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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Albornoz*  
(Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

**AGENDA ITEM 116**

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

1. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): It is close to one year since Soviet armed forces intervened in Afghanistan. This event has contributed significantly to a worsening of the international political climate in 1980. The repercussions have been felt in a number of ways.

2. Over the last year several international organs have deliberated the situation in Afghanistan. Both the Security Council and subsequently the General Assembly at its sixth emergency special session were compelled to take up the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. Outside the United Nations framework action has also been taken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which has explored a number of ways to end the conflict.

3. These deliberations have resulted in broad international agreement that the armed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan constitutes a clear violation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of that country, in contravention of established principles of international law, including the Charter of the United Nations.

4. It is a matter of deep concern to the Norwegian Government, therefore, that a political solution of the situation in respect of Afghanistan still eludes us and that no progress has been made towards ending the conflict.

5. First of all, we are concerned about the fate of the Afghan people. The ongoing conflict has brought grave suffering and misery to this people, resulting in a large exodus of more than 1 million refugees into neighbouring countries. The plight of these refugees is a serious international matter which calls for a concerted international humanitarian response.

6. Secondly, we are also concerned about the repercussions of the conflict for peace and stability in the region as a whole. Pending a comprehensive political settlement, it is to be hoped that all parties concerned will show restraint in order to avoid further deterioration in the region.

7. Thirdly, the Norwegian Government is compelled to voice its continuing concern about the effects of the prevailing situation in Afghanistan in respect of the policy of détente in world affairs. The foreign intervention in Afghanistan has violated the fundamental principles and norms on which relations between States must be based. Events in Afghanistan have therefore seriously undermined the political process towards improved East-West relations and the lessening of tension in the world. In the long run, there is no alternative to a policy aimed at the lessening of tension in world affairs. My own country, for one, is firmly committed to the objectives underlying détente. At the same time, it must be stated that no country can acquiesce in a situation established through the use of force in breach of recognized principles of international law. Small countries like my own, especially, must uphold as a matter of necessity these principles of inter-State relations.

8. In the view of my Government, therefore, a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan is urgently required. Such a settlement must ensure the withdrawal of foreign troops from that country and the free exercise by the Afghan people of the right to determine their own future. Like other members of the international community, we should like to see Afghanistan again become a neutral and non-aligned State.

9. In view of these considerations, Norway will vote in favour of draft resolution A/35/L.12. This text contains basic principles and elements essential to any political solution. We see it as an earnest and genuine effort on the part of its sponsors to break the present impasse over the situation in Afghanistan. This is a matter of priority for the people of that country, for the region itself and for the international community as a whole.

10. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the German Democratic Republic considers this fresh discussion of the so-called question of Afghanistan as inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of a State Member of the United Nations and a blatant violation of the basic provisions of the Charter.

11. We should like to recall that the right of each people to self-determination is one of the main principles of the Charter. Many peoples invoked that right, which is one of the norms of international law, when they liberated themselves from the bonds of

imperialist and colonial oppression and embarked on the path of national independence. Together with other socialist States, the German Democratic Republic has consistently supported that arduous struggle which claimed many victims. The results are well known to the Assembly. The overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations emerged as a result of that very struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Other peoples—for example, the peoples of Namibia, South Africa and Palestine—are still bereft of their inalienable right to self-determination. The German Democratic Republic is among those States which gave staunch political, moral and material support to the struggle of those peoples for national independence and social liberation.

12. Since respect for the right of peoples to self-determination excludes an approach using several yardsticks, we consider all-round support for the just cause of the Afghan people as our honourable international duty. We should not lose sight of the fact that the essence of the situation artificially created around Afghanistan is that imperialist and other reactionary circles do not want to accept the revolutionary reforms which have been made by the Afghan people in fulfilment of their right to self-determination. As in other parts of the world, those forces are trying, by means of undeclared war, to introduce into Afghanistan as well a régime which would become an obedient tool of imperialism.

13. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like in this respect to stress the fact that, just as other peoples resist the idea of being taken back to the social relationships of former times and to imperialist subjugation, the Afghan people does not intend to renounce the purposes and goals of its revolution. Anyone can see proof of this, having listened to the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, from this rostrum [65th meeting].

14. If the people of Afghanistan is exercising its right freely to decide to take advantage of assistance and support from a friendly State, then that is its business exclusively. The military support of the USSR given to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is based on the Treaty<sup>1</sup> that was concluded and is aimed at securing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that non-aligned State, to defend it from continuing counter-revolutionary interference by imperialist, hegemonistic and other reactionary forces from outside.

15. The support given by the Soviet Union is no threat to the peace and security of peoples. It is especially no obstacle to the process of détente, as the member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] would try to have us believe. The hostility of those States to the policy of détente is well known and they are doing their utmost to plunge the world into a new era of cold war. They have been abusing the General Assembly rostrum and the second review session, at Madrid, of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which is to serve the continuing process of détente in Europe, to sow discord and provoke confrontation without

any constructive programme for the fruitful co-operation between States as envisaged in the Final Act of that Conference, which was signed at Helsinki in 1975.

16. The threat to the security of peoples has arisen from the ceaseless attempts by imperialism to hamper progressive anti-imperialist development with the help of subversive means and methods, the overt threat of the use of force or its actual use. Wherever international conflicts and controversial issues arise, the imperialist circles are always there—in particular the NATO States—to try, on the pretext of the so-called defence of others' vital interests, to expand their military presence in various regions and seek opportunities to interfere in the internal affairs of other States.

17. United States imperialism is particularly dogged here. It is quite understandable that the dangerous concentration of an entire military armada in the Persian Gulf and the recent reports about the further strengthening of the so-called rapid deployment force and the threat to use it against the oil-producing countries have given rise to most serious fears among peoples and States. We too share the fears expressed by other speakers in this and other forums that the division of the world by the imperialist States into so-called vitally important zones of influence is a permanent threat to the sovereign rights of many States and their security.

18. These facts particularly emphasize the need for a political settlement of the Afghanistan problem. The point of departure for the creation of a more peaceful situation to enhance the stability and security of this region can only be the cessation of this undeclared war and the cessation of all hostile actions from outside against the legitimate Government and the people of Afghanistan.

19. This is in accordance with the position taken by the Governments of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and of the USSR, which, in a joint statement dated 16 October 1980 and issued on the occasion of the friendly visit of the 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, Babrak Karmal, to the USSR, noted in particular that

“As regards the limited Soviet military contingent on the territory of Afghanistan, at the request of the Government of Afghanistan and in accordance with the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 1978 and with the United Nations Charter, the question of the timing of its withdrawal can be examined only in the context of a political settlement, and not before the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is completely halted and guarantees are given that subversive activities from outside will not be resumed against the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its Government”.<sup>2</sup>

20. Anyone who, in contradiction of this, demands that the Soviet military units be withdrawn from Afghanistan is dangerously turning the question upside-down. The fulfilment of such a demand would be

<sup>1</sup> Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 5 December 1978.

<sup>2</sup> See A/C.1/35/9.

tantamount to encouraging the counter-revolutionary forces in the continuance of their aggressive machinations against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. That demand is aimed against a political settlement and should therefore be rejected.

21. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like to stress here that the United Nations has a particular duty to promote the struggle of peoples for their national and social liberation and to put an end to acts of aggression, which have been perpetrated for several years by imperialist and other reactionary forces against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Discussion of the internal development of Afghanistan and the decisions of its Government, taken in exercise of its sovereign rights, would undermine the fulfilment of that duty. It is especially inadmissible that these forms of direct interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan should be reflected in United Nations resolutions.

22. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic categorically rejects draft resolution A/35/L.12. It runs counter to the basic principles of the Charter and is an attempt to encourage the Secretary-General to violate the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a Member State. That piece of paper is a dead letter; nobody can breathe life into it. We might note that foreign troops are stationed on the territories of a number of the States that sponsor that draft resolution, to say nothing of certain defenders of that piece of paper.

23. We expect of United Nations resolutions that they can and will help to clear the way for a political settlement of international problems with strict respect for the sovereign rights and legitimate interests of the States concerned. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic favours the settlement of controversial issues among States in that region—in particular the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan—through negotiations among the Governments themselves on a basis of equality.

24. We fully support the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan dated 14 May 1980 [see A/35/238-S/13951], which show its willingness to settle its intergovernmental relations with Iran and Pakistan through negotiations and to put them on a normal footing. Progress along these lines would unquestionably be an important contribution to the restoration of peace and security in that region and would truly be in accordance with the vital interests of those peoples.

25. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic is firmly convinced that no one can ignore for ever the constructive and realistic proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Sooner or later it will be realized that only on that basis and together with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan can the way be found to a political settlement which will, in the final analysis, be in accordance with the interests of all neighbouring States.

