of the conflict in Afghanistan, which has burdened us with the responsibility of caring for 1.2 million Afghan refugees. The continuing influx of the refugees has placed a staggering burden on the limited resources of Pakistan, which nevertheless it continues to bear as an Islamic and humanitarian duty.

17. It has always been the objective of the Government of Pakistan to establish mutually beneficial and good-neighbourly relations with Afghanistan. Consequently, Pakistan has scrupulously followed a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Following the events of April 1978, Pakistan promptly recognized the Government of the late President Noor Mohammad Taraki and thereafter that of the late Hafizullah Amin. We made consistent efforts to enter into a dialogue with both those leaders in order to resolve such outstanding differences as might exist between our two countries.

18. It may be recalled that I was to have visited Kabul to hold discussions with the then Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, Mr. Shah Wali, in the last week of December 1979, when the situation was radically altered by the Soviet military intervention.

19. Pakistan's non-recognition of the present régime in Kabul stems from its opposition, on principle, to foreign military intervention, no matter where it occurs. It is this same position of principle which precludes Pakistan's recognition of the Heng Samrin régime in Kampuchea. Pakistan will have no hesitation in extending recognition to any Government in power in Kabul once the foreign forces are completely withdrawn from Afghanistan.

20. The Government of Pakistan has done everything possible to promote a peaceful political solution of the Afghanistan crisis. Proceeding from the fact, confirmed unanimously by impartial outside observers, that the Afghan resistance is an entirely indigenous phenomenon, the Government of Pakistan has offered unilaterally international inspection of the Afghan refugee camps on its territory. There could surely be no more conclusive a refutation of the baseless allegations that those camps are being used for training insurgents. Furthermore, Pakistan has declared that it would welcome the stationing of international, Islamic or non-aligned observers on the Afghan side of the border to monitor any trans-border movement. Pakistan has also offered to provide appropriate guarantees of non-interference to Afghanistan on a reciprocal basis.

21. We cannot but voice our disappointment that the efforts of the Islamic Conference to promote a peaceful political solution of the Afghanistan crisis have been frustrated by the refusal of the Soviet Union and the

Kabul régime to co-operate with the Committee. Despite this negative response, the Islamic Conference has continued to explore all avenues that might lead to a peaceful political settlement of the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan. At their last extraordinary session, held at the United Nations Headquarters on 4 October this year, the Islamic Foreign Ministers decided to extend the mandate of the Committee and to enlarge its membership by the addition of the Foreign Ministers of Guinea and Tunisia.

22. The Afghanistan question is not a bilateral matter between Afghanistan and each of its neighbours. It concerns the fundamental principles of non-use of force, non-intervention and non-interference, all of which have been violated in the case of the non-aligned Islamic State of Afghanistan.

23. An internal political conflict inevitably undergoes a qualitative change once an outside Power intervenes militarily and arrogates to itself the right to impose a political and economic system of its own choice on another nation.

24. No less ominous for the world order is the contention that military intervention is justified in the exercise of the right of individual and collective defence against an imaginary threat. Nor can the invasion of a small non-aligned country like Afghanistan be rationalized on the basis of geo-strategic considerations or doctrines. Furthermore, it must be acknowledged that despite the injection of a formidable military force the resistance of the Afghan people has not only continued but acquired new dimensions.

25. It is a special privilege for me to introduce the draft resolution contained in document A/35/L.12, which is sponsored by some 40 Islamic and non-aligned Member States. At the very outset, let me make it clear that this draft resolution does not seek to condemn or to apportion blame, nor is it directed against any Member State. In submitting the text, the sponsors are motivated solely by an earnest desire to seek a pacific settlement of a crisis which has grave implications for international peace and security and, more especially, for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States Members of the United Nations.

26. The draft resolution has been prepared by the sponsors bearing in mind the initiatives and efforts undertaken since the beginning of the crisis last December. It takes into account the resolution adopted by the Assembly in January, the resolutions of the Islamic Conference and various other proposals, including the 14 May proposals of the Kabul authorities. It seeks to harmonize the substantive aspects of all these proposals, which in the view of the sponsors are mutually compatible and complementary and can provide a basis for a political solution that reconciles the national rights of the people of Afghanistan and the legitimate security preoccupations of its neighbours.

27. The provisions of the draft resolution need to be appraised in terms of its two principal aspects. First, it identifies the elements of a peaceful political solution of the situation in Afghanistan. Secondly, it outlines a mechanism for the search for such a political solution through negotiations in accordance with the provisions of the draft resolution.

28. The elements of a political solution set out in this text are not exceptional and indeed common to all approaches to the problem. These are: first, the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; secondly, 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; thirdly, the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan; and fourthly, the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

29. The crux of the political solution is the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from the territory of Afghanistan. Obviously, what is implied is nothing other than a total withdrawal of Soviet troops. The Soviet Union itself is also committed to the principle of withdrawal, although it attaches conditions to it. Similarly, the other principles set forth in the draft resolution have found universal acceptance, even though some of them may be subject to different interpretations by the parties concerned. What is important at this stage is that we agree on principles and maintain an open mind so as to be able to negotiate the respective interpretations and positions in the subsequent consultations envisaged in the draft resolution.

30. With a view to ensuring peace and stability in the region, the draft resolution further provides for appropriate mutual guarantees of non-use of force or threat of use of force against the political independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the neighbouring States, namely, Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan, on the basis of strict non-interference in each other's internal affairs and with full regard to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This provision should meet a major component of the 14 May proposals which call for mutual guarantees of security and non-interference. In this context, it may be recalled that Pakistan has already declared its willingness to offer such guarantees.

31. The draft resolution suggests a flexible and well-considered modality for achieving a political solution of the Afghanistan problem. Since the beginning of the crisis, a number of proposals have been advanced by some Member States with a view to bringing to an end the tragic situation in Afghanistan. There have been proposals to declare the neutralization of Afghanistan on the model of the Austrian State Treaty² or through other appropriate international arrangements. Suggestions have also been made to convene an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, or to establish a standing committee of the General Assembly in order to facilitate a political dialogue. The specific proposal contained in operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution is the result, however, of intensive consultations and an in-depth examination of all these and other proposals emanating from different quarters.

32. The sponsors of the draft resolution have come to the conclusion that the search for a political solution

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 217, No. 2949, p. 223.

of the Afghanistan problem can best be pursued by a special representative appointed by the Secretary-General. This approach provides maximum flexibility to the Secretary-General in renewing his endeavours to bring peace to the region. On behalf of the sponsors, I should like to express the hope that following the adoption of this draft resolution the Secretary-General will proceed immediately to appoint a special representative to undertake the mission assigned in the draft resolution. It is also necessary that the Secretariat proceed with urgency to work out the financial implications of the draft resolution and report promptly to the General Assembly.

33. I wish to draw the particular attention of the Assembly to the grave proportions assumed by the problem of refugees. The number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, as I said before now exceeds 1.2 million. There are also reports that another half a million Afghan nationals have taken shelter in Iran. This is a vast number, for it constitutes nearly 10 per cent of the entire population of Afghanistan. Most of the refugees are poor and are facing a life of privation in exile. We are committed to providing them with the basic necessities of life despite the serious constraints of our limited resources. However, the burden is becoming unbearable for Pakistan, with their ever increasing influx into our country. In this regard, we are grateful for the assistance received from friendly nations, UNHCR, the World Food Programme and various international agencies and humanitarian organizations. However, this problem has acquired a magnitude and gravity which call for a much greater and more concerted international response. Pakistan would therefore like to propose the convening of an international pledging conference to provide urgently required additional humanitarian assistance for the Afghan refugees.

34. In conclusion, I should like to reiterate unequivocally that the Government of Pakistan will continue to abide by the policy of scrupulous non-interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. Pakistan desires nothing but friendship and good-neighbourly relations with the brotherly people of Afghanistan and fervently hopes that peace and tranquillity will return to that tormented country so that the Afghan refugees may be enabled to return to their motherland in security and honour.

35. In submitting draft resolution A/35/L.12 to the Assembly, the sponsors are motivated essentially by the desire to find a peaceful, just and honourable solution to the crisis in Afghanistan and to bring to an end the suffering and misery of the Afghan people. The attainment of this objective will also restore the faith of the peoples of the world, and especially of the smaller nations, in the assurances concerning security and peace enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

36. Mr. DOST (Afghanistan): I should like first of all to express the deep regret that, despite the resolute and well-founded objections of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and in flagrant violation of the Charter, this body, the General Assembly of the United Nations, is being dragged into the discussion of the so-called Afghan question.

