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

*In the absence of the President, M. Surre (Senegal),  
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 116**

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

1. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): For the third time this year the United Nations is debating the situation in Afghanistan. In that span of time nothing in that historically troubled country has changed; it remains in the iron grip of foreign forces.
2. Two reasons are invoked for the presence of foreign troops in the sovereign and independent country. The first is that these foreign troops have, upon the request of Afghanistan, come to the assistance of its Government; and the second is that internal dissension in Afghanistan constituted a threat to the security of a neighbour country. There is a great deal to be said for those reasons if—and only if—they correspond to the facts of the real world. In the considered view of my delegation, the facts flatly contradict the claims.
3. On Christmas Day 1979 several thousand foreign troops descended upon Afghanistan, presumably on the invitation of the Amin Government. Yet, only two days later the same Amin died under abnormal circumstances, and a stranger in his own land had to be imported from outside and installed as the rightful leader of Afghanistan. The imported leader is not a leader chosen by his people but a front used by foreign forces in a transparent effort to legitimize their presence in Afghanistan.
4. But the stronger argument does not lie in a hoary legalism. It lies in the attitude of the Afghan people, who from that day to this very moment has been struggling against overwhelming odds to maintain its territorial integrity and affirm its sovereign right to its own land. On the best estimates, the poorly armed and under-organized resistance fighters have managed to pin down roughly 100,000 foreign troops in Afghanistan in a fierce and determined effort to salvage national honour.

5. In the light of these facts, how can it be claimed with any amount of credibility that foreign troops are in Afghanistan by invitation? The contradiction is plain for all to see.

6. The second argument is that Soviet security was threatened by Afghanistan and massive military operations were required in order to remove that threat. In candour, my delegation feels that credulity can only be strained so far. A nation that in the best circumstances has had great difficulties with its national development problems can hardly be expected to entertain dreams of imperial glory, especially against one of the most powerful countries on earth. I suggest that the Assembly draw its own conclusions.

7. Having said that, my delegation wishes to invite attention to the fact that we are not assembled here today to score debating points. What concerns us is the latent content of the debate—unsaid yet visible, unspoken yet ever present in our inmost thoughts. We perceive an emerging pattern in world affairs, a creeping desolation which threatens to destroy, if it has not already done so, a full decade's work in establishing the rules of the game. If we assume that competition is a permanent feature of international life, we also assume its corollary—open-handed co-operation on a reciprocal basis so that benefits shall accrue to all.

8. In the light of recent events, those assumptions take on the garment of innocence and misplaced optimism. Today competition yields to confrontation and co-operation approaches a dead end; and this dictates the disturbing pattern which we may have to cope with for the rest of this uneasy decade.

9. This is of particular concern to our region. With minor alterations, the situation in Afghanistan bears a strong similarity to the situation in Kampuchea. They are indeed the same face of the same coin. Both cases violate the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the faithful observance of which is an indisputable requirement for a stable world order based on the rule of law. In Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of nations has been transgressed. In Afghanistan and in Kampuchea, the principle of the right to self-determination has been denied the citizens of those countries.

10. Equally significant is the mode of operation in the illegal occupation of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The most casual observer cannot help but be struck by a seemingly orchestrated effort to acquire territories as bases for the extension of military and political influence in large areas of Asia. If that pattern is not arrested, the dread prospect which confronts us is of Asia again becoming the cockpit of a war far larger in scope and dimension than any in recent memory.

11. Our concern is therefore understandable. The best efforts of the Assembly should be directed towards preventing the start of a vicious cycle which, unless broken, is bound to create dangerous precedents and, which, if ignored, would almost certainly be regarded as an open invitation to further aggressive actions not only in Asia but also in many other parts of the world.

12. My delegation suggests that we can begin to consider a few measures to defuse a highly explosive situation. The first is voluntary restraint on the part of the Powers involved; the second is the initiation of dialogue among the same Powers; and the third is the continued search for political solutions of both the Afghan and the Kampuchean problems.

13. We feel—and feel very strongly—that, as in Kampuchea, the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan is a principal element in all efforts to reach a political solution. At the same time, the humanitarian aspect of the Afghanistan problem should not be overlooked. Thousands upon thousands of the victims of war are in neighbouring countries sharing their hardships and miseries with the host countries.

14. It is for those reasons that the Philippines has co-sponsored draft resolution A/35/L.12. In a critical moment in world affairs, Afghanistan continues to be a focal point of danger. The great Powers will do what they must; the rest of us will do what we can. Our task is to help to ensure that the efforts of the great Powers point in the direction of peace, justice and humanity.