26. We are profoundly satisfied and pleased that the situation in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, with which the German Democratic Republic enjoys friendly relations, is on the whole improving con-

tinually. Notwithstanding the complicated conditions, which are the result of the ceaseless attempts at interference by imperialist and other reactionary forces, the Government of Afghanistan is energetically setting about the purposeful implementation of progressive economic reforms in the interest of the widest spectrum of the population. That policy, which is geared towards economic development and overcoming the consequences of the exploitation which existed previously owing to the colonial policies of the imperialist States, is enjoying the increasing support of all strata of the Afghan people. That is a sure guarantee that the Afghan people will purposefully continue its anti-imperialist, progressive policy which was introduced by the April 1978 revolution.

27. In the message of greetings by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, Willi Stoph, to Babrak Karmal, on the occasion of the sixty-first anniversary of the attainment of national independence by Afghanistan, it was emphasized that

“The people of Afghanistan will be able to continue to pursue successfully its course of anti-feudal national democratic revolution and to defend itself from the machinations of internal and external reactions. We are happy, on the occasion of your national holiday, to have an opportunity once again to express our conviction that relations of friendship and fraternal co-operation between the German Democratic Republic and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will continue in the future to develop in every way in the interests of peace and progress and for the well-being of both our peoples.”

28. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation, which participated in the request for the inclusion of the item on Afghanistan in the agenda of this session, already had the opportunity to make its position clear on the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in a statement made before the Security Council on 5 January, as well as during the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly.<sup>3</sup>

29. Today, what we want to emphasize are the dimensions of the problem—a problem which has become a turning point in the international situation and in international relations in general and which raises questions about the nature of our understanding of the current balance at the international level and the responsibilities and obligations of the major Powers, as well as the concept of the security needs of States in defending their independence.

30. One of aspects of that problem is the fact that today we are facing a situation marked by a certain pessimism and lack of confidence and by tension in international relations. It is a situation which resembles the one which led to the failure of the League of Nations to discharge its responsibilities and to the Second World War. We are today witnessing an escalation of the use of absolute force in international relations.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 5th meeting, paras. 27-41.

31. There are those among us who are attempting to achieve their ambitions at the cost of all the principles which we have attempted to establish—principles that are those of the Charter, of international law and of non-alignment. The other danger inherent in the problem is the fact that a major Power which is a founding Member of the United Nations and permanent member of the Security Council has militarily intervened in a country which is a member of the non-aligned movement.

32. In the past, the Soviet Union has had the merit of participating in or presenting many initiatives to strengthen and develop the fundamental principles on which international relations are based in the framework of the United Nations Charter.

33. As an example, we can mention the definition of aggression, the prohibition of the use of force, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, the deepening of international détente and the rejection of the policy of hegemony. In spite of that, the Soviet Union has refused to respond favourably to the demand of the overwhelming majority of countries throughout the world and the demand of the international community that it put an end to its military presence in Afghanistan and make it possible for the Afghan people to exercise its legitimate right to self-determination.

34. The Soviet Union has prevented the Security Council from fulfilling its main responsibility and implementing resolution ES-6/2 adopted by the General Assembly.

35. Another aspect of the problem is that it brings up the question of security in a climate of scepticism. The members of the non-aligned group were shocked by the sudden developments in the situation and had the feeling that they were losing confidence in the ability of the principles of the Charter and the United Nations to protect their independence and security and to maintain international peace and security. Those countries now feel they have become an easy target for attempts on the part of big Powers to undermine their independence and sovereignty.

36. In a time of crisis, the General Assembly and the Security Council have grave and precise responsibilities towards the international community, which looks to the bodies entrusted with maintaining international peace and security to take effective action. Those responsibilities involve our commitment to the principles of the Charter and the principles of international conduct.

37. The Soviet Union took the liberty of letting its national interests take precedence over its international responsibilities pursuant to the Charter, without taking into account the consequences of such action on international peace and security and on its relations with the third world, as well as the effect of its actions on the non-aligned movement.

38. In spite of the fact that during the Security Council's deliberations, when the serious situation in Afghanistan was being studied, the general sentiment was one of rejection of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, the Security Council was not able to adopt the draft resolution then before it<sup>4</sup> since the

Soviet Union exercised its right of veto. If the international community agreed to give the right of veto to some in the Security Council, it was by virtue of the international community's understanding of the role of the major Powers, and the fact that that community is aware of the obligations and responsibilities incumbent upon those Powers in maintaining international peace and security. Those major Powers must thus be aware of the trust placed in them and place it above any national interest when crises threaten international peace and security.

39. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization [A/35/1] placed the problem of Afghanistan at the head of the list of problems that suddenly arose towards the end of 1979 and that raised fundamental questions concerning the principles of the Charter. He mentioned that those sudden developments and the deterioration of international relations were prompting us to ask whether the concepts in the Charter on international relations were still valid, and if they were still valid, how we could enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations.

40. What took place in Afghanistan constituted interference in its internal affairs in order to impose a puppet régime by force of arms in keeping with a broader plan of Soviet world strategy. This situation leads us to question the nature of treaties concluded between big Powers and small countries and to wonder whether those treaties in reality involve the principle of mutual respect for sovereignty and equality in relations between nations and whether they are concluded within the framework of international legality and the principles of international law or whether they are the sort of treaties that are concluded to serve the strategic interests of the big Powers and which go so far as to give them the right to impose puppet régimes by force of arms as a modern method of annexing small countries and using them as satellites in the camps of the big Powers and bases to be used in the attainment of other objectives.

41. The security of the Indian Ocean and the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] cannot be kept apart from what has taken place and continues to take place in Afghanistan. We should be deceiving ourselves were we to believe that we could succeed in establishing the broad lines for the implementation of that Declaration in the shadow of the military presence of a big Power in Afghanistan near the warm waters of the Indian Ocean.

42. The unfolding events in Afghanistan have demonstrated that we are faced with an attempt to destroy the Islamic character of that country, to break its national unity and to impose an ideology making it possible to exercise control over it. But those events have also shown that foreign forces have been able to impose only a puppet régime, a régime that is a prisoner in its own capital and depends on a foreign military presence for its very existence—indeed its every move depends on that presence.

43. The true brother people of Afghanistan has rejected all foreign interference and has united to face up to that foreign invasion proudly and resolutely, just as it has refused to yield to any attempt at imposing puppet régimes. Throughout the past year the interna-

<sup>4</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1980, document S/13729.

tional community had hoped that the Soviet Union would respond favourably to the resolution adopted in January by the General Assembly at its sixth emergency special session calling for the immediate withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan. However, its only response was an escalation of its military presence in Afghanistan and the rejection of all international efforts to put an end to the bloodshed and the exodus of thousands of refugees and make it possible for the Afghan people to exercise its right to self-determination without foreign intervention.

44. During the sixth emergency special session, as well as during this session, we have heard statements supporting and justifying the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Those repeated attempts at justification were designed to show that the position of the Soviet Union was based on Article 51 of the Charter or on the Treaty of friendship concluded between the two countries or on the fact that the Amin régime was evil and had been the cause of the underdevelopment from which Afghanistan had up to now been suffering.

45. Those justifications have been rejected by the international community, for they are not founded on any logic and do not give the Soviet Union any right to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

46. The sponsors of the text adopted as resolution ES-6/2 by the overwhelming majority of Member States—just like those of the present draft resolution in document A/35/L.12—have been very prudent in the wording they have chosen so that there will be no obstacle placed in the path of a solution of the problem by peaceful means. We hope that the Soviet Union will take this into account.

47. In this context my delegation would like to make the following clarifications. We are not defending régimes; we are defending the principles to which we should all be committed. We refuse to grant legitimacy to any régime imposed by military force. We believe that the maintenance of the sovereignty and the identity of Afghanistan as a non-aligned State is an important matter and a major element in any political solution of the problem and that that objective must be reached in the following framework. All the parties concerned should commit themselves to refraining from any interference in Afghanistan and preventing any conflict brought in from outside. The Soviet Union must withdraw all its military forces from Afghanistan unconditionally. The Afghan people should be free to choose its own economic, political and social systems without any foreign interference and, in its turn, the United Nations can have a role to play in this field. The United Nations should support Afghanistan and lend it economic assistance so as to help it to solve its economic problems and make possible the return of the refugees. On the other hand, the Secretary-General is requested to keep Member States informed on the situation and on what he deems necessary to facilitate his task as well as that of other bodies concerned.