37. Those elements that, on the instigation of imperialist and hegemonist forces, provoked this

absolutely unwarranted and unnecessary debate and dragged the General Assembly into it will bear the full responsibility before the United Nations and, indeed, before the world community as a whole. It is in those quarters that in the final analysis will lie the responsibility for wasting the time of more than 150 delegations and diverting their attention from such burning issues as strengthening world peace and security, curbing the arms race and promoting disarmament, combating Israeli aggression against the Arab nation and settling the Middle East problems, ensuring the restoration of the inalienable rights of the long-suffering Palestinian Arabs deprived of their homeland by the Israeli aggressors, overcoming the economic backwardness of a great part of the world and implementing the new international economic order, based on truly democratic principles of equality.

38. The Afghan delegation has already explained in some detail why the inclusion of the so-called Afghan question in the agenda of the General Assembly is unwarranted, unfounded and unjustified, runs counter to the Charter and constitutes outright interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

39. What has happened in Afghanistan since the people's uprising on 27 April 1978, which toppled the despotic Daoud régime and led Afghanistan into a national democratic revolution, is totally and exclusively an internal matter and falls entirely within the domestic jurisdiction of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

40. The April revolution was a turning-point in the history of Afghanistan and a major international event. Its victory resulted in the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which embarked upon the road of building a new society based on the principles of social justice and the interests of the entire toiling people of the country.

41. It must be noted that, prior to the victory of the April revolution, the Afghan people endured half a century of oppressive régimes and the injustice and economic and social exploitation inherent in a decayed monarchy. During that long period no effective step was taken by the corrupt Governments of the despotic monarchical régime, which was based on a feudal system and had connexions with internal and external forces of reaction and world imperialism, to improve the lot of the working masses of the country. The great majority of the exploited masses of the country were deprived of their rudimentary democratic rights and freedoms, contrary to the established rules of law and the basic tenets of Islam.

42. Obsolete feudalistic relationships prevailing in the country kept Afghanistan one of the most backward and least-developed countries in the world, despite its great natural and human resources and vast potential for social and economic development.

43. Particularly oppressive was Prince Daoud's régime. Daoud deprived the Afghan people of their political rights under the pretext that the people of Afghanistan had not yet attained political maturity. In pursuit of that repressive policy, the despotic Daoud régime purged the government hierarchy of all national patriotic and progressive elements, replacing them by

supporters of the decayed royal machinery and by anti-national, anti-democratic and reactionary elements.

44. The April revolution carried out by the toiling people and the heroic Afghan army under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan did away with that corrupt régime and put the country on the track of democratic and progressive change in the political, economic and social structure and political conditions in the country.

45. For the first time in the history of Afghanistan power was transferred from a despotic exploiting ruling class to the toiling people of Afghanistan, led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

46. In conformity with the basic lines of its revolutionary duties the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan undertook some major steps aimed at emancipating the toiling masses of the country from the yoke of the unjust feudalistic relationships prevailing in the country. The burden of the inhuman mortgage, usury and interest payment system previously imposed on millions of our peasants by the feudal lords and big landowners was removed. Equality of rights of Afghan men and women before the law and in all spheres of life has been ensured. The first stage of a land reform programme, which constituted one of the main objectives of the Revolutionary Government, was successfully implemented, with the all-round co-operation of the people. As a result, more than 3 millions *jeribs* of land throughout the country previously owned by big landowners and feudal lords were distributed free of charge to the deserving landless farmers and small landowners. Similarly, wide revolutionary measures were undertaken for the elimination of illiteracy in the country, which affects the shocking proportion of 90 per cent of the population.

47. However, despite this good beginning in the process of the national democratic revolution, the imperialists, headed by the United States, carried out their conspiracy by helping the criminal Amin forcibly to exclude many revolutionary leaders and patriots from the Government and finally to usurp power violently on 16 September 1979 and subsequently to assassinate Noor Mohammad Taraki, the first President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

48. During Amin's oppressive régime mass killings, arbitrary arrests and imprisonment, torture and inhuman and degrading treatment of political prisoners under various pretexts and in various forms became daily practice—a fact which was reported and confirmed by several international organizations and the world press.

49. In such circumstances of criminal terror the gains of the April revolution were being seriously threatened, and the principles of the revolution of the Afghan people were being distorted for Amin's Fascist personal ambitions and in the interest of imperialism.

50. The Afghan armed forces, guided by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and with the full support of the people, rose up on 27 December 1979 against Amin's tyranny and overthrew his hated oppressive régime. The national democratic *Saur*, or April, revolution entered a new phase, geared towards safeguarding the gains of the revolution and fulfilling

the aspirations of the majority of the Afghan people, thus putting the April revolution on the course dictated by the principles underlying it.

51. In the first days of the victory of the second phase of the April revolution Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, declared a general amnesty, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Revolutionary Council, for all political prisoners, irrespective of any consideration as to class, language, tribe, nationality, ideology, or political or organizational orientation.

52. Other immediate measures of the new Government covered the following: the abolition of all anti-democratic and inhuman laws enacted by the previous régime, arbitrary arrests, persecutions and searches; respect for the principles of the sacred religion of Islam, freedom of conscience and religious belief, freedom of speech and performance of religious rites, protection of the family and observance of the principle of the lawful possession of property, including private property; the restoration of security for all and peaceful and revolutionary order in the country; and the creation of favourable conditions for the exercise of democratic rights and freedoms, including freedom of the press and of assembly, the right to form progressive patriotic parties and mass organizations and to organize public demonstrations, the right to work and to education, the right to privacy of correspondence, freedom of travel inside the country and the right to legal protection of the home.

53. Having adopted the aforementioned practical measures in the interest of the people, the Revolutionary Government, acting on the basis of the values of the new phase of the April revolution declared the establishment of a broad National Fatherland Front intended to bring together in unity all the national democratic and patriotic forces of the country.

54. One of the most formidable successes of the second phase of the April revolution was the adoption by the Revolutionary Council of the Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. These Fundamental Principles constitute the political, social and economic pillars of our social system, the structure of the State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the fundamental rights and duties of Afghan nationals.

55. Contrary to the allegations of imperialistic propaganda, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan ensures the most respectful approach to Islam as a sacred religion of its people. Article 29 of the Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan says that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan ensures and guarantees for citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan "full freedom to practise Islam as a sacred religion for Moslems and freedom of religious rites in the case of followers of other faiths, according to the law". The Government helps the patriotic activities of the clergymen and noble religious scholars in carrying out their duties and obligations.

56. Measures have been undertaken to raise the standard of living of our people, to ensure essential

commodities for vast masses of working people and to satisfy the peasants' need for agricultural equipment, seeds and chemical fertilizers. Particular attention is paid to the further consolidation of the positive effects of the land reform as a result of which 296,000 peasant families received land. In 1980 the State raised by one third the purchase prices of agricultural products and supplied the peasants with everything they needed for their work.

57. Tangible results have been achieved in the process of the further normalization of the situation in the country, rallying the people around the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Government. The Afghan people are determined to go along the road they have chosen of their own free will, along the road of economic and social progress. They will spare no effort in defending and consolidating the gains of the April revolution.

58. We have every reason to state that in a short period of time the Afghan people have scored significant successes which are welcomed by all our friends. Nevertheless, we are not complacent; we are aware that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan faces complicated problems, above all those of repelling imperialist, hegemonist and counter-revolutionary aggression from outside.

59. It should be emphasized that the victory of the April revolution, the resolute and consistent stand of Afghanistan in upholding its sovereignty and effecting radical social and economic changes and the progressive, peaceful foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are causing blind fury in imperialist, hegemonist and other reactionary quarters. The unholy alliance of those forces and their accomplices is bent on undermining the national democratic political, economic and social structure of Afghanistan and forcing the Afghan people to abandon the road it has chosen of its own free will.

60. This is a brief account of the history of the April revolution and of its background, goals and objectives. Nobody can dispute the sovereign right of the Afghan people to change their social system or to choose their own economic, political and social system without any interference, subversion or pressure.

61. But imperialist and hegemonist forces, using as their accomplices those in some reactionary circles of the region, are desperately trying to put all sorts of pressure on us, including that of armed aggression, to prevent the Afghan people from exercising this inalienable sovereign right.

62. The Revolutionary Government of Afghanistan was recognized by all countries with which we had diplomatic relations, and nobody, including our neighbours, ever disputed the right of the Afghan people to choose their social system. We had assurances from the principal leaders of the neighbouring countries to the effect that what happened in Afghanistan concerned only Afghanistan itself and was entirely its internal affair.

Mr. Ortiz Sanz (Bolivia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

63. Now some of those countries which unequivocally recognized the right of the Afghan people to

choose independently and to establish the social system they want are among those which sponsored the request to include the so-called Afghan question in the agenda of the present session [A/35/144 and Add.1]. In other words, those countries, instigated by those in imperialist and hegemonistic quarters, are now trying to use the United Nations as an instrument of interference in our internal affairs and to put pressure on us. This is nothing but a crude and gross violation of the Charter.