15. Mr. FRELEK (Poland): For reasons deriving from its profound historical experience as well as the principles of its foreign policy, Poland is vitally interested in the consolidation of peace, the strengthening of international security and the development of fruitful and mutually beneficial co-operation among nations. To the best of our ability we have always taken and continue to take part in efforts aimed at reducing and extinguishing hotbeds of tension and conflicts. Our firm and consistent position has always been in favour of the peaceful and just settlement of conflicts and controversial problems in different parts of the world through political negotiations between the States concerned. Our position is the same with respect to the problems of South-West Asia.

16. That position was fully reflected in the Declaration of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw on 14 and 15 May [see A/35/237-S/13948, annex II]. The participants emphasized, *inter alia*, the need for a political settlement of the situation that has developed with regard to Afghanistan. They stressed that such a settlement must unequivocally guarantee the complete cessation and non-recurrence of all forms of outside interference directed against the Government and the people of Afghanistan. They also underlined that once all forms of outside interference directed against the Government and the people of Afghanistan had completely ceased steps would be taken for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, in accordance with the renewed pronouncements of the USSR. That, in our profound belief, is the only possible and realistic road

towards the normalization of the situation in South-West Asia.

17. Poland continues to voice its opposition to efforts to consider the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in forums of international organizations without the authorization and against the will of the authorities of that State. Such activities are contrary to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the recognized principles of international relations.

18. Therefore my delegation opposed the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security". We are still firmly against it, as in our opinion both the motives behind it and the way the whole issue has been presented, far from serving to ease the tensions in the region, on the contrary are bound further to complicate the existing problems and to create new obstacles in the way of reaching political solutions.

19. This is particularly true since the position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan concerning a political settlement of the situation in South-West Asia, especially its proposals of 14 May 1980 [see A/35/238-S/13951, annex II], which are constructive, regarding the normalization of relations between Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, have so far received no positive response. That does not help the settlement of existing problems either.

20. We cannot but make exactly the same appraisal of draft resolution A/35/L.12. A number of key premises for a successful solution of the problem are obviously ignored in the text. First of all there is no mention whatsoever of the need to put an end to outside interference and incitement to and support for armed rebellion. That is, after all, the natural pre-condition of any progress. The Government of the USSR has more than once declared its full readiness to withdraw its troops if that condition is met. It is no secret to anyone that it has not yet been met. In fact, the opposite is true. It is easy to find in information media of all kinds frequent reports dispatched from the bases of armed subversion situated in the immediate vicinity of the borders of Afghanistan.

21. The draft resolution before us contains an appeal for a political settlement addressed to the strangely defined "all parties concerned". Inasmuch as this is an attempt to put the rebel groupings on an equal footing with Governments and States, it is equally unacceptable. The draft resolution does not include, and thus rejects, the most important factors, which are: the finding of a way to reach a peaceful political settlement and the easing of tensions through direct negotiations and the normalization of relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours, Pakistan and Iran.

22. It stands to reason, of course, that the only way to arrive at a realistic solution is through direct negotiations based on the principles of sovereignty, non-interference and good-neighbourliness. That is the only way to ensure lasting peace and stability in the region. Poland has lent and continues to render its full support to the proposals aimed at achieving that goal put forward by Afghanistan and the Soviet Union.

23. Speaking in the general debate at the present session, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, Józef Czarnek stated, *inter alia*:

“Realism, honesty, the right to progressive transformations and security—these are the guiding elements of our approach to the complex problems of South-West Asia, including the situation concerning the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. We support the initiatives of the Government of Afghanistan towards solving the existing issues through mutual recognition, in the spirit of good-neighbourliness and co-operation.” [10th meeting, para. 84.]

24. As a matter of fact, the problem of the draft resolution we have been referring to boils down to one basic question: are we, in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations, to support efforts aimed at the elimination of tensions or, in contradiction of those objectives, are the resolutions adopted here to serve the maintenance or even the aggravation of those tensions?

25. In our considered opinion, the draft resolution submitted by Pakistan and the other sponsors does not serve constructive purposes. The Polish delegation therefore, will be voting against it. We are determined to continue to give our firm support to a real political settlement that will ensure peaceful stability and good-neighbourly relations in that region which is so important for world peace.

26. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Viet Nam would like first of all to express its disappointment at the decision of the General Assembly to examine once again the item entitled “The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security” in spite of the firm opposition of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

27. We are convinced that this interference on the part of the United Nations in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, an independent and sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations, constitutes a violation of the Charter, Article 2, paragraph 7, of which stipulates:

“Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.”