48. Mr. ALLAGANY (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The question of Afghanistan has on two previous occasions been taken up in the Security Council and the General Assembly. The latter, at its sixth emergency special session, adopted resolution ES-6/2, in which the Assembly, *inter alia*,

*"Calls 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 and choose their economic, political and social systems free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever."*

49. More than 10 months have elapsed since that resolution was adopted, but the Soviet Union has not yet withdrawn its occupation forces. Soviet troops with modern weapons continue to occupy the country and to seek to suppress all resistance to the Government installed by the Soviet Union itself following the invasion of the country and the overthrow of the Government of Hafizullah Amin, his assassination and the murder of his family.

50. The purpose of that occupation was not to defend the Government of Amin or to grant it certain privileges, for Hafizullah Amin came to power through a coup d'état against his predecessor, Noor Mohammad Taraki, who had in turn seized power through a military coup d'état against the previous régime under the leadership of Mohammad Daoud.

51. We have said formerly and we say now that the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Army cannot be considered an intervention to defend Afghanistan against external aggression. The Soviet Union claims that a number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan received assistance and military training to conduct subversive activities inside Afghanistan, but no evidence has been presented to support that claim, nor did the authorities which ruled Afghanistan prior to the Soviet invasion claim that. But, even if we accept that theory for the sake of argument, we find no justification for the Soviet invasion of the country, for the existence of a group of Afghans who oppose or resist the existing régime in the country does not justify the occupation of the whole country by any foreign State in order to overcome the resistance and to set up and support the sort of régime it favours.

52. We cannot possibly accept the theory advanced by the Soviet Union, namely, that the intervention of the United Nations and its adoption of a stand on this question is contrary to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, can be considered to be interference in the internal affairs of States and undermines the authority and power of the United Nations. It is the intervention of the Soviet Union that constitutes a clear violation of Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter, which emphasizes the right of peoples to self-determination without foreign intervention or pressure, and Article 2, paragraph 4, which emphasizes that it is essential in international relations for all States to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

53. The essential role of the United Nations is to eliminate tension and safeguard international peace and security, and it is impossible to achieve that noble aim without respect for the principles on which the Organization was founded, including respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and the right of all States to self-determination and to decide their future in complete freedom.



54. The Soviet Union claims that its huge forces will withdraw from Afghan territory immediately following the elimination of the danger of external aggression and armed attacks and interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, but my Government cannot possibly accept that theory and considers it to be a sham, false and weak pretext, meant only to blind the international community and prevent the General Assembly from adopting effective measures on this question.

55. The Soviet Union prevented the Security Council from adopting a resolution denouncing and condemning the Soviet invasion by using its right of veto, which forced the General Assembly to convene its sixth emergency special session. The Soviet Union did not mean to comply with the General Assembly resolution, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the members of the General Assembly, and accordingly has not adopted any measures that indicate its readiness to withdraw from Afghanistan, either now or in the near future. On the contrary, international news reports indicate that the Soviet Union has increased the number of its troops and its military equipment in Afghanistan and that its land and air forces are trying to gain control of all the towns and villages so as to subjugate the whole population to the communist régime that has been imposed on the country and to eliminate all the elements that still resist that régime, by force of arms and under the threat of death or expulsion.

56. There is a further factor that cannot be overlooked, namely that the Soviet troops are not helping the Afghan army to safeguard the security of the country but are conducting their military operations on a separate basis and in accordance with their own plan. The Afghan army has rebelled against the current régime in Kabul and considerable numbers of its troops have joined the Afghan resistance to foreign occupation.

57. It is necessary to mention that Afghanistan is a poor country of limited resources. Afghanistan belongs to the group of developing countries. Its neighbours to the south and east are in a similar situation. What is happening today is that that poor country, which is in urgent need of foreign assistance in order to develop its natural and human resources, is being exposed to military aggression by one of the two major Powers. This is bound to hinder every effort to develop the country for years to come, for even if the destructive activities of the invading forces stop and Soviet troops are withdrawn, the reconstruction of the country will take many years.

58. What the Soviet Union is doing is indeed committing a crime against Afghanistan, its people and its future. We might have accepted this if Afghanistan had been the victim of a civil war or of a limited conflict with one of its neighbours in a similar stage of development and with similar resources, but when the aggressor is a major Power like the Soviet Union the situation cannot possibly be accepted in view of the imbalance of power involved and the fact that the international community imposes a greater responsibility on the major Powers that are permanent members of the Security Council. It expects them by virtue of their great power to set an example of self-control and restraint and not to use that power in order to invade and dominate weaker States throughout

the world. The Soviet Union must realize that military intervention in the affairs of another State is a contagious plague and that its intervention has shaken the stability, security and equilibrium of the region and probably of the entire world.

59. I find it essential to mention in this respect that it was the Soviet Union that put forward the proposals concerning the strengthening of international security at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, the deepening and consolidation of international détente at the thirty-second session, the international treaty concerning the principle of the non-use of force in international relations at the thirty-first session and the non-admissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations at the thirty-fourth session. There is no doubt that the international community fully appreciates those initiatives, but it is only natural to wonder whether any State has the right to call for one thing and to act in the opposite way.

60. My Government believes that it is the duty of all non-aligned countries to act together to put an end to this situation as soon as possible, for the existence of a large body of Soviet troops in Afghanistan imposes alignment on that country, and if the presence of such a large number of troops does not constitute hegemony in Soviet eyes, we cannot possibly understand what the word "hegemony" means to the Soviet Union.

61. At the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held at Havana in 1979, some countries claimed that the Soviet Union was the natural ally of non-aligned countries. The events in Afghanistan, however, have given us clear evidence to the contrary.

62. The situation in Afghanistan is of particular concern to us, for close relations between the people of Afghanistan and the Arab peoples date back more than 1,000 years, and there are religious, cultural and geographical bonds which unite us and which cause us to feel particular concern at the aggression committed against that people and the massacres to which they are exposed in order to force them to submit to foreign and alien rule and a foreign and alien ideology which is counter to its religion, its culture, its history and its character.

63. We object to the Marxist theory that has been imported by Soviet tanks and we firmly believe that it is the right of the Afghan people to determine its own future without foreign intervention. We cannot possibly accept the Soviet thesis that the régime imposed on the Afghan people by force, massacre and destruction is what that people actually desire in order to put an end to social oppression and economic backwardness and reconstruct an independent Afghanistan. That is what was stated by the representative of the Soviet Union at the sixth emergency special session.<sup>5</sup>

64. The right to self-determination includes the right to choose a government by peaceful means emanating from within the country, not from outside, and such a government cannot possibly be supported by a foreign army or by tanks, aircraft or any other destructive machinery of war. In the light of the principle of self-

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2nd meeting, paras. 59-94.

determination, the pretext put forward by the Soviet Union is false and weak and is clearly in opposition to the Charter of the United Nations and the most basic principles of international law.

65. All that I have said in this statement justifies and supports the position adopted by my Government within the framework of the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly. That draft resolution is in keeping with resolution ES-6/2 and with the provisions of the Charter. If we examine matters realistically, we cannot have any doubt that the Soviet Union realizes the erroneous nature of the policy which it is pursuing in Afghanistan and the serious implications of that policy. The draft resolution emphasizes the right of all peoples to self-determination and to determine their own form of Government, as well as the social, political and economic system they desire, without any foreign coercion or intervention. It emphasizes the importance of preserving the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan in order to achieve a peaceful solution of the problem. It calls for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops and for efforts to reach a political solution and create conditions that would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour. No one can possibly deny the logic and justice of these principles and the demands included in the draft resolution.

66. We support the draft resolution wholeheartedly and urge all countries to vote for it. We call upon the Soviet Union to respect the views and feelings of the international community and to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan. We assure the Soviet Union that such action on its part would not lessen but increase its power and the respect it enjoys in the international community and among the third world countries.

67. Mr. KOH (Singapore): My delegation is one of the 40 sponsors of draft resolution A/35/L.12. All the sponsors are from the third world. They come from Asia, Africa and Latin America. The draft resolution is therefore a third-world draft resolution. It reflects the concerns of the sponsors as well as of many other developing countries. Our concerns spring from the fact that Afghanistan is a member State of the third world and, secondly, from our perception that Afghanistan has been the victim of an armed attack by a big and powerful neighbour, the Soviet Union. The action of the Soviet Union is a blatant example of interference in the internal affairs of States. It is in clear violation of the Charter. It is a threat to international peace and security and to the security of small countries everywhere. The Soviet action in Afghanistan has put a stop to the process of détente, disrupted the process of the strategic arms limitation talks and created such a state of international insecurity as to fan the flames of a new arms race.

68. In his statement yesterday [65th meeting], the representative of the Soviet Union put forward four arguments in defence of his country's position and against the draft resolution. I will examine briefly each of his four arguments.

