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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda (Zaire), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 116

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

1. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): During the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly on the situation in Afghanistan, I stated the views of the Government of Kuwait on that issue.¹ Since then the Organization of the Islamic Conference has taken decisions to which my country is bound and which it endorses. We regret the fact that despite the efforts of the Islamic Conference for a peaceful solution of the issue, the situation has taken a turn for the worse.

2. The Committee which the Islamic Conference established has not yet received the positive response needed to enable it to carry out its mandate successfully, notwithstanding, I should say, the goodwill and the constructive spirit shown by the Committee. The Committee of the Islamic Conference tried to prepare for a conference in which all parties concerned would participate. Its efforts, alas, were turned down. It is very unfortunate that there now exist basic disagreements between the Soviet Union and the Islamic Conference over this issue. And those disagreements have generated a clash over perceptions and strategic assessment between the Islamic Conference and the Soviet Union. It is not in the interest of either that the two sides should be pitted against each other over this issue.

3. And what does the Islamic Conference want? As a member of the Islamic Conference, my country is of the view that the people of Afghanistan should be enabled to express their will freely as to the political and social system they want to pursue. The people of Afghanistan are courageous and fiercely independent and have always fought alien domination throughout their history. We are bound to them by religion,

culture and regional and historical ties. The present Government in Afghanistan is not the authentic voice of the people of Afghanistan. It is imposed upon them against their will by the presence of Soviet troops, without which that Government would have fallen apart. The present political and social system maintained by foreign troops in Afghanistan is alien to the people of Afghanistan, whose yearnings are for freedom. Unfortunately, those yearnings have been choked and suffocated by the presence of foreign troops. There is no doubt that the people of Afghanistan reject the imposed ideology brought from without.

4. Kuwait also believes that the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan is a prerequisite for the will of the people of Afghanistan to be expressed freely and without coercion. The presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, a breach of international law and politically, legally and morally untenable. The resort to force to install a régime of foreign choosing is a deadly blow to the principle of non-intervention in domestic affairs and to the principle of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and the political independence of all States. All those cardinal principles are being shredded to pieces in Afghanistan.

5. At the same time, my Government holds the view that it is in the interest of all parties concerned to have a peaceful settlement. In draft resolution A/35/L.12 introduced yesterday [65th meeting] so ably and so eloquently by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan and co-sponsored by my Government and by my country, there is a request to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to lend his good offices for the solution of the problem, including by the appointment of a special envoy whose mandate may include the search for guarantees on a reciprocal basis for strict observance of the principle of non-interference and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to progress. It is imperative in our view to obtain such guarantees for the containment of tension and in order for the crisis to remain manageable. We are concerned by the recent events that occurred as a result of attacks by aircraft on certain areas inside Pakistan. Such events are bound to increase tension and consequently and concomitantly will further deepen the split between the Islamic Conference and the Soviet Union.

6. The situation in Afghanistan is not normal; rather, the country is a tinder-box that threatens peace and security in the region. If no solution is found, there is no guarantee that the crisis will not spread further. We have seen in many instances how a small fire, if not controlled and checked, spreads to engulf adjacent areas and beyond. The crisis in Afghanistan is no different.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 2nd meeting, paras. 3-13.*

7. Therefore, we are justified in calling upon all States to contribute to the promotion of a peaceful settlement of the issue. We may reach a day on which we will regret our reluctance to assist. In our view, there is no rhyme or reason in stating that the situation in Afghanistan will be quiet once foreign hands put an end to their interference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan, as we heard in the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union yesterday [*ibid.*].

8. For we know better, and we know that the people of Afghanistan have no love for the present régime, which is at best window dressing. The *mujahedeen* freedom fighters are not prompted from without but provoked from within and are determined to see the end of foreign domination. It is an insult to the heroic struggle and to the heritage of the people of Afghanistan to assume otherwise. There is no way in which those people would accept the *fait accompli* and comply with the present *status quo*.

9. Those who have fought all invaders and defeated them cannot be expected to extend a special welcome to troops that come to impose upon them an alien ideology foreign to their religious beliefs and to their culture and traditions. And the argument that the freedom-fighters—the *mujahedeen*—are being urged on by outside Powers has no validity at all. How is it, if all is milk and honey in Afghanistan, that most of the leading intellectuals, politicians and diplomats are deserting their country in huge numbers and that representatives in international forums are one after the other denouncing the régime? How can one say that all of them have ulterior motives or have fallen victim to foreign propaganda? Their verdict, which we endorse, is that the régime in Afghanistan is playing second fiddle to the foreign troops which decide matters in that courageous but hapless country.

10. There is no doubt that there is in Afghanistan a national uprising against the foreign troops, no matter how others may try to play it down, no matter how it is blamed on the outside. The truth is that there is widespread and vehement opposition to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan.

11. What can the General Assembly do? In our view, it is very important to reaffirm fundamental principles. Those principles are already reflected in draft resolution A/35/L.12. But more important than reaffirmation is the expression by the international community of its dissatisfaction with the present situation in Afghanistan and its determination to adhere to the right of the people of Afghanistan to articulate their will free from the coercion of foreign troops. The moral authority of the General Assembly is vital in isolating the present régime whose credentials are total reliance on foreign troops. By isolating this régime, we obtain a moral triumph the principle of liberty, for which the *mujahedeen* are bleeding.

12. We must also send a strong and unequivocal message that resort to force is a costly exercise the end of which is uncertain. It is very important, in our view, to assist the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan peacefully. We do not want Soviet soldiers to bleed aimlessly and wastefully. The Islamic Conference is aware of this fact, but we cannot accept that a Moslem country should fall to a foreign ideology that fundamentally clashes with the teachings of our

great religion. Only the people of Afghanistan, and no one else, have the right to decide on this thorny issue. If they freely accept the present régime, let it be so; but we cannot accommodate an onslaught on our religion by Soviet or any other troops. The message of Islam exhorts us to defend its teachings against intruders. And how can we, the followers of the Great Prophet Mohammed, betray his injunctions? It is regrettable that the Soviet Union has not yet understood the intensity of indignation in the Islamic world.

13. The General Assembly should play a role in this respect by casting an overwhelmingly positive vote on the draft resolution prepared by the Islamic Conference and sponsored by a considerable number of Member States, including my own country.

14. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary) (*interpretation from French*): Once again we have before us a matter which has been the subject of a far-reaching political game on the international scene, particularly here at the United Nations. My delegation has from the very outset been opposed to its discussion in the United Nations, convinced as we were that the "Afghan question" as proposed to us was simply non-existent and that the inclusion of such an item on the agenda of the General Assembly would be contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

15. At the same time, we were aware of the rapid and dramatic developments which had for some years been occurring in Afghanistan and we welcomed the triumph of the April 1978 revolution. Later, we saw in the changes which occurred in the final days of the past year the possibility of continuing to work on the edifice whose construction had begun after the month of April 1978 and not, as some have tried to suggest, following the events which took place at the end of 1979.

16. The official statement of the Hungarian Government, dated 10 January 1980, regarding events in Afghanistan is still pertinent and embodies the fundamental premise on which the Hungarian position on this matter is based.