28. Contrary to any objective and honest interpretation of the facts and their consequences, attempts have been made to convince us that the presence of a limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan could have violated the independence, sovereignty and policy of non-alignment of that country as well as the right to self-determination of the Afghan people, and that it might constitute a serious threat to international peace and security.

29. But that is the real nature of the events in Afghanistan and around Afghanistan? More than once, in the principal forums of the United Nations, those of the Security Council and the General Assembly at its sixth emergency special session, and in this very hall just two days ago [65th meeting], the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, through its Foreign Minister, Mr. Mohammad Dost, has shed

full light on the true situation in and around Afghanistan. While appreciating those clarifications, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam wishes to highlight the following points.

30. First, during its history both before and after the Second World War Afghanistan was on many occasions subjected to acts of aggression and occupation by colonialists and imperialists with the aim not only of enslaving and exploiting that valiant people but also of transforming that country, which declared its policy of neutrality as early as 1941, into a bridgehead for aggression against the Soviet Union.

31. The national democratic revolution of April 1978 marked an important stage in the development of the struggle of the Afghan people to rid itself of the chains of imperialism and to abolish the feudal relations and the consequences of age-old economic and social backwardness. The appearance on the international political scene of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan constitutes a positive factor in the strengthening of peace and stability in South-West Asia.

32. Secondly, following the victory of the Afghan April revolution, which dealt a severe blow to the global strategy of the United States of America, those in American imperialist circles, in close collusion with international reactionary forces, feverishly endeavoured to undermine the young Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Within the country they ceaselessly incited and organized feudal and reactionary elements of all types to counter-attack the revolutionary and democratic forces. It is no secret that outside the country those same hostile forces did everything in their power to regroup, maintain, supply, instruct and equip bands of rebels and mercenaries to conduct armed incursions into Afghanistan from sanctuaries in the territory of a country bordering on Afghanistan. We should add that these activities, closely linked to intervention and subversion, increased in intensity, particularly throughout 1979, thereby most seriously threatening the very existence of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as an independent and sovereign State.

33. It was precisely in that context that the events of 27 December 1979 occurred, which put an end to the oppressive régime of the usurper Amin and marked a new and important stage in the process of the struggle of the Afghan people to defend its revolutionary achievements. Since then, all the revolutionary energies of the Afghan people have been mobilized and guided successfully on the course of eliminating economic and social backwardness, restoring equality among all citizens, building an independent economy and promoting a foreign policy of peace and friendship with other countries on the basis of the principles of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence.

34. In such conditions, what can be said of the assistance given to the Afghan people by the Soviet Union in response to the appeal of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan? That aid from the Soviet Union is fully justified and is aimed at co-operation with the Government of Afghanistan as it faces an undeclared war imposed from abroad on the young Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. That assistance is entirely in keeping with the Treaty of

Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which was signed in Moscow on 5 December 1978, as well as with Article 51 of the Charter concerning the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence of Members of the United Nations that are victims of armed aggression. It is quite clear that such assistance from the Soviet Union to the Afghan people can in no way threaten the countries bordering Afghanistan and can be no danger to security and stability in South-West Asia and in the world.

35. As President Babrak Karmal of Afghanistan has said:

“The Afghan people understand perfectly the great significance of the brotherly friendship that unites the peoples of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, and cannot permit anyone to harm those indissoluble links of brotherly friendship.”

36. It follows from the preceding considerations that neither the uprising of Afghan patriots and revolutionaries that toppled the régime of the usurper Amin nor the aid given to them by the Soviet Union to help them successfully to face the imperialist and hegemonistic aggression in any way violates international law or the Charter of the United Nations; nor does either warrant any condemnation on the part of the General Assembly. This is all the more true since the present situation in Afghanistan is progressively becoming stabilized and certain Soviet units have already gone back to their country, by agreement with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

37. In such circumstances it is to be regretted that a group of Member States should have submitted draft resolution A/35/L.12, which deliberately disregards the true over-all political situation in and around Afghanistan.

38. If we look at the facts objectively we cannot gloss over the indefensible and intolerable acts of intervention by American imperialists, in close collusion with the Peking hegemonists and other regional reactionary forces. Those highly reprehensible acts have taken the form of repeated armed incursions into the national territory of Afghanistan. Following the failure of their undeclared war against the young Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, they have continued their criminal activities of destabilization and subversion. In particular, the Beijing hegemonists are remarkable for the unequalled enthusiasm with which they maintain, supply, instruct and equip bands of rebels and mercenaries based outside the frontiers of Afghanistan for the purpose of carrying out evil subversive activities against the Afghan people.