69. The first argument of the representative of the Soviet Union was that the limited Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan was requested by the Government of Afghanistan in conformity with the

1978 Soviet-Afghan Treaty. I shall demonstrate that this argument is false. At the time of the Soviet intervention the Government of Afghanistan was headed by Hafizullah Amin. Did Amin request the Soviet intervention? At first the Soviet Union maintained that he had done so. Naturally, no one believed the Soviet contention since Amin was killed by Soviet troops on 27 December. Later, the Soviet Union said that its intervention had been requested by Babrak Karmal. The simple fact is that at the time of the Soviet intervention Babrak Karmal was a private citizen living in exile in eastern Europe. He was not a member of the Afghan Government. He had, therefore, no authority to invite Soviet troops to intervene in his country.

70. The second argument put forward by the representative of the Soviet Union was that Soviet troops went into Afghanistan in order to protect the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan from outside threat. Did Afghanistan face an external threat at the time of the Soviet intervention? The answer is: no. At the time of the Soviet intervention, Afghanistan was not threatened by any outside Power. The only threat was to the régime in Kabul, and it came from within the country. The majority of the people of Afghanistan were opposed to the communist policies and programmes of Amin.

71. The third argument of the representative of the Soviet Union was that the draft resolution is an interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and in its bilateral relations with the Soviet Union. That is, of course, an absurd argument. If there has been any interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, it is the Soviet Union which has been guilty of it. There are today between 80,000 and 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The Soviet troops are killing Afghans who are struggling, against great odds, to free their country from Soviet military occupation and domination. The thesis which the Soviet Union seems to be propagating is that it is permissible for the Soviet Union to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries but it is not permissible for the world to protest against such interference. A quotation from the *Moscow News* of 15 April 1980 is extremely revealing. The paper stated:

“Non-interference is a good thing, but the principles of international law do not exist in a vacuum. History and politics cannot always be fit into legal formulas. There are situations when non-interference is a shame and betrayal. Such a situation developed in Afghanistan”.

72. Finally, the Soviet Union has criticized the draft resolution on the ground that the solution to the situation in Afghanistan cannot be achieved in the manner envisaged in operative paragraph 4. In the Soviet view the problem should be solved through bilateral negotiations between the régime of Babrak Karmal and the Governments of Pakistan and Iran. I should like to explain briefly why we cannot accept the Soviet prescription. We cannot accept it because the problem of Afghanistan is not a bilateral one between Afghanistan and its two neighbours, Pakistan and Iran. The problem of Afghanistan lies in the unjustifiable intervention by the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. It is a problem of concern to the entire international community.

73. I shall sum up my arguments as follows.

74. First, Babrak Karmal was not a member of the Afghan Government between 25 and 27 December 1979. He therefore had no authority to invite the Soviet Union to send its troops into Afghanistan. The entry of Soviet troops was therefore not at the request of the Government of Afghanistan and not in accordance with the 1978 Soviet-Afghan Treaty.

75. Secondly, there was no external threat to Afghanistan at the time of the Soviet intervention. An unpopular communist régime, allied to the Soviet Union, was in danger of being overthrown by the people of Afghanistan. The Soviet Union intervened not because of any external threat to Afghanistan but in order to ensure that Afghanistan would continue to be ruled by a communist régime, allied to it.

76. Thirdly, the Soviet Union is claiming that it has the right to intervene in the internal affairs of States in order to safeguard "the fruits of revolution". That is a dangerous doctrine which is contrary to the Charter and must be rejected.

77. Fourthly, the problem of Afghanistan does not arise from any bilateral dispute between Afghanistan, on the one hand, and Pakistan and Iran, on the other. The crux of the problem is the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan and continued Soviet interference in the internal affairs of that country.

78. Draft resolution A/35/L.12 is conciliatory in its tone and moderate in its substance. It does not refer to the Soviet Union by name. It does not condemn or deplore the continuing Soviet occupation of and interference in Afghanistan. It does not refer to the reprehensible tactics used and weaponry employed by the well-armed troops of the Soviet Union against the freedom fighters of Afghanistan. It merely calls upon all parties concerned to work for the urgent achievement of a political solution.

79. If the Soviet Union, which calls itself the "natural ally" and "reliable friend" of the non-aligned countries, wishes to redeem its shattered credibility, it should pay heed to the voice of the third world and co-operate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of this draft resolution. If, on the other hand, the Soviet Union continues its military occupation of Afghanistan, continues its interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, then the countries of the third world must conclude that, far from being our "natural ally" and "reliable friend", the Soviet Union is a danger to the third world.

80. Mr. ZAINAL ABIDIN (Malaysia): My delegation recalls vividly the intense debate that took place in this very hall in January this year, when the General Assembly met in an emergency special session to consider the serious situation in Afghanistan arising out of the Soviet intervention in that country. What stood out most glaringly during the debate was the expression of indignation, anger and disappointment at the Soviet action. The introduction of thousands of Soviet troops into Afghanistan, backed by tanks and aircraft, in order to subdue the Afghan people into accepting a government which they had no desire to support, had brought with it dangerous consequences for the region, as well as the world at large.

81. First and foremost, the action of the Soviet Union, which is a major Power, represented a serious and blatant violation of the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of another State—principles which all States Members of the United Nations have sworn to uphold. Such a violation by a big, powerful neighbour against a weak developing and non-aligned nation will, if allowed to persist, destroy the very foundation upon which world peace and security are built. Secondly, the mere presence of a large number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, within striking distance of its neighbours, destabilized the region, leading to a heightening of mutual distrust amongst the major Powers. The net effect has been an escalation of the arms build-up in the area, with the grave danger of physical confrontation and war which could engulf the entire world.

82. At the same time, the spillover effects of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, in the form of over 1 million Afghan refugees who fled their homes for fear of oppression and intimidation, have placed a heavy burden on neighbouring Pakistan. We in Malaysia, having experienced the influx of Vietnamese refugees onto our shores, clearly understand what it means for Pakistan to be saddled with such a large number of Afghan refugees.

83. To us in South-East Asia the events in Afghanistan closely resembled what had taken place in Kampuchea—a big, powerful country sending its troops into a weak neighbouring State, removing the neighbour's legitimate Government and setting up in its place a subservient puppet régime. Even the justifications used in both instances are similar: foreign troops were invited into the country by a Government under the terms of a friendship and co-operation treaty for the purpose of defending the country against external threats. But the irony was that the Government that was supposed to have issued the invitation was not even in existence when the invitation was made. My delegation considers that there is a definite link between the events in Kampuchea and Afghanistan; clearly the two events are part of a larger big-Power strategy to gain advantages and domination in various parts of the world. We the small developing nations have real cause to worry at this trend, which must be checked at all cost.

84. The General Assembly at its sixth emergency special session in January this year had overwhelmingly deplored the Soviet action in Afghanistan and demanded that all foreign troops be withdrawn so that the Afghan people could determine their future on their own, free from external interference and coercion. A similar appeal was made by the Organization of the Islamic Conference at its extraordinary sessions at Islamabad in January and May this year. All these appeals remain unheeded and Soviet troops continue to be reinforced and deployed against the Afghan people, who are intent on preserving their independence and sovereignty. As the Soviet military operation continues, so does the flow of Afghan refugees into Pakistan. The Soviet Union and the authorities in Kabul have also spurned the efforts of the Islamic Conference to bring about a peaceful solution of the Afghan conflict by refusing to co-operate with the Committee established for this purpose.



85. My delegation shares the concern expressed by earlier speakers at the adverse implications of the continuing Soviet military intervention and intransigence in Afghanistan for the peace and stability of the world. We have seen how détente has suffered in the process and how the arms build-up in the Indian Ocean region has escalated. This adverse trend must be halted if we are to bring back a measure of peace and stability to the region, and this can be achieved only if the root cause of the present tension is removed, that is, the Soviet Military intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

86. Malaysia is one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/35/L.12 because it strongly believes that only through the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and respect for the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future free from any foreign interference can there be peace and stability in the region. It is only on this basis that the more than 1 million refugees in Pakistan would be able to return to their homes and lead a normal life. Pending their return, the international community must join Pakistan in shouldering the burden of ensuring for the innocent refugees a regular supply of the basic necessities of life, such as food and clothing.

87. We urge the Soviet Union to respond positively to this clear demand of the international community so that an atmosphere conducive to meaningful international co-operation and conditions of mutual trust and confidence shall prevail.

88. Mr. THIOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): On 25 December 1979, exactly a year after the beginning of the Vietnamese aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, Soviet armed forces invaded Afghanistan, another non-aligned country and Member of the United Nations. During the Security Council's deliberations, which lasted from 5 to 9 January 1980 and during the General Assembly's deliberations at its sixth emergency special session, held from 10 to 14 January 1980, all the fallacious pretexts put forward by the invaders to explain their crime were denounced and rejected. In fact, neither the so-called invitation by the Afghan Government nor the so-called external threat, and still less Article 51 of the Charter or the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 5 December 1978, nor, indeed, international law, can justify the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by foreign armed forces.