64. If the Assembly wants to see justice done and the principles embodied in the Charter maintained it should resolutely condemn the continuing interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by imperialist hegemonist and other reactionary forces, including the acts of armed aggression carried out from the territories of some neighbouring States.

65. Since the very beginning of the April revolution each passing day has witnessed aggressive acts committed by external forces organized, armed and financed by the United States, its Peking accomplices, the Pakistan military régime and some other reactionary régimes. In fact, an undeclared war is being waged by those forces against Afghanistan.

66. In the propaganda disseminated in order to cover up their aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and other forms of interference in our internal affairs the imperialists and hegemonists have been trying to maintain that there is a civil war in Afghanistan and that Afghan freedom fighters are fighting the Marxist régime of Babrak Karmal and Soviet occupation forces and so on.

67. But these slanderous assertions have absolutely nothing to do with the realities of the Afghan situation. It is enough to ask just two questions to shatter to pieces those imperialist fabrications.

68. First, who are those so-called insurgents and freedom fighters; who are all those ringleaders of the counter-revolutionary bands? They are the representatives of the overthrown exploiting classes—feudal lords, big landowners, usurers, smugglers and the like—who fled from Afghanistan after the April revolution and took refuge in neighbouring countries, mainly in Pakistan. Some of them are fugitives from justice; they fled the country because of their pending trials for murder and other crimes.

69. The second question is, do those bandits represent the toiling masses of Afghanistan, the Afghan workers, peasants and intelligentsia?

70. The answer is emphatically "No". They represent the remnants of the overthrown outmoded oppressive and parasitical feudal superstructure that was destroyed by the Afghan people and thrown on the garbage heap of history. They represent those who for decades sucked the blood of the Afghan people, and they want to restore the privileges of the overthrown exploiting parasitic classes. But gone are the days when privileged elements lived on the labour of the Afghan masses.

71. If there had been no support of those so-called insurgents by the imperialist, hegemonist and other alien reactionary forces, they would not have been able to raise a finger against the People's Revolutionary Government of Afghanistan, to say nothing of waging

a war against it. Those so-called insurgents are nothing but mercenaries of the imperialists and hegemonists.

72. To show world public opinion the scope of armed aggression from the outside and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, we should like to draw the attention of the representatives to the "Green Book" published recently by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which contains convincing evidence of such aggression and interference by imperialist and hegemonist forces and their accomplices. The "Green Book" is being distributed to delegations together with the text of this statement.

73. The United States and Chinese intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan began soon after the April revolution. As early as May 1978, Washington and Peking started to instigate armed provocations and subversion against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The scope of such hostile activities widened as new training camps were established on Pakistani territory. According to available information, the first base for training Afghan mercenaries was established only a couple of weeks after the revolution. The infiltration of bands into Afghanistan began a few weeks later.

74. The United States, together with its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], started to work out plans of armed intervention against Afghanistan. In June 1978, a so-called symposium of the NATO Command was convened which discussed the events in Afghanistan and "their repercussions for America". The decision was taken at that time fully to support the counter-revolutionary forces.

75. The United States Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] was entrusted with the task of organizing arming, equipping and training Afghan counter-revolutionary gangs in the territory of Pakistan. As a matter of fact, one of the ringleaders of these bands was a United States citizen of Afghan origin, Zia Nassry. He visited Washington in March 1979 just on the eve of anti-government riots in Herat. He had long discussions with high-ranking officials of the United States State Department, including R. Lorton, who is in charge of the Afghan desk. He also met United States Senators Church and Javits.

76. The CIA tried to bring together various counter-revolutionary groups into one organization to enhance the impact of their subversive activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. For this purpose, in the spring of 1979 it organized the visit to the United States of the ringleaders of the so-called "Front for National Liberation". Particularly active in this respect was the CIA agent Robert Lissard, disguised as an American diplomat in Islamabad, who has a long-standing record of anti-Afghan activities. R. Lissard was an employee of the United States Embassy in Kabul and was expelled from Afghanistan in 1974 because of his illegal activities. He surfaced in Pakistan in 1977 when the CIA intensified its efforts against Afghanistan in order to undermine Afghan-Soviet relations.

77. R. Lissard was appointed a deputy of Joseph Reagan who had been the CIA espionage operation chief in Islamabad. Following the April revolution in Afghanistan United States subversive activities

against Afghanistan were considerably intensified and some other CIA agents were sent to Islamabad to reinforce the Reagan-Lissard team. Among them were Lee Robinson, Rogers Brook and Danem David, who are considered experts at staging coups and organizing subversive operations.

78. This five-man CIA team co-ordinates with the Pakistani secret service and Afghan counter-revolutionary ringleaders practically all subversive operations against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. In August 1979, J. Reagan met with the heads of the Pakistan Central Intelligence Agency, Radhor and Alam, pledging to co-operate with them in anti-Afghan activities. It was at this meeting that the joint United States-Pakistan espionage plans were drafted. After these plans had been duly approved by United States and Pakistani authorities, J. Reagan met with those Pakistani army generals who were later appointed as army commanders in the areas bordering on Afghanistan. Likewise, Reagan and Lissard met with General Hamid, Pakistan Minister of Information, and reached a consensus with him on anti-Afghan propaganda activities. The activities of Afghan counter-revolutionary ringleaders and American intelligence services in Peshawar are co-ordinated by the United States Consul there, who is a high-ranking CIA official.

79. Hand in hand with the CIA, the Chinese special services started to plot against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan directly after the April revolution. In their subversive activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Chinese intelligence services leaned upon the notoriously reactionary Moslem international organization, the "Moslem Brotherhood", which is closely connected with imperialist intelligence agencies and right-wing Islamic régimes. In Afghanistan, "Moslem brothers" co-operate with pro-Peking groups like "Sholae Javid" and SARKHA. It was these groups that plotted anti-government riots in Herat in March 1979.

80. The Chinese agents have been particularly active in the northern provinces of Afghanistan. They have turned the 74 kilometre-long Chinese-Afghan border into a source of permanent tension and provocation against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Almost daily, armed bandits accompanied by Chinese instructors cross the border, kill the local people, loot their property, take their cattle, and so on.

81. With the assistance of United States imperialists and Chinese hegemonists, a few dozen training centres and military bases for counter-revolutionary mercenaries have been established in Pakistan for armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

82. At the latest count, there are about 30 major training camps and 50 military bases for Afghan counter-revolutionaries in Pakistan. At these bases and camps, in the period from June to November 1979 alone, more than 30,000 mercenaries were trained and they spearheaded the armed invasion of Afghanistan. The same camps and bases are used as sanctuaries, for regrouping and re-equipping the bands defeated and thrown out of Afghanistan. The main training centres and bases for the Afghan counter-revolutionary gangs are located in the area of Peshawar, Bajaur-Mommand, Chitral, Bannu and Quetta.

83. The total capacity of all the centres and camps for training and equipping the Afghan counter-revolutionaries on the territory of Pakistan is about 5,000 men at a time. The training period lasts from one to three months. Training is supervised and carried out by instructors from Pakistan, the United States, China, Egypt and some other countries.

84. The Pakistani authorities and the army are directly involved in these hostile activities against Afghanistan. They not only support the counter-revolutionary subversive groups but in fact organize and co-ordinate their activities. The authorities in Islamabad, Peshawar, Lahore, Quetta and other cities put at their disposal offices and apartment buildings. With the connivance and agreement of the Government, these groups publish, distribute and clandestinely send to Afghanistan propaganda sheets such as "Death for the Faith", "Hube Islam" and so on. The inflammatory slanderous allegations of the enemies of the Afghan revolution are daily broadcast from Peshawar and Quetta and government radio transmitters are used for this purpose.

85. Pakistani army officers and servicemen are used not only for the military training of Afghan mercenaries but directly participate in subversive and terrorist activities on Afghanistan's territory. The activities of counter-revolutionary bands are co-ordinated by the joint military staff with the participation of Pakistani military experts. Soon after Amin's despotic régime was overthrown, this staff worked out the list of the most important points on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which would be targets for invasion by groups of mercenaries. The list was compiled on the basis of information received from counter-revolutionary agents, as well as from Pakistani intelligence sources.

86. The Pakistani authorities and army command are directly involved and take an active part in forming the counter-revolutionary Afghan bands and dispatching them into the territory of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. For instance, in April 1980 two bandit groups were formed on the basis of the ninth battalion of South Waziristan and the thirty-sixth battalion of the Showal frontier areas.