17. The essence of our position can be summarized briefly as follows: Afghanistan should be assisted to rid itself of hostile foreign interference in the democratic system prevailing there, so that the country can devote itself to the burning issues of economic and social construction. We are convinced that, as long as the conditions that would allow a halt to be put to infiltration and armed sabotage controlled from abroad have not been met, it would be unjustifiable for the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to request the withdrawal of the Soviet troops provisionally stationed in the country—troops which went to Afghanistan at the express request of that country's Government.

18. It must be concluded that, in spite of considerable success in its various efforts to develop the country and to eliminate the vestiges of feudalism, the democratic Government of Afghanistan is not yet in a position to give its full attention to purposes of economic progress. It has to deal with subversive and military activity controlled from beyond its frontiers and a campaign of defamation orchestrated by imperialist and hegemonistic circles which do not look favourably on the progressive evolution of a non-

aligned country, which is, moreover, situated in an important geographical area. Those circles do not want to resign themselves to the idea that they must eventually give up hope of seeing Afghanistan transformed into a reactionary spring-board and an ally of those who are opposed to social transformations and the struggle of peoples for their emancipation. In this connexion the statement made yesterday by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [*ibid.*] and the incontrovertible proof he adduced regarding the substantial material assistance being given to counter-revolutionary elements operating in the country have utterly refuted the arguments of those who are attempting to deny the existence abroad of a large network providing support for elements hostile to the legal Government of Afghanistan.

19. Those same circles are obviously speculating on the possible downfall of the democratic régime in Afghanistan; they turn a deaf ear when efforts are made to find any genuine solution to the problems that have arisen and by all possible means are encouraging the hostility of Afghanistan's neighbours towards the Government of Kabul and fostering intransigence and the refusal to deal with the legitimate Government of Afghanistan.

20. We are in favour of a political solution to the international problems that have arisen in this part of the world and first and foremost, the normalization of relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours to the east and west. Those countries, indeed, have no interest in helping to stir up trouble for their neighbour and in serving as a conduit between the real instigators of the disorders and those who carry them out in the field.

21. Consequently we have welcomed the Afghan proposals and we would be pleased to see any other proposal aimed at a peaceful political settlement of the problems concerning the region. We express the hope that an objective assessment of the situation will bring about a realistic and direct normalization of relations among the countries of the region on the basis of sovereignty, national independence and mutual respect.

22. The draft resolution which we have before us, is conceived along fatally erroneous lines. It constitutes not an attempt to contribute to the solution of real problems but obvious interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. It is focused on the right of the Afghan people to self-determination, a right that no one has called into question. The most striking demonstration of the way in which that right has been exercised has been the historic process of the victorious march forward of the Afghan people over the debris of corrupt feudal régimes and the installation, as a result of the revolution of 1978, of a democratic and progressive system. A certain amount of counter-revolutionary activity, accompanied by noisy propaganda, does from time to time create confusion in the minds of some people concerning the development of events in Afghanistan, but it can never change the specific facts: namely, that the great majority of the people, the peasants, the working class, the urban population and the clergy, as a result of the measures adopted by the Government presided over by Babrak Karmal, support the country's orientation, and that social

progress in Afghanistan is following a steady and clear path under the leadership of the best representatives of the Afghan people.

23. In addition, instead of appealing to the countries of the region to make sustained efforts with a view to harmonizing their relations and putting an end to all kinds of interference, the draft resolution before the Assembly is addressed to "all parties concerned", which injects an element of great confusion into the text, reflecting furthermore the fundamental orientation of the whole draft resolution. We cannot agree that the present Government can be lumped together with the armed counter-revolutionary elements of all kinds that are acting against the central authority.

24. As regards the question of the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, which is referred to in the draft resolution, in principle we cannot be against the withdrawal of troops from the territory of other countries. Nevertheless, it is equally essential to create the proper conditions for such a withdrawal. However, the facts indicate that continuing attempts are being made to maintain tension in the region and to prevent the establishment of a suitable climate and the creation of conditions that would make possible the practical implementation of a political solution and the withdrawal of Soviet troops. In the case of Afghanistan, to speak of the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops implies a complete lack of realism and a total unawareness, deliberate or otherwise, of the present situation. Abstraction, as a scientific notion, may be relevant to philosophy, but in politics it can prove to be foolish and signify a complete abandonment of reality.

25. For these reasons we oppose draft resolution A/35/L.12. We are indeed convinced that it would make the search for a solution to the problems affecting the region even more difficult.

26. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Luxembourg, who will speak on behalf of the European Community.

27. Mr. PETERS (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): At the beginning of this year the crisis in Afghanistan compelled the Assembly to hold an emergency special session.

28. At that special session the international community, by an overwhelming majority, condemned the Soviet Union for its military intervention in and occupation by force of a neighbouring sovereign independent State, a member of the group of non-aligned countries.

29. In spite of the attempts at justification based on legitimate defence or foreign threat subsequently made, that military intervention, which is continuing in total defiance of the principles and obligations stemming from international law and the Charter of the United Nations, remains unacceptable to the nine States members of the European Community. Moreover the revolt of an entire people recalls the futility of the arguments that have been put forward to justify that military action.

30. We respect the Afghan people, its dignity, its courage, its attachment to its national and religious traditions. Thus we refuse to gloss over the blow

dealt to its right to self-determination and to decide freely on its own destiny.

31. Above and beyond its tragic consequences for the Afghan people, the Soviet invasion is rightly felt by the neighbouring countries to be a serious factor of destabilization and a threat to peace in the region. That violation of the fundamental principles governing international relations imperils international stability, peace and security and also endangers détente, which is and must remain global and indivisible.

32. General Assembly resolution ES-6/2 of 14 January 1980, demanding unequivocally the withdrawal of foreign troops, has to this day remained unimplemented. On the contrary, the presence of massive Soviet forces is tending to take on a permanent nature. The hostilities even risk spilling over into the territory of the neighbouring countries.

33. In Afghanistan, 11 months after the invasion, the basic rights of an entire people aspiring to peace and independence continue to be flouted. In spite of the flagrant disparity between the forces and means available to the two sides, the courageous resistance of the Afghan people against a foreign army equipped with highly sophisticated equipment is continuing. There is the danger that the shedding of innocent blood will continue.

34. Moreover, we must acknowledge that no progress has been made concerning a political settlement. Yet the Assembly has clearly laid down the principles that should inspire the search for and the main elements of any genuine solution. The nine European countries, for their part, based themselves on those principles in advocating the concept of a neutral non-aligned Afghanistan, free of Power rivalry.

35. The Community has also given its support and encouragement to the efforts of the Islamic Conference as regards a political settlement which would meet the expectations of the international community. We associate ourselves with all those that demand the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the Soviet forces that are still in Afghanistan and we reject any solution that would not give the Afghan people its right to determine its future without any foreign interference and freely to choose its political leaders.