89. The invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, a founding member of the non-aligned movement, and the immense aid given to the Hanoi authorities for the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, which was likewise a founding member of the non-aligned movement, have unmasked the real nature of this so-called natural ally of the non-aligned countries and the third world.

90. The invasions and occupations of Afghanistan and Kampuchea are acts of defiance of the fundamental principles of the Charter, of non-alignment and of international relations and run counter to the inalienable right of peoples to decide their own future without foreign interference of any kind against the independence and sovereignty of States, in particular of the weak, small and medium-sized ones. They imperil international peace and security.

91. It is in view of the vital importance of this situation for the future of humanity that the General Assembly, at its sixth emergency special session, adopted, by an overwhelming majority of 104 to 18, resolution ES-6/2, which denounces and condemns the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and

*"Calls 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 and choose their economic, political and social systems free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever"*.

92. This resolution ES-6/2 repeated, *mutatis mutandis*, the principles already spelt out in resolution 34/22 on the situation in Kapuchea since the situations of the two non-aligned States, both Members of the United Nations, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, victims of acts of aggression perpetrated by international and regional expansionists, are similar.

93. At its thirty-sixth session the Commission on Human Rights in its resolution 3 (XXXVI) of 14 February 1980<sup>6</sup> also condemned the crimes the invaders committed against the people of Afghanistan and reiterated the principles contained in General Assembly resolution ES-6/2. Furthermore, the extraordinary session of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Conference held at Islamabad from 27 to 29 January 1980 reiterated, in its resolution 1/EOS, the same condemnations and demands [*see A/35/109-S/13810*].

94. The three resolutions I have mentioned unmask the strategy of world domination, as well as the hypocrisy and treachery of the expansionist world Power which, thus far, has hidden its ambitions behind a curtain of pompous rhetorical propaganda on "détente", "disarmament", "the non-use of force in international relations" and "the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations".

95. Although the General Assembly has adopted resolutions on these grandiloquent items proposed by the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union has not hesitated to violate them. What is more, it has not hesitated to trample underfoot resolutions which oppose its ambition for world domination. Furthermore, through the intermediary of its henchmen—in this case the leaders of Hanoi and Havana, who have infiltrated the non-aligned movement—this so-called "natural ally" has managed in the space of two years to paralyse any initiative or action in that movement, which finds itself totally unable to condemn these flagrant acts of aggression, of which two of its founding member States are victims. The aim of this so-called "natural ally" and its henchmen is to perpetuate this situation, so that the non-aligned movement, as an independent factor in international relations, will lose all its reason for existence.

96. Just as in Kampuchea, where 250,000 soldiers and 50,000 civilian agents of the Vietnamese regional expansionists have infiltrated militarily and politically, so in Afghanistan 100,000 soldiers and Soviet agents find themselves in the same situation. The Afghan people, whose tradition of struggle for independence

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Supplement No. 3, chap. XXVI, sect. A.*

and national dignity is well known to everyone, has shown to the world its staunch determination to reject the Soviet expansionist yoke. Its patriotic struggle has also shown that the puppet régime installed in Kabul only survives thanks to the Soviet army, which does not hesitate to use the most barbaric methods, similar to those used in Kampuchea by the Vietnamese invaders, that is, massacre of the people of entire villages, the use of toxic chemical weapons, and starvation. Information provided by the Afghan patriots mentions more than a million Afghans already killed by the occupation troops. In order to flee those massacres, more than 1.2 million Afghan refugees have fled to Pakistan and 500,000 have taken refuge in Iran. Their deplorable condition challenges man's conscience. It is one of the most painful proofs of the shameless violation of elementary human rights by the expansionists.

97. Echoes of the heroic struggle and the suffering of the Afghan people have reached us from this mass of refugees, from tens of thousands of soldiers and officers who have refused to serve in the puppet army of Kabul, and from the many Afghan patriots who have managed to extricate themselves from the clutches of the invaders. On 22 February last, Mr. Abdul Rahim Ghafoorzai, a special representative of the Kabul régime at a meeting of non-aligned countries held in New York, called on the Soviet Union to withdraw all its aggressive troops from Afghanistan. He said:

"Our brilliant history has shown that the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and dignity of Afghanistan are not negotiable. Unless the Soviet Union withdraws all its troops of aggression from Afghanistan, we shall continue our armed struggle until every inch of our sacred territory is freed."

98. A few weeks ago, on 25 October last in Belgrade, at the twenty-first session of the General Conference of UNESCO, the head of the delegation sent by the Kabul régime, Mr. Akhtar Mohammed Paktiawal, stated from the rostrum of that Conference:

"Afghanistan is no longer a free country. It is completely dominated by the Soviet Union... We have the right to live and the right to self-determination... The Afghan people is fighting against Soviet domination. It will always fight for its freedom and its self-determination."

99. For the Soviet invaders these two Afghan individuals, among so many others, have certainly become "counter-revolutionaries", as has also the entire Afghan people, but their courage and patriotism have profoundly moved the international community. They have denied all the lying propaganda, the slander and the sophistry spewed out here by the representative of the invaders of Afghanistan and recited by their partisans, and which do not convince anyone. They rather strengthen the faith of all peoples and countries which cherish peace, justice and independence, in the Afghan people's unshakable determination to fight for their freedom and dignity. They mobilize international support and solidarity for that just struggle.

100. To try to extricate itself from the military, political and diplomatic impasse in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has been engaging in manoeuvres which look exactly like those it planned and is at present

engaged in with the authorities of Hanoi to try to extricate the latter from their military, political and diplomatic impasse in Kampuchea. That is understandable, because these manoeuvres were concocted in the same Moscow offices.

101. The invaders continue their manoeuvres to force the international community to accept the fait accompli in Afghanistan, to recognize the puppet régime in Kabul and, therefore, to accept the legitimacy of the regional and world expansionism of the Soviet Union and its partisans.

102. Militarily speaking, the invaders have been intensifying their rounding-up operations against the Afghan people whom they call "counter-revolutionaries". According to reliable sources, they have already annexed the Wakkan region in the north-east part of the country.

103. Politically, through a "seven-point proposal"—which reminds one strangely of the "four-point proposal" of the Vietnamese expansionists—they are desperately trying to force neighbouring States to recognize the puppet régime of Kabul as the *de facto* Government.

104. More than that, they are making armed incursions over the north and north-west frontier with Pakistan, just as the Vietnamese troops of occupation in Kampuchea committed acts of aggression against Thailand on 23 and 24 June last, in an attempt to divert the international community's attention to the so-called "conflict" between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Everything is being done to justify the continuation of the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and to bury the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations and the Islamic Conference.

105. Just as the Vietnamese regional expansionists are brandishing the so-called "Chinese threat" to justify their refusal to withdraw their forces of occupation from Kampuchea, the Soviet expansionists have been brandishing the "external threat" to justify the stationing of their troops in Afghanistan. We see here the same gangster logic, the same law of the jungle, as is applied by the Vietnamese expansionists to Kampuchea.

106. However arrogant and cynical these manoeuvres are, they will never manage to force the international community to accept this fait accompli. Only the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet forces will bring about a solution to the problem of Afghanistan and will restore the Islamic and non-aligned nature of the country, giving back to the people of Afghanistan the right to live in independence, honour and dignity, as well as the right to choose their own Government and their own political, economic and social régime.

107. Accordingly, my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/35/L.12, which lays down the principles for a reasonable and realistic political settlement.

108. The year 1938 saw the invasion of Austria, and the Munich Agreement of 30 September of that year did not stop Hitler from invading Czechoslovakia six months later in March 1939. Hitler's conquests were proclaimed to the whole world, yet no one wanted to heed anything but his promises of peace. Indeed,

while pursuing his conquests, Hitler kept protesting his innocence and his peaceful intentions and even accused other countries of warlike ambitions.

109. December 1978 saw the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnamese hordes powerfully assisted by the Soviet expansionists. December 1979 saw the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet troops themselves. At each of its steps towards world domination, that expansionist great Power has protested its innocence, proclaiming to whoever will listen its determination to defend world peace, to develop détente and to pursue disarmament negotiations. Even more: it is accusing other countries, especially those that oppose its hegemonistic ambitions, of being reactionaries with imperialist designs and of interfering in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and Afghanistan. It has stretched its cynicism to the point of proposing here the "urgent measures for reducing the danger of war".