87. The Afghan counter-revolutionary bands daily visiting Afghanistan are abundantly supplied with various weapons of American, British, Chinese, Egyptian and Pakistani make: small arms and automatic guns, bazookas, anti-aircraft surface-to-air missiles, lethal chemical weapons, armoured carriers, jeeps and so on.

88. Among the weapons captured by the Afghan army from the mercenaries are, for instance American M-20 and M-12 anti-tank grenade launchers, 50 mm MP-180 mine launchers, 12.7 mm Colt machine guns, automatic and other guns; Chinese automatic guns, anti-tank grenade launchers and 48 mm mine launchers. There are also infantry weapons of Pakistani and Egyptian make. Some of these arms have been displayed many times in Kabul and shown to local and foreign newsmen.

89. The CIA has established an elaborate network for supplying arms to the mercenaries, involving not only the United States, but also China, Israel and Pakistan. The weapons are shipped to Pakistan through

the ports of Karachi and Guadar, by the Karakoram highway and by air. Some of the arms are brought from the United States naval ships in the Indian Ocean by United States helicopters and transport aircraft to the Pakistani military base in Manipur and from there are transported to various training camps. For this purpose a regular airlift was established in the middle of January 1980 and since then American planes land practically every night in Manipur.

90. There are certain well-camouflaged roads, passes and smugglers' paths across the border which are used to deliver arms and ammunition to the gangs of mercenaries in Afghanistan. For instance, from the training base in Garm-Chashma, 100 kilometres from Chitral, the weapons and ammunition are transported to Afghanistan through the Shui pass along Munjan-Unjuman-Panjher. In June 1980 a big shipment of American weapons arrived in Peshawar. Shortly afterwards these weapons were transported to the bands operating in Afghanistan through the Chitral, Dir and Bajur border regions. Armed bands are also despatched through the Khyber and Shingara passes.

91. The United States not only supplies weapons to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries and mercenaries, but also trains them in how to use the weapons in combat. Apart from the American instructors and advisers there are also instructors from China, Pakistan and Egypt. In Gilgit and nearby bases and camps, Pakistani and Chinese instructors are employed; in the Chitral-Peshawar area, American, Egyptian and Chinese advisers do the job. The Chinese advisers are also engaged in some sabotage training centres in the area of Gilgit; they are active in the camps in the area of Yasin. The training of Chinese and Pakistani instructors is carried out in China and is supervised by a Chinese intelligence officer, a former attaché of the Chinese embassy in Kabul, Li Chenchung.

92. It is evident from what I have just said that, despite many assurances given by the Pakistani President, Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, that his Government renders only humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees, it is with the connivance, support and direct participation of his Government that the northwest frontier province has been turned into a gigantic sanctuary for the enemies of the Afghan revolution. It has been converted into a springboard for action aimed against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan:

93. That policy on the part of Pakistan makes it an accomplice in the armed aggression against Afghanistan, according to the definition of aggression adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1974, namely:

"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 of such gravity as to amount to the acts listed above, or its substantial involvement therein." [resolution 3314 (XXIX), annex, article 3 (g)]

94. Sometimes the question is asked why, if there are acts of armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, does the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan not notify the Security Council of these acts in accordance with the Charter and ask the Council to censure the aggressor? We want to be frank and to draw the attention of members to the

fact that two of the instigators of the armed aggression against Afghanistan are the United States and China, which are permanent members of the Security Council. It must be assumed that those two countries would effectively block any decision of the Council to censure the aggressor and take effective measures against it. Therefore the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has no choice but to rely upon itself and its friends to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. We must be realistic and take effective measures to defend ourselves.

95. Faced with intensifying aggression instigated by imperialists in collusion with Chinese chauvinists, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan asked the Soviet Union to send a limited contingent of Soviet troops to Afghanistan to help the Afghan army and the people to rebuff the aggression, repulse the raids of bandit units operating mainly from the territory of Pakistan, safeguard the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and thus defend the gains of the April revolution.

96. The Afghan Government's request to the Soviet Union for military assistance and the latter's positive response are in full conformity with the Afghan-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Co-operation, the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of international law. There is nothing in the Charter or in international law which forbids a sovereign State to appeal for assistance to a friendly country in order to protect its independence and sovereignty. Moreover, this right to request assistance whenever it is needed is recognized by and confirmed in United Nations resolutions. For example, resolution 387 (1976) adopted by the Security Council on 31 March 1976, when it was considering the question of South Africa's aggression against Angola, specifically referred to "the inherent and lawful right of every State, in the exercise of its sovereignty, to request assistance from any other State or group of States".

97. On the other hand, there is nothing in the Charter or in international law which permits the arming, equipping and training of groups and bands stationed abroad or the sending of those counter-revolutionary gangs into the territory of a sovereign State to carry out sabotage and other subversive activities. As I emphasized earlier, according to the definition of aggression approved by the United Nations such actions constitute outright aggression.

98. It has been made perfectly clear by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Government of the Soviet Union that the limited Soviet army contingent will be withdrawn from Afghanistan as soon as the reasons which prompted its invitation into Afghanistan cease to exist.

99. As was pointed out in the joint Afghan-Soviet statement of 16 October 1980,³ the question of the timing of the withdrawal of the limited Soviet military contingent can be examined only in the context of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. It cannot be resolved before the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has been fully terminated and guarantees are given con-

cerning the non-resumption of subversive activities against the Afghan people and their Government.

100. As a matter of fact, at the end of last June, by agreement with the Afghan Government, some Soviet troops the presence of which was no longer necessary at that time were withdrawn. This move became possible in view of the serious defeats suffered by the enemies of the April revolution and the resulting return to normal life in Afghanistan.

101. Afghan-Soviet co-operation in defence matters has deep roots; it is based on complete equality and on mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Contrary to the allegations of imperialist and Chinese propaganda, this co-operation and the temporary stay of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan have never constituted any threat to anybody and will never do so. On the contrary, they are one of the corner-stones of stability in our part of the world.

102. We have provided ample evidence to show that, since the victory of the April revolution in Afghanistan, the Pakistani ruling circles have allowed their territory to be used as a sanctuary for those feudal lords and other anti-people elements who lost their privileges and power in Afghanistan. They have converted a great part of their country into a training centre for terrorists and counter-revolutionaries and into a spring-board for aggression against Afghanistan.

103. Such a line of policy could not but adversely affect the relations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan. It must be recognized that those relations have deteriorated in the last 18 months or so. The relations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Iran are also not as good as we should like them to be.

104. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly and on many occasions expressed its readiness, willingness and sincere desire to have normal friendly relations with its neighbours.

105. The peoples of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan have centuries-old traditional, historical, economic, cultural and linguistic ties, with common roots and a common heritage. There is nothing to divide them; they can happily live in peace and friendship. It is only the imperialists who try to drive a wedge of discord between the peoples of the three neighbouring countries following the well-known dictum "divide and rule".

106. Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in his speech on the occasion of the second anniversary of the April revolution on 26 April said:

"We believe that there exist no differences between Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries such that they could not be settled in the interests of their peoples through peaceful means on the basis of the good will and diligence of their government leaders. On the contrary it is clear to all that the intensification of unfriendly actions, mutual accusations and above all, efforts to interfere in the internal affairs of each other will inevitably result in a further aggravation of the situation with dangerous consequences to all."

³ See A/C.1/35/9.

107. Unfortunately, those peaceful aspirations of the Afghan Government and the Afghan people have not yet been reciprocated by the Governments of Pakistan and Iran.

108. On 14 May, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, guided by the fundamental principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, put forward a comprehensive programme for the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and the normalization of relations with Pakistan and Iran [see A/35/238-S/13951].

109. Seeking better relations with Iran and Pakistan and guided by Article 2 of the Charter, we proposed that direct bilateral talks be held in order to work out agreements on the basis of the principles of good-neighbourliness, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutually beneficial co-operation. Such agreements, in our view, could contain specific commitments on the inadmissibility of armed or any other hostile action against the other from one's respective territory, as well as a provision facilitating the unimpeded return to their homes of the Afghans who for various reasons find themselves in the territories of Pakistan and Iran.

110. In the course of the recent visit of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of the Afghanistan Central Committee, President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, to the Soviet Union and his talks with Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, both sides declared for a political settlement of the situation around the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which would have a positive effect on the situation in that part of the world and would contribute to improving the international political climate. They have again stressed that the way to such a settlement lies through effectively ending intervention from the outside, through reaching appropriate agreements between the Governments of Afghanistan and its neighbours—in the first place Pakistan—on the basis of the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 14 May 1980.

111. It goes without saying that negotiations on a political settlement can be conducted provided only that the sovereignty and sovereign rights of the Afghan people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are strictly respected and observed. Questions concerning Afghanistan's interests cannot be discussed, and still less decided upon, without direct participation by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. We also proceed from the premise that all hostile activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, its people and its Government, including armed or any other interference, should cease during the process of political settlement.