36. Already in the statement made on their behalf at the sixth emergency special session² the Community indicated its deep concern over the tragic plight of the Afghan refugees and the heavy burden thus imposed on the neighbouring countries. Today we must observe that the situation has worsened. Therefore we support the initiatives taken by many States with a view to helping the Afghans that have taken refuge in the neighbouring countries. Those refugees must be enabled to return to their homes in full security and dignity.

37. It is therefore the total lack of progress in all fields that must be noted and regretted today. It is important for the international community to indicate forcefully that it cannot resign itself to this state of affairs. Our Assembly must confirm unequivocally that it rejects the fait accompli, that it remains seized

of the question, and it must show by its vote its desire to seek a genuine political solution.

38. It is in that spirit that the nine members of the European Community reiterate their pressing appeal to the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops and thus open the way to a solution based on respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Afghanistan and the right of the Afghan people freely to decide its own destiny.

39. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): At the beginning of 1980, we were confronted with a problem that deeply disturbed the entire world, the so-called "Situation in Afghanistan". It was an inauspicious launching of the new decade.

40. Since then, voices of concern and appeals for a peaceful settlement of the question have echoed throughout the international community. The clearest expression of world sentiment is contained in resolution ES-6/2, which was overwhelmingly adopted at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly held last January and which calls for, *inter alia*, the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan. A similar call was voiced by the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers at their meetings in January and May at Islamabad; at the extraordinary session of the Conference held here at United Nations Headquarters last month, the Foreign Ministers confirmed their intention of continuing efforts for a peaceful settlement of the question. The nine members of the European Community have likewise responded to the situation and at the summit meeting at Venice last June, in which Japan also participated, they issued a similar declaration. Further, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights adopted a resolution³ on 14 February last which squarely condemns the Soviet military aggression against the Afghan people.

41. The situation in Afghanistan, as has been repeatedly argued, violates the principles of non-interference and non-use of force which are contained in the Charter of the United Nations and which are basic to international law. The situation has become a source of world indignation and apprehension, and it constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security. We note that during the general debate in the plenary meetings many representatives pointed to a growing tendency to resort to force in dealing with problems and they expressed deep anxiety as they looked ahead to the 1980s. Needless to say the situation in Afghanistan has heightened their misgivings.

42. The Government of Japan finds it extremely regrettable that, in spite of all the expressions of concern and appeals from the international community, there are no prospects of a settlement, and the attitude of the Soviet Union remains intransigent. We reiterate Japan's position that the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan contravenes international law and justice. Once again, we call upon the Soviet Union to with-

³ Declaration issued at Venice on 13 June 1980. For the text, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/14003.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Supplement No. 3*, chap. XXVI, sect. A, resolution 3 (XXXVI).

² *Ibid.*, paras. 22-28.

draw its troops immediately and totally so that the Afghan people may be allowed to exercise the right of self-determination and to settle their internal problem without external interference.

43. For its part, my country has adopted various measures in the hope that the Soviet Union would respond to the voice of the international community and indicate that it is reconsidering its policies. For example, the Government of Japan joined with the Governments of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the People's Republic of China, the United States of America, and the Federal Republic of Germany, among others, in deciding to boycott the Olympics held in Moscow last summer. We believe that this action served to dramatize the concern of the entire international community over the issue.

44. Itself an Asian nation, Japan had long maintained friendly and co-operative relations with the Government and people of Afghanistan. It is our earnest hope that we shall in the future be able to continue to maintain such a relationship on the basis of the freely expressed will of the Afghan people. This in no way means, however, that Japan recognizes the régime which purports to represent Afghanistan in the General Assembly.

45. Included in our consideration of the situation in Afghanistan should be the direct implications which the Soviet intervention has for neighbouring countries, particularly the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. A special representative of the Prime Minister of Japan visited Pakistan last March and His Excellency Mr. Ito, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, travelled to that country last September in order to exchange views with Pakistan's leaders and to visit refugee camps in Jamroad. As a reflection of its humanitarian concern for the more than 1.1 million Afghan refugees there, the Government of Japan has contributed some \$4.8 million in response to a request by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. It contributed an additional \$1.4 million through the World Food Programme and extended directly to the Government of Pakistan assistance in kind amounting to \$1.8 million. Japan decided further to contribute \$1.4 million for shelters, thus bringing its Afghan refugee assistance to a total of \$9.4 million.

46. Japan strongly supports draft resolution A/35/L.12, which has been submitted by some 40 Member States. Reflecting the profound hope of the Islamic and non-aligned countries for a settlement of the problem, it confirms basic principles of international conduct and suggests some concrete measures for settlement.

47. My delegation sincerely appreciates the efforts which the Secretary-General has exerted with regard to this matter. We are pleased that the draft resolution specifically commends his efforts and that it includes his suggestion of appointing a special representative to deal with this question. It is our hope that such a special representative will embrace his task vigorously, fully aware of the significance which this question has for the entire international community.

48. The Government of Japan expresses its hope that the draft resolution will be adopted by an overwhelming majority, as was the resolution of the sixth emergency

special session of the General Assembly. In addition, it would like to warn that all those who would ignore the united voice of the international community will surely reap a bitter harvest.

49. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*inter-rotation from French*): I should like first to recall that the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was firmly opposed to the inscription on the agenda of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security". I would take this opportunity to repeat our deep conviction that this is a matter exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of an independent and sovereign Member State: the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

50. In view of the fact that this question was inscribed on the agenda and is being discussed against the expressed will of Afghanistan and in contempt of its categorical and determined protests, there can be no doubt that we are witnessing a pure and simple case of overt interference in the internal affairs of a State Member of the United Nations—and that is a blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

51. That being so, if my delegation has decided to take part in a debate that has been imposed upon us, it is to emphasize clearly that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is opposed to the attempts to involve the United Nations in a matter that is not within its jurisdiction, as well as to express our opinion on the real causes of the events in Afghanistan. In that context, my delegation's attitude towards the draft resolution submitted by certain delegations speaks for itself. The draft resolution is completely unacceptable.

52. We have heard from this rostrum allegations to the effect that the events in Afghanistan brought about a complication of the international situation and had a detrimental effect on the process of détente. In fact, however, it is obvious that this complication is a logical outcome of the constant attempts made by the imperialistic and hegemonistic forces in recent years to impede the process of détente and to return the world to the state of cold war, in order to step up the arms race and change the balance of forces to their own advantage. We need only recall here some well-known facts—such as the sharp increase in military expenditure by the United States, the decision to deploy nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the postponement *sine die* of the ratification of the SALT II agreement,⁵ and so forth—to understand that the political campaign of propaganda directed against Afghanistan has been necessary to United States imperialism and Chinese hegemonism in order to disguise their true intentions and to justify a whole series of steps that are part and parcel of their global strategies.