110. After more than 10 years of propaganda about détente and disarmament, the expansionist great Power has attained supremacy in conventional weapons and is in the process of acquiring it in nuclear weapons. At the same time, it is spreading its tentacles, first through the intermediary of regional expansionists in Africa, Latin America and Asia—including in Kampuchea—and then directly in Afghanistan.

111. In Kampuchea it has used the Hanoi authorities and their expansionist ambitions in South-East Asia to extend its hold in that sensitive region and to control the strategic sea lanes and the Strait of Malacca, which is the umbilical cord linking the Pacific Ocean with the Indian Ocean. By direct military intervention to impose a puppet régime on the Afghan people, it aims to extend its influence and domination to the Persian Gulf, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean. It is certain that if it were to consolidate these conquests with impunity, it would advance other pawns, whose victims would be the neighbouring States.

112. The years 1938 and 1980 show a certain similarity of situations. The decade of the 1980s looks bleak. Some are already speaking of the possibility of a third world conflagration towards the middle of the decade. In fact, the development of the situation does not depend only on the expansionists. It also depends on the stance of solidarity adopted by all peace-loving and justice-loving countries with regard to world and regional expansionism and to the heroic struggles of its victims. The bitter lessons of the past have shown that Munich only encouraged conquest, and that only a resolution and dogged struggle and staunch and unflinching resistance can halt the thrusts of the expansionists and foil their ambitions for world domination. In that way each people and each nation can affirm its identity and its will to maintain it. It is by not giving in to threats that one can prevent a third-world conflagration being touched off.

113. My delegation has been most encouraged by the determination of all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples and countries and by the Organization firmly to defend the principles of the Charter and of international relations. The relevant resolutions which have been adopted on this subject strengthen the front of international solidarity against the dangers of expansionism and have encouraged the struggles of all countries and peoples—Democratic Kampuchea and

its people among them—to safeguard their independence, national existence and dignity.

114. The adoption of the draft resolution before the Assembly by an even more overwhelming majority than that of the sixth emergency special session would be an important contribution to a speedier victory—a victory which is certain—in the just struggle of the valiant Afghan people and would also be a great encouragement to the joint struggle of all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples and countries to defend their national independence and international peace and security.

115. Mr. KAMIL (Indonesia): When the General Assembly met last year in its thirty-fourth session, it was against the stark reality of intervention in an area in my region of South-East Asia, which brought in its wake ripples of deep concern throughout the world. Those feelings are clearly strongest in the non-aligned countries, and the event was an omen that the international situation in the 1980s would be more turbulent, shaking the very foundations of the international order.

116. Confronted with this global concern, the General Assembly, which was convened in an emergency special session at the beginning of January of this year on a new development, the situation in Afghanistan, following the failure of the Security Council to resolve the issue, adopted resolution ES-6/2 which, it was hoped, would lead to the normalization of the situation in Afghanistan. In the resolution, adopted by an overwhelming majority—it gained 104 votes in favour—the Assembly expressed concern at the developments in Afghanistan and recognized the urgent need for the termination of armed foreign intervention to enable the Afghan people to determine its destiny without outside interference or coercion. It therefore called for the immediate and total withdrawal of all foreign troops and urged the parties concerned to seek a speedy settlement in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

117. However, it is deeply to be regretted that almost one year has elapsed and no progress has been made in implementing that resolution. In consequence, the continued presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan has led to the aggravation of tension in the region and has been a serious setback to the cause of peace, détente and disarmament. It has intensified super-Power rivalry and has created a climate of mistrust and suspicion. All these developments, coupled with the massive exodus of refugees, constitute a grave threat not only to regional peace, but also to international security.

118. The Government of Indonesia joined the many countries which requested the inclusion in the provisional agenda of the current session of the item on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security [A/35/144 and Add.1]. It did so because of its deep concern regarding the grave developments that have taken place and continue to take place in a fellow non-aligned country in clear infringement of the Charter, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter [resolution 2625 (XXV)], the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security

[resolution 2734 (XXV)], resolution 31/92 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, resolution 32/153 on non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and resolution 34/103 on the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations.

119. The basic principles underlying all those declarations and resolutions can be summarized to include the sovereign equality of all States, the principle that States should refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the duty to refrain from intervening in the internal affairs of States, rejection of any acts seeking to establish zones of influence and domination, and condemnation of direct or indirect aggression, occupation, interference and intervention. Those and other principles have been reiterated in various international conferences. The Final Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979,<sup>7</sup> appealed to all States to participate in efforts to free the world from a policy of force, domination and hegemony and to create a new order based on co-operation and friendship.

120. While foreign intervention has continued, the fate of the refugees, like that of their unfortunate brethren elsewhere, continues to depend mainly on the charity of Iran and Pakistan and has become one of the gravest refugee situations. The massive influx of refugees has imposed a considerable burden on the already scarce resources of those nations, which deserve our commendation for providing those unfortunate people with the basic necessities of life out of humanitarian considerations. Although relief assistance has been provided by UNHCR and others, the main burden of sustaining these million and a half refugees has fallen on those neighbours of Afghanistan. As I had occasion to observe, the question of refugees, whether from Afghanistan, Kampuchea or the Horn of Africa, cannot for ever be the burden of the international community. It can be resolved only by tackling the underlying causes which in the first place gave rise to this problem.

121. The position of my Government on the developments in Afghanistan continues to be based on the principles of the Charter and on the need to ensure the freedom of countries to choose their Governments free from coercion or outside interference. In this regard, my Government has voiced on many occasions its strong opposition to all forms of external intervention and interference in the internal affairs of a State and any action which is not in conformity with respect for the independence and sovereignty of all States; and we have long held that such respect is basic for the elimination of conflicts and for the preservation of peace.

122. In this regard, the great Powers have a special responsibility to uphold and preserve the long-cherished principles of international law as enshrined in the Charter and in the Bandung Declaration<sup>8</sup> which call upon States to respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and to refrain from interven-

tion in the internal affairs of other States. Indonesia, for its part, has sought to contribute to a peaceful solution of the situation and in this connexion has supported the initiatives of the Islamic Conference.

123. The Islamic Conference, bound by a special obligation to seek a peaceful solution, has approached the crisis in Afghanistan in a manner similar to that adopted by the United Nations. It has called for the withdrawal of foreign forces and respect for the sovereignty and political independence of Afghanistan. The Conference also established a Committee with a mandate to promote a just and honourable solution which is consistent with those principles and to identify a common basis. Although the efforts of the Committee to seek a political solution between various factions has been frustrated, my delegation none the less considers that these efforts should be accorded full support by the international community. That has, furthermore, assumed particular urgency because of the need to implement resolution ES-6/2.

124. Draft resolution A/35/L.12, sponsored by 40 countries of which 30 are non-aligned and introduced by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan [65th meeting], addressed itself to several issues of vital importance and seeks to achieve a peaceful solution to the situation in Afghanistan along the lines of the proposals already put forth by the Islamic Conference. It calls for the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan. Towards that objective, it seeks the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops and the creation of conditions to facilitate the voluntary return of refugees. Furthermore, the draft resolution provides for appropriate guarantees against the use of force or threat to use force, as well as the maintenance of the security of all neighbouring States, on the basis of mutual guarantees and non-interference. For those reasons, my delegation deems it essential to support the draft resolution as it aims at a prompt and peaceful solution of the problem.

125. In conclusion, let me say that although we live in a world riven by conflicts, divergent interests and differing political systems, it is not a world which can or will be controlled by the threat or use of force. Our only hope is in our determination to resolve our differences peacefully and commit ourselves to the wider imperatives of peace and security.

126. Mr. DÍEZ (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This year international public opinion has witnessed various instances of violations of the principles enshrined in the Charter, as though the 35 years of existence of the Organization were not enough to bring the maturity and prudence that should govern relations among sovereign States.

127. By virtue of its unique feature, its scope, its duration and, above all, the huge difference in the size of the countries concerned, the Soviet military invasion and occupation of Afghanistan is clearly a subject which ought to be discussed by the General Assembly. Moreover, it should receive high priority in our debates. That intervention is a blatant, serious, gross, systematic and persistent violation of all the human rights of the Afghan people, an intervention so obvious as to need no further proof and one which calls for action and for speedy action if it is to be effective.

<sup>7</sup> See A/34/542.

<sup>8</sup> See *Asian-African Conference, April 18-24, 1955*, New Delhi, Government of India Press, pp. 36-38.



128. That has been the view taken by the international community which, from the outset, unequivocally expressed its deep concern at the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Last January, more than 50 Member States, including Chile, requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council<sup>9</sup> in order to consider the serious situation that had emerged. We all know now the Security Council's action was thwarted by the veto of the invader itself, namely the Soviet Union.