112. As we have already indicated, termination and guaranteed non-resumption of all forms of external interference in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan would make it possible to solve the question of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

113. By now it must be clear to everybody that any attempt to change the Afghan realities brought about by the April revolution is hopeless. Any further attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are bound to fail as well. The resort to force will serve no purpose except to increase bloodshed and the killings of innocent people. There is no other way except to let the people of Afghanistan work hard to build a new society and to start direct talks on a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

114. From this rostrum, we sincerely call upon the Governments of Pakistan and Iran to sit down around the table and resolve our problems by negotiations.

115. We urgently call upon the sponsors of this so-called question henceforth to refrain from wasting the time of the General Assembly and using it for interference in our internal affairs, thus making possible direct negotiations between the Governments concerned.

116. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): It is to be deeply regretted that the General Assembly, having begun the consideration of the so-called Afghan question, has found itself dragged into an unseemly venture—interference in the internal affairs of one of the Members of the United Nations, the sovereign State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This happened despite the strong objections of the Afghan Government, which have been reiterated today in the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Dost, and in violation of the basic principles of the Charter. The Soviet delegation, it may be recalled, was against including in the agenda of the current session the item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its consequences for international peace and security".

117. Yet, since the discussion has started and a group of States has submitted a draft resolution, we believe it necessary to state our own views both on the item imposed upon the Assembly and on the draft resolution submitted.

118. The crux of the problem is that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which was born as a result of the national democratic revolution of the Afghan people, has been and continues to be faced not so much with resistance by the reactionary forces toppled by the revolution in April 1978 as with direct armed interference from the outside by forces of imperialism, hegemonism and world reaction. The objective of such interference was obvious from the outset—to bring back to Afghan soil the bleak times of the Middle Ages and, at the same time, to intimidate other peoples fighting for their national and social liberation, for freedom and independence.

119. In fact imperialism, together with its accomplices, is waging an undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan. What is more, neighbouring States and, in the first place, Pakistan allow their territories to be used as staging areas for committing aggressive and subversive acts against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It is a secret to no one that the Pakistani territory adjacent to Afghanistan has been covered by a dense network of camps and bases where cutthroats and mercenaries called "insurgents"

and "defenders of the faith" by Western propaganda are trained, equipped and sent into Afghanistan.

120. Mass training of interventionists is carried out in 30 military camps and 50 bases on the territory of Pakistan. Such camps function in the area of Peshawar, near the towns of Miramshah, Banu, Chitral, Parachinar, Kohat and Yasin in the northwest frontier province, in the vicinity of the towns of Quetta, Pishin and Nushky in Beluchistan and in other places. Pakistani, American, Chinese and Egyptian instructors lecture on "the art of killing". Gangs of raiders are also trained in China, Egypt and some other countries. Over the past year in Pakistan alone it was not merely in hundreds or thousands but in scores of thousands that the bandits were trained and infiltrated into the territory of Afghanistan.

121. Arms, military equipment and food supplies for interventionists are shipped through Pakistan's ports of Karachi and Gwadar, by the Karakorum highway in China and by air. On the average, interventionists receive daily some 2,000 to 3,000 tons of military equipment. The United States and China have been and remain the main suppliers, while some weapons come also from Britain, Egypt and other countries. A Chinese shuttle vessel regularly delivers anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns and small arms. Arms captured from counter-revolutionaries and exhibited on 21 August last in Kabul included British Sten sub-machine-guns, United States Lewis-type machine-guns, United States manufactured heavy anti-aircraft machine-guns, American-made Colt sub-machine-guns and anti-tank grenades, Pakistani automatic rifles as well as various mines of Chinese, American, British, West German and Pakistani manufacture. Armed with all that weaponry the bandits rob and kill innocent civilians, drag them away into Pakistan, slaughter cattle and burn grain. They are out to destroy communications, bridges and power lines in order to hamper the supply of the rural and urban population with items of primary necessity.

122. The list of crimes committed by the counter-revolutionary terrorists in Afghanistan would make more than one volume. Only a few of them have been mentioned in the "White Book" and the "Green Book" of the *Democratic Republic of Afghanistan* just distributed by the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The victims of these atrocities are innocent peaceful civilians whose only "crime" is that they wanted to live as human beings, to have a home, food and clothing and to learn to read and write. It appears to be no accident that bandits and mercenaries aim their attacks primarily against schools, hospitals and communal facilities. There is much evidence of the bloody terror unleashed by bandits and foreign mercenaries on the soil of Afghanistan. One instance was reported by the Afghan newspaper *Haqiqate Inqilabe Saur*, which, in its 4 August 1980 issue, described how three innocent Afghan workers cleaning an irrigation ditch in Nangrahar Province were brutally massacred. Parenthetically, it is to be noted that this bloody scene was photographed by United States newsmen. The newspaper quite rightly pointed out that the bandits did not care whom they were killing, the main point being to intimidate the villagers into giving up their support for the revolutionary authorities of the new Afghanistan.

123. Here is another episode, described this time by the American magazine *Time* of 4 February last:

"The guerrillas were also becoming ruthless in their marauding along the highways. Almost indiscriminately they terrorized Afghan civilians as well as government officials and soldiers. Last week a passenger bus heading from Kabul to Jalalabad was stopped by a rebel raiding party; the able-bodied men who refused to join the insurgency were executed on the spot. Concluded one Western military attaché with dark realism: 'It is an unspeakably brutal tactic—and totally necessary if the guerrillas are to maintain their numerical strength.'"

Reading such press reports and learning facts about the wide-ranging support of the rebel criminal activity in Afghanistan inevitably brings to mind statements made here in the United Nations by certain Western representatives demanding that terrorism be condemned and suppressed. It is quite legitimate to ask: how can one speak out against terrorism and at the same time arm the Afghan bandits and counter-revolutionaries who murder women, children and the elderly? Western representatives defend criminal bands of Afghan counter-revolutionaries backing their violent actions against the Afghan people and their Government. Thus support is given to the illegal use of force, contrary to the Charter. Yet, when it comes to the South African patriots fighting against the racist régime or to the Arab people of Palestine standing up to the aggressors who have seized Arab lands, the very same Western representatives indulge in lengthy expatiations about the inadmissibility of the use of force. The attitude of those who act in such a way can only be described as unprincipled and hypocritical.

124. If the actions of the instigators and organizers of the intervention against Afghanistan are considered from the standpoint of international law, there can be only one conclusion: the United States, in league with the Chinese hegemonists, the military régime in Pakistan and the Moslem reactionary forces, have embarked upon the road of direct armed aggressive actions against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The definition of aggression adopted by the General Assembly in 1974 considers as a manifestation of that hideous crime: "The action of a State in allowing its territory, which it has placed at the disposal of another State, to be used by that other State for perpetrating an act of aggression against a third State," [resolution 3314 (XXIX), annex, article 3 (f)]. To the same category of criminal acts belongs; "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" [*ibid*, article 3 (g)]. It is to repel those aggressive acts that the limited contingent of Soviet troops has been stationed in Afghanistan. It threatens no one and its presence there serves only as a guarantee of Afghanistan's national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the outside threat to which continues to exist. The Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Babrak Karmal, has said:

"Soviet troops have not been assigned any role to play in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. They

do not interfere in any way in the work of the Afghan State and Government. I state with full responsibility that this is the way it is also going to be in the future during the entire duration of the stay of friendly Soviet troops in our country."

125. Such are the realities of today as regards the situation around Afghanistan. Unfortunately, however, it is almost impossible to find in the Western press a semblance of the truthful reflection of the actual state of affairs. We should like to dwell now specifically on that. The continuation of aggressive actions and petty political intrigues by Afghanistan's foes are accompanied in the West and particularly in the United States by a noisy propaganda campaign. The most outrageous canards and naked lies are unceremoniously put out about the "enslavement by the Russians of the Afghan people", "drive towards the warm seas", "the use of barbarous types of weapons" and "intrigues and plots against Afghanistan's neighbouring States".

126. All that patchwork of concoctions, with all the variety of the sources of slander that some people attempt to sell as information on the situation in Afghanistan, has one common trait—a deliberate hushing up of real facts. And the facts are that in Afghanistan the process of the consolidation of the patriotic and democratic forces is developing successfully, the plans for the country's economic development are under way and the system of public education and public health is expanding. The State has guaranteed the integrity of the Islamic religion and the freedom to perform religious rites and has ensured to all ethnic and tribal groups the possibility of living and working freely in accordance with their customs and traditions. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has just given a detailed account of all that.