53. The victory scored by the people's democratic revolution in Afghanistan in April 1978 brought the Afghan people vast and promising prospects for the implementation of major socio-economic and political changes, for the reconstruction of the political and social life of the country on a progressive basis. It is a secret to no one that that historic event was a cruel blow to the feudal and reactionary forces in

⁵ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

Afghanistan and that it damaged the interests of imperialism and world reaction. Those forces were unable to resign themselves to the fact that the people of Afghanistan had struck out on a fresh path—the path of the rebirth of their country, the path of deep transformations and the elimination of backwardness. Here a grave threat faced the progressive and revolutionary transformations in the country. The forces of counter-revolution within the country and the forces of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction undertook a crusade against the nascent power of the people. Those forces assigned themselves the task of stifling the revolution at all costs; they mounted a large-scale undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by arming, training and sending in bands of counter-revolutionaries to carry out a bloody reckoning with all those who had opted for the defence of the people's interests, all those who had joined the forces of progress and rebirth. Afghanistan's enemies were doing everything in their power to put a stop to the normal course of the progressive transformations, thus endangering the independence of the Afghan people and their right to choose by themselves the way in which they should develop.

54. It was in those complicated political circumstances that the Soviet Union responded to the urgent appeal of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to lend its help and to give political, economic and military assistance to the Afghan people in their struggle, to enable them to preserve what had been achieved in the April revolution: the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country. That assistance was provided by the Soviet Union, a friend of long standing of Afghanistan, at the legitimate request of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in accordance with the provisions of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship, Good neighbourliness and Co-operation of 5 December 1978. Consequently, as Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, stated in his speech to the National Council of the Popular Front on 11 February 1980:

“This is not aggression, but a halt to aggression. This is not exporting revolution, but putting a stop to the importing of counter-revolution. This is not an act to heighten international tension, but an act to cut short events that would have inevitably led to very serious consequences for peace, not only in that geographical area but throughout the world.”

55. In that connexion, the “White Book” published recently by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the “Green Book” that has just appeared are of particular interest. These two publications reveal the genuine purposes, the means and the dimensions of the gross, overt interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs by the imperialistic and hegemonistic forces and their reactionary allies—interference that persists to this very day and that continues to impede the process of democratic transformation in the country.

56. Today we are witnessing an unprecedented campaign of lies and slander against democratic Afghanistan on the part of those who are attempting

—in vain—to stem the tide of progressive development, to create a situation of chaos and, in that way, to destabilize the situation in the country and throughout the region. It is precisely the unworthy purposes of that campaign that are served by the blowing-up of the so-called Afghanistan question. It is true that the counter-revolutionary elements are continuing their aggressive and terrorist acts. But it is equally true that life in Afghanistan is gradually returning to normal and that the process of consolidation and stabilization is in the ascendancy, that the counter-revolutionary forces have suffered a resounding failure. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Shah Mohammad Dost, stated during the general debate at this session [11th meeting], it is clear that Afghanistan and the Afghan people do not constitute a threat to anyone. As a non-aligned country, Afghanistan is motivated in its foreign policy by the principles of peaceful coexistence, friendship and co-operation among all countries.

57. We have heard various speculations, of which there is but one source, regarding the political settlement which could be achieved in Afghanistan. Commissions have been set up for dubious purposes and plans have been directed at a so-called neutralization of Afghanistan, in order to give a free field to threats and open blackmail.

58. The People's Republic of Bulgaria remains convinced that a political settlement of the situation is possible provided that it is based firmly on the initiative of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan dated 14 May of this year, because those are the only proposals that place all the problems in their proper context. In accordance with those proposals, all the armed incursions into Afghanistan from neighbouring territories by mercenaries of the imperialist and reactionary forces must cease, the supply of weapons to counter-revolutionary bands must be ended and their training camps must be eliminated. It is also necessary that secure guarantees be provided that subversive activities directed from outside will not be resumed in any form whatsoever. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has already proposed the beginning of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan and between Afghanistan and Iran in order to normalize relations and to draw up bilateral agreements that will lay a foundation for good neighbourliness and co-operation and will include the specific obligation not to permit armed activities or any other kind of hostilities directed by one party against another. Apart from these bilateral agreements, an essential component of a political settlement must be the granting of respective international guarantees.

59. The People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the realistic and specific proposals made by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which are indeed the expression of goodwill and of a sincere desire to achieve a speedy settlement of the situation in Afghanistan and create a healthy political environment in the region. Today more than ever before the people of Afghanistan requires peace and needs to develop normal relations based on the principles of co-operation and non-interference with its neighbours, so that it can devote all its efforts to carrying out a

far-reaching programme of social and economic development in order to build its own future.

60. This is indeed the reason why it is the bounden duty of all those who sincerely desire progress and well-being for the people of Afghanistan to lend their assistance in bringing the political situation in that area back to normal.

61. In conclusion, I once again reaffirm that the Bulgarian people and its Government stand solidly behind the people of Afghanistan in its efforts to safeguard the achievements of the April revolution and to continue on the path it has chosen—that of social progress and development. We make common cause with all those forces which sincerely aspire and endeavour to strengthen confidence, security and stability in that area and throughout the world, on the basis of the well-tried principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

62. Mr. KLESTIL (Austria): In discussing the situation in Afghanistan the General Assembly is addressing one of the most fundamental issues on its agenda, a problem with far-reaching implications, which has deeply shaken not only the peace and stability of the region but international peace and security as well.

63. The military invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, which was condemned by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations, including Austria, at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly early this year, has violated a number of the most basic principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It has violated the principle that all States Members of the United Nations shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. Also, the principle of the equal rights and right to self-determination of peoples, including the free choice of their own political and social system, and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States have been seriously violated. And finally, the events in Afghanistan have led to a refugee problem of considerable proportions which evokes the principle of international human solidarity with those in distress.

64. These are fundamental principles which regulate the orderly and peaceful conduct of relations between States. Their importance has continuously been stressed by Austria over the past years and Austria therefore cannot remain silent in a situation where these fundamental principles are at stake.

65. There is, however, another aspect of the situation in Afghanistan which gives rise to concern, going beyond the fate of the people of Afghanistan, important as that is. Austria had hoped that the new decade of the 1980s would bring about further improvements in the policy of détente, ensuring peace and security in the world and enabling us to concentrate jointly on the solution of urgent global problems, of which an atmosphere of détente is a pre-condition and where progress depends upon an undisturbed and fruitful dialogue in international relations. Austria has always seen détente as an ongoing and indivisible process, a process which above all is based on self-restraint by the super-Powers and the political will to exercise this self-restraint. This has most recently been stated by the Austrian Minister for Foreign

Affairs in the general debate in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The events in Afghanistan have seriously jeopardized the policy of détente. I express the hope at this stage that the necessary pre-conditions of a resumption of this process will soon be re-established.

66. The delegation of Pakistan has submitted a draft resolution on the agenda item under discussion which meets with Austria's approval. In our view, it addresses itself in a succinct manner to the main problem that has to be solved—that is, to find the best means to achieve a political and negotiated settlement. Any such political settlement will have to be based on the preservation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and the right of the Afghan people to determine their political future freely, without force or coercion. It will further necessitate the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops and the establishment of an atmosphere conducive to negotiation and the search for a political solution. On this basis, Austria will vote for draft resolution A/35/L.12.