129. My delegation also took part in the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly, convened because of the continuing threat to international peace and security. On that occasion Chile voted with the vast majority of States which unreservedly condemned the flagrant aggression committed against a Member of the Organization, a nation belonging to the developing, Islamic and non-aligned world.

130. In view of the fact that the situation in Afghanistan, far from improving, actually worsened, thus preventing the resolution adopted by the General Assembly from being implemented, Chile joined those Member States which proposed that the item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security" should be included in the agenda of the present session. We subsequently became one of the sponsors of the draft resolution introduced by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.

131. The principles and norms of contemporary international law which were trampled underfoot in the aggression against Afghanistan have been mentioned and analysed often enough by some of the previous speakers, as well as by my delegation in the past, and thus need not be referred to again. However, I would like to dwell on two of them, the principle of non-intervention and that of non-use of force in international relations.

132. The principle of non-intervention, recognized and accepted by every one of the signatories of the Charter is, together with that of the equal sovereignty of States, one of the basic pillars on which the delicate balance of international relations rests and on which depend peace and coexistence among civilized nations. If violence is done to it, war, disputes and difficulties of all sorts ensue. Unless it is respected, co-operation and the development countries so badly need become impossible. Failure to abide by that principle leads to a resurgence of hegemonistic or imperialistic greed, of colonialism and of feudalism. The next step leads inevitably to destruction and chaos.

133. Violation of the principle of non-intervention implies a disregard of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination, a basic right which, in the case of individuals, is tantamount to the right to life itself.

134. By intervening in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union made it impossible for a sovereign State to determine its own future, and deprived a people of the right to lead an independent life and to elect its own Government. Its political independence is a thing of the past. Its territory is occupied by Soviet armies. Its non-

aligned status is but a myth. Worse still, its people is living under the most terrible of conditions, that of being prisoner in its own home and on its own soil, under the fixed gaze of foreign soldiers.

135. The other principle to have been violated is that of the non-use of force in international relations, a principle also enshrined in the Charter and also accepted as a cardinal rule in international relations. The invasion of Afghanistan is a most blatant case of the use of force. It is made even worse by the obvious disproportion between the aggressor super-Power and the small and virtually defenceless country which it attacked. Yet there is a very significant factor in this illegal and unlawful situation. The General Assembly is considering an item entitled "Report of the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations" [item 105], the main proponent of which is the Soviet Union. It is even proposing a world treaty on the subject. What this means is that a country which has used and is still using force in Afghanistan is proposing a treaty on the non-use of force. This deceitful and cynical manoeuvre will fool no one and world opinion is wise enough not to allow itself to be deceived.

136. My country has been subjected during the past few years to a relentless campaign of calumnies and intimidation promoted, instigated and financed by the Soviet Union. Its aim was simply to punish Chile for having repelled Soviet interference through the heroic joint action of its armed forces and of its people. That has been recognized by the Soviet leader, Mr. Brezhnev, himself when he told the TASS news agency that not to have intervened would have meant leaving Afghanistan at the mercy of imperialism and allowing the aggressor forces to repeat what they did, for instance, in Chile. In other words, what has happened in Afghanistan should have happened in Chile.

137. Mr. Brezhnev's statement was endorsed yesterday by the Soviet representative when he said:

"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". [65th meeting, para. 136.]

138. Those statements induce us to make the following comments. The Soviet Union ideological or military conquests are supposed to be irreversible. The so-called Popular Unity régime in Chile was a typically Soviet Marxist régime and was thus obviously incompatible with Chile's traditional democratic system. That is a fact which brooks no contradiction. What has happened in Afghanistan did not happen in Chile. To the Soviet Union that is an intolerable state of affairs which it must seek to drown in a sea of lies and demagogic statements.

139. The present situation in Afghanistan not only has serious repercussions for the peace of the region and of the world; it has brought in its wake one of the most distressing cases of refugees of recent times. In fact, over a million Afghans, fleeing from the troops of the aggressor, have sought refuge in Pakistan. Notwithstanding the best endeavours of the Government of Pakistan such a large number of persons, most of them penniless, is an urgent problem which the

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1980*, document S/13724 and Add.1 and 2.



international community must consider in a humanitarian context. Statements by those refugees, moreover, provide a true picture of the sufferings of the Afghan people, in spite of the curtain of silence imposed by the foreign aggressor. From them we can deduce that conditions are becoming worse and that the situation may soon be irreversible. It is therefore imperative that the Organization carefully consider a state of affairs which continues to threaten peace in the region and in the world as a whole.

*Mr. Zainal Abidin (Malaysia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

140. Nor should Afghanistan's status as a developing and non-aligned country be forgotten since the aggression committed against it has put an end to its just aspirations to development, to co-operation on an equal footing, and to an improvement of the well-being of its people, without which development can never be achieved. Similarly, the Soviet troops have put an end to the very bases of Afghanistan's non-alignment, making any action in that direction illusory, since it is impossible to conceive of non-alignment while the military forces of a super-Power are imposing their laws on that country. What has occurred should induce us to think realistically about the credibility of the glowing words of support and encouragement of the Soviet Union directed at the developing countries and the members of the non-aligned movement.

141. The delicate international situation and the tragedy of the Afghan people have demonstrated the fragility and defencelessness of the very weak in the face of the greed of the strong, as if history had not evolved and as though mediaeval obscurantism held sway. To prevent such situations and the recurrence of such regrettable events is a fundamental task of the Organization and, in particular, of its more powerful Members. That is also the hope of the Afghan people. We trust that we shall not betray it.

142. In conclusion, we should like to recall what occurred exactly 44 years ago in the Palace of the League of Nations at Geneva. There the Head of State of a small developing country, Abyssinia, condemned the brutal invasion of his country by an army equipped with the most modern weapons of its day—Mussolini's Fascist troops. That aggression was as unjustifiable as that against Afghanistan, and both had the same origin—the imperialism of totalitarian concepts.

143. On that occasion the League of Nations supported the small country concerned in very heartfelt terms, speaking among other things of sanctions against the aggressor; but it did not go much further. The consequences of this went far beyond the subjugation of a small country. It was one of the decisive causes of the total loss of prestige of the League of Nations and its consequent unlamented demise.

144. We can only hope that that will not constitute a precedent in the case of Afghanistan.

145. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): During the emergency special session convened last January my delegation associated itself with the majority of the countries present in expressing its apprehension over the events in Afghanistan. We voted in favour of resolution ES-6/2, which evidently formed an appropriate response to meet the situation.

146. It is unfortunate, however, that that resolution went unheeded and that the prospect for a settlement looks as bleak as ever. The exodus of refugees from Afghanistan goes on unabated and resistance against the massive presence of foreign troops is continuing.

147. The search for a political settlement of the question in various quarters, including the Organization of the Islamic Conference, has so far been without success.

148. In the meantime, as is clear to everyone amongst us, it has created further strain in the relations between the two major Powers, hurt the process of détente and lessened the possibility of the early conclusion of a nuclear arms control agreement.

149. Those are matters of concern and disappointment to my country. My delegation continues to believe that those developments are to a considerable degree the outcome of the Afghan situation, which, we should like to reiterate, constitute a clear case of armed intervention in the affairs of a small country, a respected member of the non-aligned movement and a Member of the United Nations by a far more powerful neighbour, in contravention of the universally accepted norms of international behaviour. No amount of argument purporting to justify that action convinces my delegation. Afghanistan's long history of independence and good-neighbourliness and the fiercely independent character of its people belie such arguments. On the other hand, an arbitrary interpretation of such an unjust act will surely distort the spirit and the meaning of the principles governing inter-State relations in the present-day world.

150. My country has always believed in the indispensability of the United Nations to a world order for the survival, security and progress of small and developing countries. Those objectives are best guaranteed by scrupulous observance of the noble principles of sovereign equality, non-interference and the non-use of force embodied in the United Nations Charter and upheld by the non-aligned community. To us the inalienable right of each and every nation to choose its own political, social and economic systems without coercion from outside, and least of all coercion through armed interference, is sacred and inviolable. To those cardinal principles and purposes, which constitute the foundation of this world body, all Member States, big and small, powerful and weak, are unequivocally committed, and they have been reaffirmed many times. The case of Afghanistan cannot be an exception to those rules of the international value system developed over a long period of years.

151. Another dimension of the Afghan situation is its potential for disturbing the peace and stability of the countries in and around the region. As we see it, the area is faced with the menace of greater involvement of various other outside forces.

152. In view of all these implications, my delegation deems it imperative that a political solution to the Afghan problem should be earnestly sought without further delay. The elements of such a solution should include primarily the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from that country in order to enable the Afghan people to exercise its right to determine its internal system free from the involvement of foreign troops

and to resume its policy of independence, non-alignment and good-neighbourliness.