127. However, it would be futile to look for reports about that in the Western press, which professes to be objective in its reporting. Instead readers are treated to fables. Even the *Washington Post*, which can hardly be suspected of sympathies for the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan or the Soviet Union, acknowledged in its issue of 24 August that the reports "from usually reliable sources" with which Americans had been showered in recent months had not always been true to life. In that connexion the paper drew attention to lengthy reports about "heavy fighting around Kabul airport" confirmed by an interview with the Pakistani President, Zia-ul-Haq and by references to "Western European diplomatic sources". The only problem is, says the *Washington Post*, the fighting never took place.

128. The list of such falsehoods could well be extended. Yet what matters is who circulates them and for what purpose.

129. It is not difficult to answer the first part of the question given the admission by the aforementioned newspaper that the most hysterical and unreliable reports on activities within Afghanistan came from daily briefings given by American diplomats. Also noteworthy from that standpoint is the avowal by Jean El-Kouba, a French journalist who was detained in Afghanistan together with members of a counter-revolutionary gang which operated in the Herat area.

In his appearance on Kabul television on 30 October he said that from the very beginning of the April revolution, acting on instructions of Western intelligence services, he had contrived all kinds of slanderous concoctions about developments in Afghanistan and the policies of its revolutionary Government. Jean El-Kouba also said that all Western mass media were giving a distorted coverage of the events in Afghanistan. The French journalist recanted and was allowed to return home. And how many more of them are still there—unrepentant and continuing to concoct lies, slander and misinformation?

130. The second part of the question is why Washington and those who side with it should become hysterical over the events in Afghanistan. In his speech before the electorate on 22 February, President Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev gave a precise answer:

"Washington merely needs a pretext to step up its expansion in Asia and it goes to any length to create it... The main reason is that the United States has the intention of establishing a network of military bases in the Indian Ocean and in the countries of the Middle East, the Near East and East Africa. The United States would like to establish hegemony over these countries to pump out unimpededly their natural wealth, while by the same stroke using their territories in its strategic designs against the world of socialism and the forces of national liberation."

131. By staking everything on artificially maintaining tension around Afghanistan and aggravating the international situation as a whole, certain States conceal their involvement in the undeclared war against Afghanistan behind demagoguery about the search for a political solution. The titles given to the formulas put forward by the United States, Great Britain, Pakistan and others may differ. However, their purpose is the same, namely, to lay the groundwork for interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs and to deprive the legitimate Government of that country of its sovereign rights.

132. The Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have been urging a political settlement of the continuing situation around Afghanistan. However, we favour a genuine settlement based in the first place on removing the causes which led to the aggravation of the situation in this region. The road towards such a settlement lies through an effective termination of outside intervention and through appropriate agreements between the Government of Afghanistan and those of its neighbours, in the first place Pakistan, on the basis of the relevant proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 14 May 1980. This is a constructive and realistic programme which is fully supported by the Soviet Union. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Andrei A. Gromyko, stressed in his statement in the General Assembly on 23 September this year: "It is quite possible to achieve such a settlement on that basis and the Soviet Union is firmly in favour of that. But any attempts that run counter to the sovereign rights of Afghanistan are futile" [6th meeting, para. 118].

133. The General Assembly has now before it a draft resolution submitted by Pakistan and a number of

other States. The sponsors of the draft and those who are behind them like to talk about their desire to achieve normalization of the situation in South-West Asia. But is it not true that their actions prove the contrary? They have submitted a draft resolution without even trying to work out a basis for a political settlement acceptable to all.

134. Their text lacks any element of political realism. Indeed, is it possible to talk about political realism when the demand for troop withdrawal is completely separated from the need to end interference and armed incursions in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and when the need to normalize relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours is totally ignored? The impression one gathers is that those who insist on an immediate withdrawal of troops are actually doing everything in their power to put off the solution of this problem.

135. The Soviet Union has declared its position in precise and definite terms regarding the withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan. Mr. Gromyko made specific reference to this issue at the current session of the General Assembly. He said in his statement that the USSR would withdraw its military contingent by agreement with the Afghan Government as soon as the reasons that made the introduction of a contingent necessary had been removed. The question of a troop withdrawal was also set forth in all clarity in the statement by the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan signed in Moscow on 16 October last by Mr. Brezhnev and Babrak Karmal. That document says:

“As regards the limited Soviet military contingent, which is staying in the territory of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan at the request of the Afghan Government in conformity with the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 1978 and the United Nations Charter, the question of the timing of its withdrawal can be examined in the context of a political settlement and not before the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has been fully terminated, and guarantees have been given of non-resumption of subversive activities from abroad against the Afghan people and its Government.”

136. Other provisions of the draft resolution and, in particular, the appeal in operative paragraph 4 to “all parties concerned” testify to the fact that attempts are being made to drag the United Nations into interfering in Afghanistan’s internal affairs. The provision regarding the establishment of the necessary conditions for the return of Afghan refugees is also inadmissible, since that matter is within the domestic competence of the Afghan Government which, incidentally, has already taken all necessary measures on that score. It is high time that all those who entertain illusions that the old order can be restored in Afghanistan realized that that country will not become another Chile.

137. As to the problem of refugees addressed in the draft resolution, this question appears to be in need of clarification. As early as in his first address to the nation on 30 December 1979, Babrak Karmal invited all Afghans who had left the country freely to return to their homeland. That address met a positive response

on the part of those Afghans who had been deceived by reactionary propaganda. Over the past year about 200,000 people have returned to Afghanistan to resume peaceful work. Their number would have been incomparably greater but for the obstacles raised by the Pakistani authorities.

138. However, apart from the aforementioned category of Afghans who still remain in Pakistan’s territory, counter-revolutionaries and sworn enemies of the Afghan people have encamped and are operating there. They cannot be regarded either legally or politically as refugees. They have moved to Pakistan to fight against the revolutionary reforms in Afghanistan. That was made absolutely clear in the letter dated 24 March from the representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the Secretary General [see A/35/154]. Under the cover of “humanitarian relief” to refugees large funds are earmarked for counter-revolutionaries, of which every dollar turns into blood, tears and misery for the Afghan people.

139. Those who are unaware of the fact should take note that the Pakistan authorities arbitrarily classify as refugees nomadic tribes whose annual migration routes lie across the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. As the southward autumn tribal migration got under way, the figures claimed by the Pakistan authorities to represent the official number of refugees began to inflate. That is how statistics relating to the so-called Afghan refugees are rigged. Hence Pakistan’s increasing requests for funds from international organizations, which it is planned to bring up to the level of \$218 million next year compared to \$63 million this year.

140. The persistence of the sponsors of this draft resolution in promoting it at this session is in no way an indication of their concern to seek a constructive solution and achieve a mutually acceptable settlement around Afghanistan. On the contrary, it reveals their obvious intention further to fuel polemics on this issue, to continue to maintain the tense situation in South-West Asia and to raise obstacles on the road to political negotiations.

141. In seeking the adoption of the draft resolution, imperialist forces wish at the same time to isolate progressive non-aligned States from their reliable friends—the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community. They wish to call into question the legality of the assistance and support against interference by imperialist forces which States fighting for their national liberation receive from socialist countries. Imperialist forces and reaction need the clamour around the question of the “situation in Afghanistan”, which is artificially fanned by the ruling circles of the United States and other Western Powers, to divert the attention of the international community and, in the first place, of the non-aligned States, from the truly important and urgent problems, such as the situation in the Middle East, ensuring the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, the struggle against the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa and so on.

142. In view of the aforementioned, the Soviet delegation is strongly opposed to the draft resolution which has been submitted. Its adoption would in fact undermine the efforts of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to establish

direct talks with its neighbours, and in the first place Pakistan, on the normalization of relations. Direct talks would open the way to a political settlement. The adoption of the draft resolution would be an impermissible interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs and in its bilateral relations with the Soviet Union. At the same time, it would lead us away from the search for and the achievement of a truly constructive and mutually acceptable solution of questions concerning Afghanistan, a solution which would affect in a positive way the situation in that region of the world and help to improve the world political climate.

143. The efforts of the General Assembly should be aimed not at inflaming passions and supporting armed interference in the affairs of revolutionary Afghanistan but at contributing in every way to the political settlement of the situation around that country so that the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the peoples of the other countries of the region could live in peace and tranquillity. That is what the Soviet Union wishes to achieve.

144. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Last January, at its sixth emergency special session, devoted exclusively to the question of Afghanistan, the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority of 104 votes resolution ES-6/2 calling for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan. Subsequently, the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held a number of meetings strongly condemning the Soviet armed aggression against Afghanistan and calling for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan so that the Afghan people could decide their own destiny.