67. In conclusion, let me restate that Austria supports the right of every people to self-determination. We hope that the people of Afghanistan will soon have the opportunity to exercise this basic right. We hope, furthermore, that in the course of this process the atmosphere of détente will be re-established and that the policy of dialogue and co-operation from which the whole world has benefited will be resumed.

68. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): The Australian Government regards this item as one of the most important on the agenda of this year's session of the General Assembly. It involves issues that go to the very heart of the Charter. If the United Nations is to be true to its purposes and principles, it is incumbent on us to examine the situation in Afghanistan objectively, dispassionately and in the light of the provisions of the Charter.

69. The voice of the international community was heard resoundingly at the sixth emergency special session in January this year, when the General Assembly voted so overwhelmingly to condemn the invasion of the independent and non-aligned country of Afghanistan by foreign forces and to call for their withdrawal. This call was reiterated just as resoundingly by the Commission on Human Rights in February. Yet, nearly a year after those votes, we are gathered here to discuss a situation in which there has been no appreciable change. The vote of 104 members of the General Assembly has been ignored by the offending Power. The violation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, which was condemned then, continues still. The occupation forces, which prevent the people of Afghanistan from determining their own destiny, remain in place. The threat posed to international peace and security by the outside interference in Afghanistan is even more grave now than it was last January.

70. The past 10 months have seen a disturbing increase in international tension and an equivalent decline in the spirit of international co-operation to which all Member States are, by the Charter, committed. This deterioration in the international climate can be attributed directly to the situation that we are discussing today. There is no logic in or factual basis

for asserting, as some previous speakers have asserted, that the deteriorating international climate can be blamed on the hostile acts of others. To the extent that there has been a response to the armed intervention, those responses, including the response of the Australian Government, have been reasoned, balanced and directly related to the armed intervention itself. If the spirit of international co-operation has faltered, this is indisputably because the Soviet Union, a great Power and a permanent member of the Security Council, has acted in clear and undeniable breach of the Charter of the United Nations.

71. It is apparent from this debate, as it was from the debate during the sixth emergency special session, that the great majority of the Member States have seen through the unconvincing attempts of the Soviet Union to justify its invasion of Afghanistan. My delegation is frankly surprised that the Soviet Union and its friends have again tried to use the same arguments supporting that armed intervention that were dismissed as spurious earlier this year.

72. It is true that the Soviet Union has hinted that its forces, or some of them, might be withdrawn in certain circumstances. But this possibility is hypothetical. The Soviet Union has made it clear that it will not contemplate pulling out its army until it has crushed all resistance to its puppet régime. More than that, the Soviet Union is seeking to bring pressure to bear on others, including Afghanistan's neighbours, in pursuit of that objective.

73. Other countries could no doubt help if the intention were to join in an arrangement to restore independence to Afghanistan and to guarantee the preservation of its neutrality. This possibility has been signalled many times to the Government of the Soviet Union. The Afghan people must be free to choose their own Government. There is every reason for confidence, however, that an independent Government of Afghanistan would wish to follow that country's traditional policies of neutrality and non-alignment and to do so in conditions of harmony and co-operation with its neighbours.

74. One especially tragic result of the invasion of Afghanistan has been the creation of a massive new flow of refugees. To the boat people of Viet Nam and to the refugees and displaced people of Kampuchea and Laos are now added the Afghan refugees. Crammed into makeshift camps in and around the Pakistan border are 1.2 million of them, enduring hunger, thirst, heat and cold. Those people have fled their homeland in search of peace, shelter and food. This has placed an intolerable burden on Pakistan, which is to be commended for the way in which it has coped with this uninvited problem. Some sections of the international community have also responded generously, but the main burden still falls on the countries of first refuge. For its part, Australia, in response to appeals from UNHCR and the Government of Pakistan, has now provided 5.2 million Australian dollars to these authorities—comprising 4.2 million Australian dollars in food aid and 1 million Australian dollars as a cash grant to UNHCR itself. But what we have here is yet another example of the creation of vast numbers of refugees as a result of armed foreign intervention.

75. In resolution ES-6/2, adopted at the sixth emergency special session, the Assembly *inter alia* called for:

“... the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine their own form of government... free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever.”

76. Even though that call has not been heeded, it remains as valid today as it was when it was made. In that same resolution the Assembly also urged:

“... all parties concerned to assist in bringing about, speedily... conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees to their homes.”

Such conditions still do not prevail.

77. There are also other important concerns. As I mentioned earlier, and as other speakers have also emphasized, the Soviet Union's actions in Afghanistan have adversely affected the whole range of issues involved in the conduct of relations between States. Détente has been impaired, arms control negotiations have stalled and, more generally, the level of international trust and confidence has sharply declined.

78. Needless to say, the Soviet Union is hoping that with the passage of time the international community will come to accept what has occurred in Afghanistan. We believe that the international community has a responsibility to demonstrate that unacceptable behaviour of the kind we have seen in Afghanistan attracts the widest possible condemnation.

79. It is in all our interests that these negative factors be removed and that a climate be restored which will allow the international community to resume working together in a more confident and more co-operative spirit. Over the past 20 years we have seen that substantial benefits can emerge from such a climate of confidence and co-operation. That climate has been dissipated by the situation we are discussing today. The Soviet Union can do much to help to restore it by heeding the call of the international community as previously expressed by this Assembly and as reiterated in the draft resolution now before us. Only after the restoration of a spirit of international trust and co-operation can we begin again to move forward towards the establishment of a stable international environment.

80. The considerable efforts of the Islamic Foreign Ministers to bring about a resolution of the Afghanistan crisis have been closely followed by many members of the international community. Australia welcomes the contribution of the Islamic countries to the achievement of a settlement and trusts that their sincere efforts will be able to bring about results which will guarantee the freedom of the Afghan people and thereby promote the cause of international peace and security.

81. The General Assembly has before it draft resolution A/35/L.12 which reaffirms the essential provisions of General Assembly resolution ES-6/2. It calls for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and it appeals to all States to extend humanitarian relief assistance with a view to alleviating

the hardship of the Afghan refugees, in co-ordination with UNHCR.

82. In addition, the draft resolution calls on all parties concerned to work for the urgent achievement of a political solution and the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and with honour. Operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution contains important provisions which, if observed, could pave the way for the kind of solution which the international community is demanding, a solution consistent with the principles of the Charter. My delegation attaches particular importance to the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General in the search for such a solution and accordingly to the earliest possible appointment of a special representative, as proposed in that paragraph.

83. This is a draft resolution which is neither unreasonable nor in any sense anything more than an attempt to secure for the Afghan people that measure of self-determination which all peoples have the fundamental right to enjoy in an atmosphere free of the presence of foreign troops.

84. The Australian Government fully support these provisions and will vote in favour of the draft resolution. We are confident that it will command the overwhelming support of the Assembly. We appeal accordingly to the Soviet Union to heed this expression of international opinion, to take positive steps to help to restore the spirit of trust and confidence on which international security, stability and co-operation must be based and, most of all, to heed the true wishes of the sovereign people of Afghanistan.

85. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): In January of this year, at the sixth emergency special session the General Assembly called for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine its own form of government. That call was supported by an overwhelming majority of Member States and constituted a solid manifestation of the will of the international community. It was a call from hundreds of millions of people who, through their governmental representatives, expressed their indignation over this behaviour on the part of a super-Power.

86. Today, more than 10 months later, Soviet troops are still present in Afghanistan. They show no signs of leaving. On the contrary, Soviet efforts to force the Afghan people into submission continue unabated.

87. The Soviet intervention and continued presence in non-aligned Afghanistan is a clear violation of international law and should be condemned as such. The invasion violates principles which are fundamental to the Charter of the United Nations. It violates in particular the principle of self-determination, the principle of non-intervention, the principle of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and the principle of the non-use of force.

88. States Members of the United Nations have special reason to react when a permanent member of the Security Council overrides its obligations under the Charter. The Charter bestows a special responsibility on the permanent members for maintaining international peace and security. Naturally, we there-

fore expect them scrupulously to observe the fundamental principles of the Charter in their own behaviour towards other States. We regret to note that those expectations have not been met in the case of Afghanistan.

89. A political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan based on self-determination and respect for territorial integrity requires that the Soviet Union withdraw its troops and enter into appropriate negotiations with all concerned. The Soviet Union must take these steps in recognition of the unquestionable right of every nation and every people to determine its own political, economic and social future without any outside interference. Only universal acceptance and application of the fundamental principles of non-interference and non-intervention can bring the situation in Afghanistan closer to a solution.

90. In this connexion, we wish to support and encourage the Secretary-General in his efforts to facilitate the search for a solution to the problem. The United Nations also has a clear task in assisting the countries in the area to deal effectively with the problem of refugees, a problem which causes great suffering to more than a million human beings.

91. Mr. JELONEK (Federal Republic of Germany): The Federal Republic of Germany welcomes the initiative taken by 32 non-aligned States in bringing the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan before the forum of the General Assembly again. The rights of an independent, non-aligned country and its people have been violated. Silence and resignation can never be an answer when military intervention and use of force are maintained.

92. My colleague from Luxembourg, acting as spokesman for the nine States members of the European Community, has just expressed the grief and concern felt by the people of our countries about the still unresolved situation in Afghanistan. The Federal Republic of Germany fully supports this position and would like to reaffirm its attitude on this important issue which has cast a dark and lasting shadow on peace and co-operation.

93. Almost a year has elapsed since the General Assembly met in emergency special session in an impressive effort to unite for peace. A very substantial majority—104 States—took a clear stance on the invasion in Afghanistan and that flagrant violation of the Charter. In resolution ES-6/2 the Assembly called for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable the people of that 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.

94. In the process leading to that urgent appeal, non-aligned States played an important role. My country has also been pleased to note the continuing efforts of the Islamic States and many other non-aligned countries in trying to find a solution to the Afghan problem. We share their conviction that the Soviet intervention is a dangerous blow to the principles of the non-use of force and non-intervention—which are also pillars of non-aligned policy.

95. But up to now the urgent call of resolution ES-6/2 has remained unheeded. The occupation of Afghanistan continues, the tragedy goes on. A majority of the Afghan people have demonstrated through active and passive resistance their total disapproval of the political order imposed on them by the invader. Suppression and violence are causing new bloodshed and suffering. Many are leaving their homes and their country. The continuing outflow of refugees is a dramatic expression of the plight and despair of the Afghan people. Those facts speak a clear language.

96. We regret this development even more since there has been no lack of serious attempts to reach a political solution of the Afghanistan crisis. In that connexion, we recall the efforts of the Islamic Conference and the valuable contribution which its Committee on Afghanistan was prepared to make in that regard. The proposal that a solution of the crisis be sought in an agreement which would allow a neutral and non-aligned Afghanistan to choose its own course, a proposal made by the Foreign Ministers of the nine European countries meeting at Rome on 19 February 1980,⁶ pointed in the right direction.

97. Everyone must realize that the time of hegemonism and power politics is past. A policy of creating faits accomplis only causes a further deterioration of international relations. Peace in the world depends on the principle that all nations—whether they belong to any alliance or not—can rely on their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence being strictly respected.

98. This debate has already demonstrated that the international community will not accept the intervention in Afghanistan. The call for a political solution has been reaffirmed. Impatience in the world is growing. Only a rapid, comprehensive and just political settlement can limit—and, it is to be hoped, eliminate—the serious consequences of the conflict in Afghanistan. I wish to stress that such a solution is not only necessary, it is urgent.

99. The aim of all negotiations for a settlement of the Afghan problem must be to re-establish Afghanistan as a non-aligned independent State which chooses its own governmental, economic and cultural systems. The re-establishment of such an Afghanistan will, in the view of my country, best serve the stability of the entire region. Reciprocal guarantees with regard to the non-use of force and strict non-interference in each others' internal affairs could be elements of a political solution that would restore the right of self-determination to the Afghan people.

100. We therefore continue to call upon the Soviet Union to agree finally to embark upon the course that will lead to a comprehensive negotiated settlement taking into account the legitimate interests of all parties concerned, that is, above all, those of Afghanistan, but also those of its neighbours. In the view of my Government, draft resolution A/35/L.12 provides a sound basis for achieving that goal.

101. The General Assembly is now called upon to point out explicitly to the Soviet Union what the community of nations now expects of it, namely, the

immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan and readiness for a political solution which respects the right of the Afghan people to determine freely their political system and their future in accordance with their traditions and religion.

102. The Federal Republic of Germany will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Assembly.

103. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece): The question of Afghanistan is one of the most important items on the agenda of the General Assembly. It involves some of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and, for that matter, of the rules that should govern the relations between members of the international society in general.

104. A small, independent country was invaded 11 months ago by foreign troops, which still occupy it. Or rather, they occupy the part of that country which they were able to subdue by force; because the resistance of the Afghan people continues. With whatever means it has at its disposal, and often bare-handed, that proud nation continues to oppose its invaders, asking only for what is its lawful due: the right to live in peace and independence and to determine freely its future and the political system that best suits its aspirations.

105. My delegation is not interested in recriminations against or in condemnations of anybody. Our concern is not with the past but with the future. Several very commendable efforts have been made in the last 11 months to find a political solution to this problem. I stress the word political, which means that the first prerequisite for such a solution should be the total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Once that is effected, several options remain open. The General Assembly, at its sixth emergency special session, last January, set out the framework of a possible settlement. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has also undertaken an initiative towards that end. And the General Assembly at its present session will have to pronounce itself on draft resolution A/35/L.12, which, in the view of my delegation, has much to commend it. The fact that it is sponsored by some 40 members of the non-aligned movement lends it the weight of a widely representative document.

106. One of the ideas contained in the draft resolution is the appointment of a special representative of the Secretary-General, who would assist the parties in the search for a solution guaranteeing the sovereignty and independence of all the countries in the region and providing them with appropriate safeguards against the use of force. The same objective could be achieved through an international conference with the participation of all concerned.

107. Another very serious aspect of the problem of Afghanistan is the more than 1 million refugees who had to flee their homes as a result of the invasion and the continuing hostilities and to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. The international community has a special duty to work towards the creation of conditions which would enable those unfortunate people to return to their homes.