153. Draft resolution A/35/L.12 provides a practical basis in this regard and has all the elements for a satisfactory solution.

154. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): We resume the debate on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security at a time when past resolutions on the issue continue to be ignored.

155. The Soviet Union admits that its armed forces are in the territory of Afghanistan. It attempts, however, to make us believe that those forces are in Afghanistan at the request of the Afghanistan Government. If that is so, it is a tragedy and the people of Afghanistan will live to regret it, as is proved by the large number of Afghan citizens leaving the country each day to live elsewhere as refugees.

156. A casual look at the sequence of events prior to the intervention by the Soviet Union's armed forces in Afghanistan shows that that sequence does not support the allegation that there was a legitimate request by the Afghan Government in Kabul for the Soviet Union to intervene in its affairs. After all, who on earth would request armed agents for his destruction and death? If such a request was indeed made, it must have been made by someone other than the Government of Afghanistan at that time, or the Soviet Union invited itself. It remains clear to my delegation that the Government existing in Afghanistan prior to the intervention did not request Soviet armed forces and claims to that effect cannot fool anyone. If a request was made after the intervention, such a request cannot alter the situation and the Soviet Union's action remains and still continues to be a condemnable act of aggressive intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign State.

157. It can be recalled that at the beginning of this year the matter was brought before the Security Council, which considered it and a large majority of its members called for the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from Afghanistan. But the Soviet Union, being the culprit, vetoed the draft resolution before it.<sup>10</sup> Thus the Council was rendered powerless and its attempt to discharge its peace-keeping functions under the Charter was nullified.

158. Further attempts were made at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly. Resolution E3-6/2, of 14 January 1980 was adopted, calling for, among other things, the withdrawal of the armed forces of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan. Today the Soviet Union's forces are still in Afghanistan, despite that call by the United Nations. Meanwhile, local resistance still continues.

159. The historical developments leading to the wanton aggression against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Afghanistan cannot be allowed to constitute a justification for aggression. The cardinal principles of State sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence have been contravened and any attempt at mitigation of the misdeed is unacceptable.

160. Any justification of the aggressor's deeds, were it to be accepted, would nullify the whole purpose of the Charter of the United Nations and render it a

useless document. Moreover, it would undermine the security of developing nations, whose ability to defend themselves against the giants of war and mischief is totally inadequate. It would bring about imperialist expansionism and domination by militarily powerful nations.

161. As my delegation has stated before on this issue, Kenya remains opposed to any breaches of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of any State, be it big or small. In addition we stand firm in demanding that the security of non-aligned and developing nations, of which Afghanistan was one, should be respected. We in the small developing nations pose a danger to no one, least of all to the super-Powers. Those with the capacity to endanger others should avoid any action that would pose danger to peace and security.

162. The events occurring in Afghanistan fill us with serious concern. In order to alleviate that concern we wish to call on that invading country, namely the Soviet Union, to withdraw all its armed forces from Afghanistan and strictly abide by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, forbidding interference in the internal affairs of States.

163. To conclude, draft resolution A/35/L.12 provides a workable framework and is in line with the position of my delegation and we intend to support it.

164. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): On 14 January of this year France voted for the resolution on Afghanistan that was adopted by the vast majority of the members of the Assembly. It did so because it considered—and it said as much right from the beginning of the Soviet Union's intervention—that it was an intolerable violation of Afghanistan's sovereignty.

165. What do we see a year later? We see that nothing has changed. Nothing in the field: the level of Soviet intervention has not noticeably changed; the fighting continues and is being extended to various parts of the country; the tenacious resistance of a courageous people that rejects foreign occupation continues; finally, the number of refugees goes on increasing, particularly in Pakistan. Nothing has changed either with regard to the prospects for a political settlement. However, the international community has spared no effort within this forum, within the Islamic Conference, among the nine members of the European Community, or at the bilateral level to define the principles and orientation that are most likely to lead to a true solution.

166. So today it is the absence of progress that we are obliged to record. The same situation that existed a year ago still persists. It is a serious threat to peace. It constitutes a major obstacle for East-West relations.

167. The Assembly must therefore show through its vote its determination to achieve a genuine political settlement.

168. The Afghanistan crisis is grave. It will come to an end only if that political settlement secures the withdrawal of Soviet troops, re-establishes a free and non-aligned Afghanistan, and gives the Afghan people the free exercise of its right to decide on its own future.

169. It is along those lines that the French delegation supports the draft resolution which has been submitted by some 40 States for adoption by the Assembly.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/13729.

170. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): The armed intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan and the occupation of that country by the Soviet Union last December was a grim reminder of how vulnerable small or medium-sized States and oppressed peoples can be to the use of force by a super-Power, in particular by the super-Power that has supported and continues to support the invasion of Kampuchea, which has escalated regional conflict in Africa through the introduction of its own and its surrogate forces and which continues its war against the Afghan people with the most callous disregard for human life, for the sovereignty of an independent neighbouring State and for world peace and security.

171. Last January the General Assembly adopted resolution ES-6/2 at its sixth emergency special session called for by the Security Council under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution. It is ironic that this resolution, which strongly deplored the armed intervention in Afghanistan, was based largely on resolutions and principles adopted by the General Assembly as a result of initiatives by that same super-Power.

172. One example of such a resolution is the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security in which the Assembly reaffirms the inalienable, sovereign right of every State to determine freely its political, social and economic system, and condemns the use of force to deprive peoples of their national identity.

173. It is most pertinent to note that at the thirty-fourth session the General Assembly, in seeking to implement that Declaration, called, *inter alia*, on all States to refrain from any act which might hinder the process of relaxation of international tension and conflict or hinder the resolution of the focal points of crisis and tension in various regions of the world [resolution 34/100].

174. The Soviet Union's practice of introducing resolutions which are contradicted by its own actions is also clearly illustrated by the introduction in 1976, of an item on the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations<sup>11</sup> and by its successful sponsorship last year of the text adopted as resolution 34/103 condemning hegemony—the policy aimed at controlling, dominating and subjugating other States through economic, political, ideological or military means.

175. The Soviet Union's armed aggression against a peaceful, non-aligned Moslem State and its continuing attempt to subjugate a proud and independent people is a serious challenge to a world Organization engaged in the painstaking task of building a system of international law based on the Charter. It should be evident, after more than three decades in which the world has seldom been free from tension and conflict of one kind or another, that such challenges promote the interests of no one and only cloud the outlook for a stable and peaceful world. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, carried out on the flimsiest of pretexts, adds to the complexity and dangers of an international situation where any area of tension and conflict could trigger off a wider conflagration.

176. The armed aggression against Afghanistan has rightly earned widespread condemnation. An overwhelming majority of the Member States represented here and the membership of international and regional organizations such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Organization of African Unity and the group of non-aligned States have strongly deplored the violation of Afghanistan's territorial integrity and political independence. They have also expressed their dismay over the brutal creation of another refugee problem of disastrous proportions and over the dangerous escalation of regional and international tension.

177. The dimensions of the Afghanistan tragedy were pictured graphically a short time ago by the chief representative of that country to UNESCO when he described the violation of human rights, the destruction of centres of art and culture, the incitement to civil war and the atrocities suffered by the people of Afghanistan under Soviet domination. My delegation believes that all States must take serious note of his solemn warning that the sufferings of Afghanistan today could be the lot of other States tomorrow.

178. Somalia associates itself closely with the effort to exert the full force of the moral pressure of the General Assembly on behalf of the people of Afghanistan. We hope that the vast majority of Member States will demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet forces from Afghanistan. Indeed, no State should remain aloof when the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of a Member State have been wantonly violated, and when the right of a people to choose its own political system in freedom has been suppressed by foreign military intervention.

179. In the view of my delegation, the Afghanistan situation calls for the sustained application of such provisions of the Charter as relate to the peaceful settlement of disputes and for removing threats to international peace and security. In this regard we place great importance on the efforts undertaken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and by the Secretary-General to promote a political solution based on the principles of the Charter. We believe also that the appointment of a special representative of the Secretary-General would be a valuable step in this direction.

180. Somalia, which has the largest refugee population in the world, fully understands the sufferings caused by the uprooting of families from their homes and also the problems faced by the host country, Pakistan. We hope that the international community will be generous in extending humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees in co-operation with UNHCR.

181. In conclusion, I wish to pay a tribute to the heroic people of Afghanistan, who are carrying on their historic tradition of opposing domination and fighting for the freedom and independence of their country. In doing so they serve as an inspiration for all freedom-loving peoples who are engaged in the struggle against tyranny. In the circumstances, my delegation fully supports the draft resolution before us of which we are a sponsor.

<sup>11</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 124.