145. Almost a year has elapsed, yet the Soviet Union has thus far not only refused to withdraw its troops, in total defiance of world opinion and the United Nations resolution, but has kept on sending reinforcements to expand further its war of aggression against Afghanistan.

146. In these circumstances, it is entirely necessary and proper for 35 Member States to request the General Assembly once again to give consideration to the situation in Afghanistan at the current session.

147. The Soviet Union sent 100,000 troops to launch a flagrant *blitzkrieg* against Afghanistan, a non-aligned Islamic country, and has kept it under military occupation. Such naked acts of aggression constitute a brazen violation of and wilful trampling upon the Charter and the norms guiding international relations. They not only undermine the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State, but pose a serious threat to the security of South-West Asia and the peace of the world.

148. The Afghan incident is not accidental, but a premeditated and well-planned action taken by the Soviet Union. It is not a regional move but an important component of its global strategy. At present, the Soviet armed forces have already reached the borders of Pakistan and Iran, and another step forward will bring them straight to the Gulf area and the Indian Ocean. The Soviet Union is obviously aiming at realizing its dream of moving southward to the warm ocean and controlling the sea lane in co-ordination with its actions in the east, where it drives southward

along the Pacific to support the Vietnamese aggression and expansion in Kampuchea and South-East Asia. All that is designed to accomplish step by step its global strategic plan for world hegemony. It can thus be seen that the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan is a sheer revelation of its hegemonist ambitions, marking a new phase in its external aggression and expansion.

149. In order to cover up their acts of aggression, the Soviet authorities have invented a variety of pretexts to justify and legitimize their use of armed force.

150. The Soviet Government has been spreading the lies about its sending troops to Afghanistan "in fulfilment of treaty obligations" and "at the request of the Afghan Government". These lies have long been exploded, and it is not worthwhile to say anything more to refute them. For some time the Soviet Union has repeatedly asserted that its invasion of Afghanistan is to help the Afghan people defend their national independence and sovereignty and resist outside interference and aggression, trying to make itself appear as "selfless" and as the "protector" of the Afghan interests. However, facts and history cannot be distorted or fabricated. People will never forget that over a long period it is the Soviet Union, and no one else, that has been crudely interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

151. Long before the Soviet troops launched their sudden attack on Afghanistan, the Soviet Union had sent large numbers of military advisers and experts to Afghanistan, giving orders about the internal affairs of that country and trying to gain control over the Afghan army and Government. It was the Soviet authorities that had engineered three coups d'état in Afghanistan within a short span of 20 months, causing the tragic death of three Afghan Heads of State in succession. Not content with such gross interference, the Soviet Union finally did not hesitate to send a large number of troops for naked armed aggression against Afghanistan in order to place the country under its complete control and occupation.

152. Using their advanced military equipment, Soviet troops wilfully ravage the Afghan territory, and even use weapons of mass destruction to slaughter tens of thousands of innocent people, forcing more than a million Afghans to flee in a mass exodus from their homeland to take refuge in the neighbouring countries. That is how the Soviet Union "protects" the interests of the Afghan people and helps to "defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan". The Afghan people, who have a glorious tradition of fighting for freedom and independence, would never welcome or need such a "protector". Unwilling to be slaves of a foreign Power, the broad masses of the Afghan army and people are rising up in a valiant war of resistance to seize weapons from the aggressors, drive them out and defend their national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The armed forces of the Soviet-installed régime of Babrak Karmal have mutinied in whole units and crossed over into the ranks of resistance; the number of deserting high-ranking officials is also on the rise. Are not these song-inspiring heroic deeds of the Afghan people of forceful rebuttal of the Soviet aggressor's fallacious arguments?

153. Another excuse used by the Soviet Union for its invasion of Afghanistan is the need to avert a "direct threat to the security of the Soviet southern borders". Let us leave aside the fact that a weak non-aligned Afghanistan can in no way pose any threat to a super-Power like the Soviet Union. What calls for vigilance is why the Soviet Union should publicly invoke such an excuse. Because it is not only using this excuse to defend its current aggression, but preparing a theoretical basis for similar acts in the future. What is more, such a theory is even more arbitrary and aggressive than the notorious doctrine of "limited sovereignty", because it can extend the scope of its application endlessly along with the extension of Soviet aggression abroad. One may imagine that, should the Soviet Union succeed in its aggression against Afghanistan, it could suddenly declare one day that a certain State constitutes a new threat to the borders of the Soviet Union or to the borders of the "big community" including Afghanistan and that, therefore, Soviet armed forces would be entitled to fulfil their "extended internationalist missions and obligations" in those countries.

154. Despite the baselessness of the Soviet pretexts for its aggression against Afghanistan, it arrogantly declares that "the reality in Afghanistan is irreversible", that is to say, its military occupation of Afghanistan is "irreversible". Recently, while stepping up its repression of the Afghan patriots, the Soviet Union directed the Kabul authorities to put forward on 14 May a so-called proposal for the solution of the Afghan question, advocating bilateral negotiations between the Kabul authorities and their neighbours. In so doing, it hopes to extricate itself from its growing isolation under pressure of the international community. Obviously, its purpose is to legalize the régime it has propped up in Afghanistan through military intervention, to confuse the public by distorting the root cause of the Afghan crisis into an issue of bilateral relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours and to divert people's attention from the substantive key issue of Soviet armed aggression against Afghanistan. It has thus completely evaded the question of troop withdrawal as the key to a solution.

155. The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared that it would withdraw its forces from Afghanistan only after the cessation of and guarantee against the so-called "outside aggression and interference" in Afghanistan. As everyone knows, that the Soviet Union calls "outside aggression and interference" in Afghanistan is in fact a mere pretext invented to justify its own aggression. Now, in demanding the cessation of a non-existent thing as a pre-condition of withdrawing its troops, the Soviet Union can in no way extricate itself from the responsibility for its crime of aggression, while it only shows that it has no intention at all of pulling out its troops. The Soviet Union also stigmatizes the Afghan people's resistance to its aggression as "outside interference" in Afghanistan. According to such a stigmatization, it will refuse to withdraw its troops as long as the Afghan people's resistance to it does not cease. Such a fallacious argument only serves to reveal the true intention of the Soviet Union to perpetuate its military occupation of Afghanistan.

156. There is a long-standing traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Afghanistan. After the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, our friendly and good-neighbourly relations have developed on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. China has always respected and supported the policy of independence and non-alignment pursued by Afghanistan and has never interfered in its internal affairs. It is only natural that we are deeply concerned about the current grave situation caused by the Soviet invasion. We are in favour of seeking a just and reasonable settlement of the Afghan issue. However, we are firmly opposed to any political settlement based on the acceptance of the faits accomplis created by the aggressors.

157. We should like to reiterate here the following three basic principles which, in our view, must be observed in a settlement of the Afghan question. First, the Soviet Union must withdraw all its forces from Afghanistan immediately and unconditionally in compliance with the relevant United Nations resolution. This is a principle of key importance and a prerequisite for any settlement. Secondly, after the withdrawal of foreign troops, the Afghan people should be free to decide their own destiny without any outside interference. Thirdly, Afghanistan should be restored to its independent and non-aligned status.

158. After the Afghan question is settled in accordance with the three principles just mentioned, China, in the interest of strengthening the independence of Afghanistan and safeguarding peace in Asia and the world, will be ready to join other countries concerned in an international guarantee that the territory of Afghanistan shall not be occupied or used to encroach on the independence and sovereignty of other countries in that region, nor shall there be any form of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

159. Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan pose a grave threat to the neighbouring countries, particularly Pakistan. The 1 million and more Afghans taking refuge in Pakistan have imposed a heavy economic burden on Pakistan, which has exerted tremendous efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees and seek a settlement of the Afghan question.

160. Now Pakistan and 39 other sponsors have submitted a draft resolution on "the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security". We have carefully studied this text, and we support it. It reaffirms resolution ES-6/2 of January this year adopted at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly calling for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops, meaning Soviet troops, from Afghanistan. It reaffirms 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 and the need to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan. We also support the idea of requesting the Secretary-General to continue to extend assistance, including the appointment of a special representative, with a view to promoting a political solution in accordance with the provisions of the draft resolution. This

means that the primary task of the Secretary-General and his special representative would be to urge the Soviet Union to implement the provision of the draft resolution concerning the immediate withdrawal of all invading Soviet forces from Afghanistan. We hope that all the parties concerned will make every possible effort to bring about the true implementation of text.