108. The situation in Afghanistan has had wide repercussions outside that country. It has generated a feeling of anxiety among Afghanistan's neighbours,

⁶ See *Bulletin of the European Communities, Commission*, No. 2, 1980, pp. 84-85.

which fear that their turn may come next or that they may be drawn into the vortex of the conflict. It has added a new hotbed of friction to the already numerous tensions existing in the world today. And it has endangered the climate of détente, in which mankind has placed such high hopes for a better future. This increases the responsibility of the Soviet Union and its duty to collaborate in finding a speedy solution of the problem, because its active participation in the process of détente is a *conditio sine qua non* of ultimate success.

109. What happens to Afghanistan in the next few months may well determine whether the over-all world situation takes a turn for the better or the worse in years to come. It will show who believes truly in the principles of the Charter and who pays them only lip-service, for propaganda reasons.

110. Our world is already too full of peoples which are deprived of their freedom because of internal oppression. Let us not add to them peoples which have to put up with foreign occupation as well.

111. Mr. TAYLOR (Grenada): Even before the triumph of our people's revolution of 13 March 1979, the people of Grenada, led by the New Jewel Movement, acted in solidarity with the oppressed peoples the world over in their struggles.

112. We have constantly supported liberation struggles in Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world. We have fought against *apartheid* and all other forms of racial discrimination. We have consistently been on the side of the democratic and progressive forces in the entire world.

113. That is why Grenada fully supports the April 1978 revolution of the Afghanistan people. We note that, from the inception of the revolution, external forces hostile to the democratic and anti-feudal character of the revolution, manipulated and utilized local counter-revolutionaries in the interest of maintaining the *status quo* as a way of keeping the Afghanistan people poor, backward and oppressed.

114. Since November 1979 all evidence has confirmed that those elements, hostile to the 1978 revolution, have stepped up their acts of aggression. They have escalated their campaign to discredit and destroy the democratic revolution of the Afghan people through increased military measures and hostile propaganda.

115. We in Grenada, faced with continued hostilities in the building of our own revolution, are fully able to understand the difficulties of the Afghan people in their struggles for social justice, peace and democracy.

116. I crave the indulgence of members if I depart from my text for a moment to say to the Assembly that literally minutes before I came to the rostrum I received news from my capital that five members of our People's Revolutionary Militia were murdered last night. That is why we understand the difficulties of the Afghan people. We are revolutionaries and we are not cowards.

117. On the basis of those principles, we reaffirm our support for the valiant people of Afghanistan and wish to record our opposition to draft resolution A/35/L.12.

118. Mr. MOUMINI (Comoros): The delegation of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros in its

five years experience of the United Nations has observed with deep sadness the ineffectiveness of the Assembly in matters pertaining to the maintenance of peace—a primary objective of the founding fathers of the Organization when they met in San Francisco in 1945. We, like many others, have noted with a feeling of frustration the unacceptable attitude of some Member States which joined this world body of their own free will but which violate the fundamental principles of the Charter, thus betraying the very purpose that the United Nations was designed to serve.

119. Those cardinal principles are laid down clearly in Article 1 of the Charter, which provides for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace. Article 2 prohibits the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

120. The situation becomes even more painful when we note that certain permanent members of the Security Council are among those countries that violate the principles of the Charter and ignore the resolutions of the General Assembly.

121. I say that it is even more painful because permanent members of the Security Council are supposed to be the watchdogs of the Organization, particularly in matters concerning the maintenance of international peace and security. If permanent members of the Security Council choose to ignore the principles of the Charter and not to implement resolutions of the Organization, how can they go about making others abide by the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations?

122. In stating the foregoing, my delegation has in mind two important recent events concerning a super-Power permanent member of the Security Council.

123. The first event is the military intervention by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in December 1979, which violated one of the basic principles of the Charter.

124. Secondly, we have in mind resolution ES-6/2 adopted last January at the emergency special session, in which the Assembly condemned by a large majority the aggression against the people of Afghanistan and asked the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from that non-aligned State. The Soviet Union has up to now categorically refused to comply with that resolution.

125. The Comoros is a small, poor, non-aligned country. Being small and poor, we cannot afford to maintain a big army to safeguard our territorial integrity and it is therefore in our own interest to be friendly not only with our immediate neighbours but also with all countries. It would be against our national interest to be caught in the press of power contests; however, when the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of other small States are violated by bigger nations, we feel that our own security is endangered, and that is the reason why we are forced today to take a strong position with regard to the events in Afghanistan. Naked aggression cannot be permitted or condoned, for such a response would only destroy the fabric of peace and international relations and call into question the sanctity of solemn obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, particularly the non-use of force and the settlement

of disputes by peaceful means. The delegation of the Comoros cannot acquiesce in, compromise with or condone any State's infringement upon the sacrosanct principle of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of a State. In this connexion my delegation cannot but express its profound concern over the fact that, despite repeated appeals by the international community, the Soviet Union continues to station troops in Afghanistan, thus preventing the establishment of a government according to the free will of the Afghan people.

126. In trying to defend his country's position on the issue of Afghanistan, Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his statement in the general debate, presented us with the following argument, which, of course, I intend to challenge:

"Attempts to give a different interpretation of world developments and to cast aspersions on the foreign policy of the USSR by once again resorting to the myth of a Soviet military threat constitute a gross deception.

"Only the gullible could heed the groundless assertions to the effect that the aggravation of the world situation has been caused by the temporary introduction of a limited Soviet military contingent into Afghanistan. As has already been explained repeatedly, our move was made to assist the Afghan people in protecting its country's sovereignty and repelling armed incursions into its territory from the outside... That assistance was rendered in response to repeated appeals by the Government of Afghanistan, and it is in full accord with the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 1978 and the United Nations Charter." [6th meeting, paras. 115-116.]

127. By that statement the Soviet Union would have us believe that it was invited to send its military forces into Afghanistan and that that invitation gave it sufficient and legitimate reason to intervene militarily against the people of Afghanistan.

128. A brief review of the events in Afghanistan will prove beyond any possible doubt that the assertion of the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs is what one would call, in polite terms, a terminological inexactitude.

129. Soviet airborne troops landed at Kabul on 25 and 26 December 1979. On 27 December they attacked and captured governmental installations of the Government which they claim called them in pursuant to the 1978 Treaty. Amin, who was then President and who, if Soviet claims are true, must have been the one to call them in for help, was assassinated and the Afghan army was disarmed. The Soviet Union then brought in Babrak Karmal, who was not even in the country when the Soviets flew in their airborne troops. They installed Karmal as head of a new government and then announced that they had been invited under the Afghan-Soviet Treaty.

130. The aggression against and the occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet troops have clearly shocked the world, the international community as a whole and the third world in particular, which was subsequently disappointed by the deplorable intransigence and continuous refusal of the USSR to move its troops back to its own territory.

131. We of the third world are doubly disappointed because the aggressor in Afghanistan has for a long time been our very close friend and a great helper of the oppressed and the liberation movements.