39. In such a situation, draft resolution A/35/L.12, by purely and simply calling for “the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan”, is in fact designed to strip the Afghan people of its inalienable and natural right of self-defence in the face of the continued interference and aggression perpetrated from abroad against the young Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. For a better awareness of the continued serious danger to the existence of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, I would refer briefly to the “Green Book” recently distributed in this connexion

by the Afghan delegation. It provides abundant enlightening evidence of the multifaceted subversive activities undertaken by the United States, China and their allies against the Afghan people. These are facts and objective documents that the various parties concerned cannot deny and that no one truly concerned about the situation in Afghanistan can treat lightly. It is therefore clear that the total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan must legitimately be contingent upon the prior elimination of the causes of their arrival in Afghanistan.

40. Then, in calling upon “all parties concerned to work for the urgent achievement of a political solution”, the draft resolution ill conceals the unconfessed design of the forces hostile to the Afghan revolution to use the United Nations to seek to restore in Afghanistan the régimes of feudalism and reaction. Those forces wish thereby to drag the United Nations more deeply into the ever-increasing, ever-more-intolerable interference in Afghanistan’s internal affairs.

41. Moreover, it is highly significant that the draft resolution entirely disregards the question of the normalization of relations between Afghanistan and its immediate neighbours: Pakistan and Iran. The fact of thus deliberately setting aside direct negotiations—that is, the most intelligent and most effective way of reaching a just political solution—demonstrates a clear lack of will to seek an equitable settlement which takes into account the legitimate interests of the Afghan people and which can truly help to normalize the situation in Afghanistan and around Afghanistan. It is quite obvious that any solution imposed unilaterally on the Afghan people, contrary to its interests and aspirations, cannot be accepted by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and therefore cannot be viable.

42. Finally, the draft resolution—by attempting to intensify emotions and confrontations concerning the question entitled “The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security”, and by requesting the inclusion of the so-called question of Afghanistan in the provisional agenda of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, at the very moment when the situation in Afghanistan is becoming progressively more normal and is stabilizing—ill conceals the designs of imperialism and big-Power hegemonism to continue their policy of interference in Afghanistan’s internal affairs, to foster escalation of the arms race, to heighten international tensions and to obstruct the growing struggle of the peoples throughout the world for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

43. There are some who would still have us believe that the events in Afghanistan caused by the so-called armed intervention of the Soviet Union are the basic reason for the present worsening of the international situation. But the events in Afghanistan date back only one year, while the deterioration in the international situation began much earlier, as a result of obvious facts with which everyone is familiar. The first fact was the decision in May 1978 by the countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] to increase their military budgets; and then, in December 1979, the decision to place new American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Then there was the fact that the United States of

America decided to establish its "rapid deployment force", to enlarge its military bases in the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and so on. Equally, there is the fact that Beijing's hegemonist leaders, in close collusion with the imperialist circles, have been feverishly attempting to modernize their military forces by all possible means and are constantly threatening "to teach Viet Nam a second lesson".

44. All those facts clearly demonstrate that the worst war-mongering forces of imperialism, of big-Power hegemonism are at the root of the present worsening of the international situation, as well as the situation in various parts of the world. And that should induce greater vigilance by all the forces that cherish peace and justice throughout the world.

45. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam believes, for the reasons I have just set forth, that the draft resolution could only lead the United Nations into increased interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, to the detriment of the interests of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and that, therefore, it could only hinder a genuine political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan and around Afghanistan. That is why we find the draft resolution absolutely unacceptable, and our delegation cannot but reject it.

46. But what solution could be recommended for a final settlement of the situation in and around Afghanistan? The reply to that question of crucial importance has been provided by the Afghan Government itself.

47. Following the victory of the national democratic revolution in April 1978, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan resolved to build a new, peaceful life for the Afghan people, by maintaining relations of friendship and co-operation with the neighbouring countries—Moslem countries as well as all others. In a statement dated 15 May 1980 the Afghan Government put forward a seven-point programme of political settlement as a means of bringing a complete end, with the required guarantees, to the acts of aggression directed against Afghanistan, to the subversive activities and to all other forms of foreign interference in its internal affairs, and as a means of eliminating the tensions in the region and overcoming differences by peaceful means and by negotiation.

48. That balanced and complete programme is designed above all to normalize and progressively improve relations between Afghanistan and its two immediate neighbours, Iran and Pakistan, on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and good-neighbourliness and non-interference in each country's internal affairs, and by undertaking specific commitments enshrining the inadmissibility of armed activity or any hostile acts directed against the territory of one country from the territory of another. Above and beyond such bilateral agreements, this programme of political settlement provides for appropriate political guarantees, particularly on the part of the Soviet Union and the United States of America, as well as specific conditions and guarantees for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Lastly, the Afghan Government declares its support for the proposals to establish the region of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf as a zone of peace, by eliminating the foreign military bases there and taking other measures

to lessen the tension and strengthen the security of the region.