161. We are considering the situation in Afghanistan here at a time when the Afghan people are in the midst of dire misery. In history, the Afghan people were known for their ardent love of freedom and independence. Today, in order to defend the independence of their country and the survival of their nation, they are taking up outmoded weapons to resist a super-Power's aggression and are dealing heavy blows at the aggressors. The Afghan people have won the high praise and admiration of people throughout the world for their heroic spirit of defying brute force, fearing no sacrifice and fighting tenaciously. By their own deeds they have demonstrated the invincibility of the Afghan people, whose struggle is closely linked with the vital interests of the people of all countries and constitutes an important part of the world people's struggle against hegemonist aggression and expansion. Their struggle also has the important effect of checking and frustrating the hegemonists' southward expansion, thus making a significant contribution to the defence of peace in Asia and the world.

162. Therefore, it is the bounden duty of the people of all countries to give powerful support and assistance to the just struggle of the Afghan people. We are deeply convinced that with the support of the people of the whole world, the heroic Afghan people, persisting in unity and struggle, will finally drive the aggressors out of their sacred land and win the great victory of national independence.

163. Mr. GONZÁLEZ ARIAS (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The aggression against Afghanistan and its occupation by Soviet troops towards the end of December 1979 has been one of the most blatant and reprehensible cases of violation of the fundamental principles of international coexistence.

164. These principles which govern the Organization, such as respect for national independence and territorial integrity, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the obligation of States to respect the sovereignty of others and the right of peoples freely to determine their own destiny, have been trampled underfoot and flouted by the Soviet Union.

165. Unfortunately, the tendency to resort to threats and to interference in the internal affairs of other States, in particular in the smallest countries, continues to exist. Such interventions and interference have taken on different forms, ranging from the unbridled use of superior military force to the most subtle and insidious means of subversion and destabilization. We can say that the Soviet Union, despite the demagogic propaganda that it unscrupulously reads daily, has made the least effort to support and abide by the principles of the Charter on non-recourse to the threat or the use of force and on the inadmissibility of military occupation.

166. With an arrogance and cynicism that can be compared only to other imperialisms of the past, the

Soviet Union in this very Assembly sponsors declarations and resolutions which would attempt to strengthen those principles, principles which it itself violates continuously. The time has come for the international community and peace-loving countries to demand that the super-Powers act in accordance with the principles that they themselves preach for others. My country, which throughout its independent existence has been the victim of aggression and foreign occupation, understands and is at one with the heroic people of Afghanistan and repudiates most firmly any efforts to conceal behind two-faced explanations such actions, fraught with gravity, for the peaceful co-existence of mankind, as the invasion of Afghanistan.

167. My delegation firmly supported resolution ES-6/2, aimed at finding a peaceful settlement to the conflict but, as was to be expected, the deplorable intransigence and the continuous refusal of the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops to its own territory have made dead letter of that resolution.

168. The occupation, the ruthless annihilation of Afghan patriots and the enormous exodus of refugees have created similar political and humanitarian problems for neighbouring countries and have brought suffering and enormous hardship to that heroic people.

169. The number of Afghan refugees in some neighbouring countries is causing an alarming deterioration in an already serious situation, the situation of refugees throughout the world. The international community is responsible for seeking prompt and appropriate solutions to this problem, and this must be done urgently, as the plight of the Afghan refugees will be even worse with the approaching winter. But let us not forget that the basic responsibility lies with the invader which will inevitably have to account for its acts.

170. The arguments which have been used in order to justify aggression and occupation are groundless. To say that Afghanistan was being used as a bridgehead for an alleged imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union, and the talk about defence against bandits attacking Afghanistan across its borders, is fallacious.

171. We have before us draft resolution A/35/L.12. We believe that this text represents a sincere effort on the part of the international community to find a solution to the crisis. It does not mention the occupying country when referring to troop withdrawal. My delegation would have preferred this to have been done, so that matters would have been clear. But we respect the wish of the sponsors to take a moderate tone and to seek an honest approach to a solution to the problem. If this contributes to a true solution, we shall be pleased to have done something positive. The machinery for implementing the draft resolution is flexible. No specialized conference is called for, nor the establishment of special groups which would only have served the purpose of prolonging the issue. Despite its loss of prestige, the Organization, representing almost all of mankind, still has the moral authority to take action here. We must regain the strength needed for the United Nations to meet the noble objectives for which it was created.

172. In resolution ES-6/2 the General Assembly called for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to

enable the people of the country to determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social systems free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever. The draft resolution before us, which we may adopt, repeats those same principles which are the necessary conditions for a global solution to the crisis.

173. The present situation is fraught with serious threats to international peace, stability and security. We therefore reiterate the need to bring about a withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, to respect its sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character. We also urge all parties to seek an appropriate solution, and we shall support any effort undertaken by the international community to put a peaceful end to this conflict, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

174. Mr. SULEIMAN (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation has already indicated its position on this issue on several occasions, at the sixth emergency special session and at the sessions of the Islamic Conference that succeeded it. This is reflected in our position as one of the States which signed the letter requesting the inclusion of an item on the situation in Afghanistan and its effects on international peace and security in the agenda of the thirty-fifth session [A/35/144 and Add.1]. Before that, my country had hastened formally to denounce the Soviet military invasion of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and affirmed its support for the struggle of the Afghan people against the Soviet military presence in its country. My delegation also joined in the request dated 3 January 1980 which was addressed to the President of the Security Council to convene an urgent meeting of the Council⁴ to enable that body to exercise its responsibilities and duties in maintaining international peace and security and deterring the aggressor, inducing it to withdraw its military forces from Afghan territory.

175. As we all know, the Security Council was not able to discharge its responsibilities because of the negative vote of the Soviet Union on the draft resolution sponsored by the non-aligned member countries of the Council,⁵ despite the fact that the text received enough votes to be adopted. Because of that failure, the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly was convened and, after deliberation, resolution ES-6/2 was adopted by a majority of 104 votes.

176. It is deplorable that today that resolution, which was adopted by a great majority, still remains unimplemented. Military aggression still persists against the Afghan people. This is a flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter; those principles call on all countries not to use or threaten to use force against the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of other countries. The persistence of this aggression, flagrant military intervention and occupation is not only a cause for profound concern in the Islamic world alone: it is in contravention of the basic principles of the

Charter and of the non-aligned movement and the international community as a whole.

177. I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the contents of paragraph 245 of the Declaration adopted at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries:

“The Conference reaffirmed the adherence of non-aligned countries to the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal and external affairs of States, which has been one of the basic principles of non-alignment. It insisted that violation of this principle was totally unacceptable, unjustifiable under any circumstances and incompatible with the obligations assumed by the United Nations Members under the Charter of the United Nations.”⁶

178. During the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly, the claim was made that the Soviet troops intervened in Afghanistan at the request of the Government there to support the Afghan people. Those claims have already been refuted. The stark fact is that the Soviet troops today are fighting the Afghan people. News of the battles and of the resistance of the Afghan people is reported every day. Refugees continue to flee Afghanistan daily, in increasing numbers.

179. It is clear that the persistence of the military occupation of Afghanistan is aimed at protecting a régime which has been rejected by the heroic Afghan people, which adheres to the precepts of its religion and to its belief in its independence and national traditions. What has been violated in Afghanistan is the sacred right of peoples to decide their own destiny and to forge their own system of government and their political, economic and social systems, without any foreign intervention, pressure or coercion.

180. The international community must not condone such acts, which threaten all small and peaceful countries. Such acts, moreover, threaten the very foundations of the Organization, which are also the foundations on which international relations are built.

181. The General Assembly is called on today to reaffirm what it has already adopted by a great majority on the question of the aggression against Afghanistan. For its part, the Soviet Union must withdraw its forces immediately, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions, in order to prove that its initiatives aimed at codifying non-intervention, the elimination of hegemonism and the non-use of force in international relations are sincere and not sheer propaganda.

182. The Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held last May, enunciated certain fundamental principles for the solution of the Afghan problem [see A/35/419-S/14129]; they are as follows: first, the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan; secondly, the restoration of the independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; thirdly, respect for the right of the Afghan people to self-determination and to choose its own Government according to its wishes without any foreign interference; and fourthly, the creation of conditions which would allow the repatriation of Afghan refugees in full security and dignity.

⁴ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1980, document S/13724 and Add.1 and 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, document S/13729.

⁶ See A/34/542, annex.

It need not be said that those principles are the main elements of resolution ES-6/2.

183. My delegation believes that the fundamental step which must be taken to recover peace and stability in the area is the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet troops, because any political settlement is impossible under conditions of occupation and flagrant violation of all the norms of international law.

184. The concern of my delegation in this matter springs from the threat posed by this aggression to peace and stability in the area and throughout the

world. This violation also poses a direct threat to all the small countries, which should be focussing their efforts on the development of their human and natural resources in an atmosphere of tranquillity and international stability, free from all interference in their affairs.

185. The big Powers should shoulder their responsibility for the maintenance of international co-operation and understanding. This will be achieved only through full respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.