132. The events in Afghanistan, if they are not remedied by an early withdrawal of the Soviet forces in that country, will have a very negative impact on the friendly relations and sympathy that exist between the Soviet Union and many non-aligned countries.

133. The policy-makers of the Kremlin state that there will not be a Soviet withdrawal unless a political solution is found in Afghanistan; but we of the delegation of the Comoros are convinced that there can never be a political solution of the Afghan problem as long as Soviet troops remain in that country. We therefore call upon the Soviet Union to heed international appeals and withdraw its forces from Afghanistan immediately.

134. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): At the outset I naturally associate my delegation with the statement delivered at this meeting [*paras. 27-38 above*] by the representative of Luxembourg on behalf of the nine States members of the European Community.

135. In January the General Assembly condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. One hundred and four Member States called for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. Members of the Islamic Conference, gathered together at Islamabad a fortnight later, issued an equally firm condemnation. They too demanded that the Soviet Union should go back across its border.

136. The Soviet Union made excuses. It claimed that it was invited in. It attempted to blame others and it spoke of its wish for a political settlement. The pretence that it had intervened by popular demand and that it had the interests of the Afghan people in mind was rapidly shown to be baseless. After 10 months the occupation continues. Today there are over 85,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan. In addition, other troops based within the Soviet Union are involved in military operations inside Afghanistan. The Soviet Union is building permanent barracks and facilities for its forces. That perhaps is a true indicator of its intentions.

137. There is no doubt what the Afghan people think. Many of them are putting their lives at stake to resist a super-Power which does not hesitate to use all the technology of modern warfare. The degree to which Afghans find the Soviet presence intolerable can be gauged from the fact that there are now over a million refugees who have fled into Pakistan. In Iran too there are some hundreds of thousands. Nearly one in 10 Afghans has left his country because of the Soviet invasion.

138. The truth is that the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan not to help the Afghan people but because of selfish calculations of what it perceived to be the Soviet national interest. A communist régime to which it had already committed Soviet prestige with men, money and equipment was losing its grip. It had no popular support and the indications were that the Afghan people would overthrow it by force of arms.

This the Soviet Union would not allow: it installed by force its own puppet régime without any reference to the wishes of the Afghan people.

139. Any country which values its independence and the rights of its citizens must be gravely disturbed at the implications of this precedent. As the columns of Soviet tanks went in last December, the independence and sovereignty of a State Member of the United Nations were simply ignored. If the Soviet Union can, with impunity, invade an independent country at the invitation of at most a small minority, for the benefit of leaders in exile and for reasons of advantage to the Soviet Union, no other country can be confident of its independence and its sovereignty. The implications of this event for world peace and stability and for international co-operation are every bit as grave now as they were in January. The passage of time in no way diminishes the need for Members of this Organization to search for an acceptable and peaceful solution—a solution which reverses what has happened and seeks to ensure that it can never happen again.

140. So far the Soviet Union has shown no interest whatsoever in negotiations on terms that would be acceptable to the Afghan people and their neighbours. Nothing it or the régime it has installed in Kabul has proposed has contained any basis for genuine negotiation. The five-point plan announced in April did not even address the central issue of the massive Soviet military presence in Afghanistan. On 14 May a further set of proposals was announced in Kabul. These contained the new proposition that the United States and the Soviet Union should give guarantees that no interference or subversive activities against Afghanistan would take place; but a central ingredient was that the Government of Afghanistan would ask for the withdrawal of Soviet troops after relations with its neighbours had been normalized and the so-called rebel activity had ceased. There was no commitment to a withdrawal programme and no provision for the Afghan people to have a say in their future. The proposals contained another defect. They said nothing about future assurance against invasion from across the frontier with the Soviet Union. We were forced to conclude that the 14 May proposals were directed primarily towards securing legitimacy for the Babrak Karmal régime and not towards a real attempt at a political settlement in the interests of the Afghans as a whole. In that connexion, I should like to underline once again that the absence of objection by my delegation to the participation of Afghanistan in the discussion of this question and the fact that we have raised no formal challenge to the person present here for that purpose should in no way be taken to imply that the United Kingdom Government recognizes the present régime in Afghanistan as the Government of that country.

141. The Assembly should again express its strong indignation and repeat its condemnation of the Soviet occupation. But that alone is not enough. The world must continue to work for an acceptable settlement. The Afghan people should be assured that they are not forgotten. The elements necessary for a solution are clear enough: the borders of the country must be secure; the refugees must be free to return; there must

be a régime acceptable to the Afghan people themselves; there must be adequate assurances for the future; and there must be an immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Soviet forces.

142. The United Kingdom has no fixed opinion about how those objectives should be achieved. There may have to be interim arrangements of some kind. We have noted the constructive lead given by the Islamic Conference in seeking a settlement and we welcome its efforts. We shall listen with interest to realistic proposals which satisfy the objectives I have enumerated. We and our partners in the European Community have suggested that the key might lie in the resumption by Afghanistan of the neutrality which had been her policy for so many decades. That is only one of a number of possible routes. And it was not put forward as an immutable plan. Neutrality has been the most consistent theme of Afghan foreign policy in this century. There can be no question of an imposed solution. It would be for an Afghan Government which reflected the popular will to decide on the acceptability of a solution. The choice must be theirs. But I suspect that the advantages of a structure which could restore and protect their sovereignty and independence would have great attractions for them. At the same time all of Afghanistan's neighbours, including the Soviet Union, should surely have nothing to fear from an independent and neutral State. The idea remains on the table. We are ready to contribute in any way we can to a solution of this gravely worrying problem. Meanwhile the British Government condemns the violations of Pakistan's air space and the armed attacks by helicopter gunships described in the letter addressed to the Secretary-General by the representative of Pakistan on 6 November [A/35/605-S/14245].

143. We are entitled to ask: is the Soviet Union prepared to seek a political settlement which meets the interests of all concerned and not just its own? The alternative is a continuing war at mounting cost to the Soviet Union and increasing tragedy for the Afghan people, who have suffered enormously in terms of loss of human life, physical injury and material damage in the last 12 months. In a wider context it will mean a continuing strain on international relations. For as long as the Soviet occupation continues, for as long as the Soviet Union goes on defying and flouting the principles on which the Charter of the United Nations is based, the rest of the world cannot afford to act as if nothing had happened. It would be both wrong and irresponsible to come to accept an action which has gravely undermined whatever climate of international trust and confidence had begun to be established. We should not repeat the past mistake of forgetting too quickly a Soviet invasion of an independent and sovereign country. Our concern must not therefore wither away after this session of the Assembly.

144. We should not regard this debate and the draft resolution, which my delegation supports, as absolving us from the further responsibility of seeking an acceptable political settlement and of urging the Soviet Union to end its occupation. The Soviet Union and the Babrak Karmal régime must be left in no doubt about the intense anger and horror felt by the world at what

is being done in Afghanistan, at the deaths and at the destruction. The suffering is immense. Those who believe that human beings should be able to choose their own Governments and not have them forcibly

imposed by outsiders must have sympathy for the oppressed and for the justice they are seeking.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.