49. That programme of political settlement is eloquent testimony to the reasonable attitude and the real determination of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to make a positive contribution to the task of the stabilization and normalization of the situation in South-West Asia in the interest of international peace and security.

50. That realistic programme of political settlement for the situation surrounding Afghanistan has been firmly supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as by many non-aligned countries and other countries which cherish peace and justice.

51. Recently, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan reiterated their position by declaring in a joint statement dated 16 October 1980 their support for

"... a political settlement of the situation around the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which would have a positive effect on the situation in that part of the world and would contribute to improving the international political climate. [The two parties] have again stressed that the way to such a settlement lies through effectively ending intervention from the outside, through reaching appropriate agreements between the Governments of Afghanistan and its neighbours, in the first place Pakistan, on the basis of the known proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 14 May 1980".<sup>1</sup>

52. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam reaffirms once more its forceful and total support for the just position and the realistic benevolent attitude of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union and hopes that Afghanistan's neighbours will respond positively to the important seven-point proposal of the Afghan Government.

53. My delegation would like to place particular emphasis on the effective cessation of all foreign interference against the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. We should like to recall the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on 25 September last before the General Assembly:

"The Vietnamese people is determined to strengthen its solidarity with the people and the Government of Afghanistan in their struggle to safeguard the gains of their revolution, their independence and their national sovereignty. We highly value the wide-ranging aid accorded by the Soviet Union to the Afghan people and Government to help them stand up to the attempts at aggression and acts of intervention and subversion on the part of the forces of imperialism and international reaction."  
[11th meeting, para. 103.]

54. In conclusion, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam wishes to express its belief that if the Organization is not able to assist the Afghan people in its struggle to defend and build its country, at least it should refrain from doing anything that might harm the just cause of the Afghan people and

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

from imposing any unilateral viewpoint or any partial solution on an independent and sovereign State, a fully-fledged Member of the Organization, because this could only harm the prestige and good name of the United Nations.

55. The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam are firmly convinced that with the energetic support and invaluable assistance of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all countries that cherish peace and justice, and all progressive forces throughout the world, the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, under the clear-sighted guidance of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan headed by President Babrak Karmal, will be able victoriously to defend the true independence and freedom of their country and successfully to build a new society in Afghanistan, thus making a positive contribution to the maintenance of peace and stability in South-West Asia and throughout the world.

56. Mr. YUSUF (Bangladesh): Once again the Assembly is debating the question of Afghanistan. Barely a year has passed since an emergency special session on Afghanistan was held and a resolution was adopted containing a framework for a speedy and peaceful solution of the crisis [*resolution ES-6/2*]. We deeply regret that no solution of this continuing problem has yet been found, despite efforts made by the international community through various international bodies, including the United Nations.

57. The position of Bangladesh is well known in regard to the question of Afghanistan. It is as stated in our national Parliament:

“In the case of Afghanistan, we called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from non-aligned Afghanistan and took the position that the people of Afghanistan should be allowed to determine their own destiny without outside interference. This position received the overwhelming support of the international community in the Security Council and in the General Assembly of the United Nations. The extraordinary meeting of Islamic Foreign Ministers endorsed the position taken by the United Nations General Assembly on Afghanistan.”

58. Bangladesh has traditional links of friendship with the people of Afghanistan rooted in a common heritage and shared beliefs. We are grieved at the senseless loss of human life and property following foreign armed intervention in fellow non-aligned Afghanistan.

59. Since the non-aligned movement came into being, heralding a new era, the policy of non-alignment has become a force in the struggle for maintaining world peace and security and building a base for new international political and economic relations. We feel that any weakening of our movement or suppression of its role would inevitably inject an element of instability into international relations. We believe that the inexorable transition from an old order based on domination by a few to a new one founded on freedom, equality and social justice for the promotion of world peace and security cannot be halted. In addition to having these historical responsibilities, we are com-

mitted to respecting and upholding the sacrosanct principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the objectives of the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*]. These international instruments, which the community of nations has accepted, as essential elements for guiding relations between and among nation States, can be ignored only at the peril of creating disorder and instability in the world. We have solemnly undertaken to refrain in our international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of any State in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. Such threat or use of force constituting a violation of international law and the Charter should never be employed as a means of settling international disputes. We also believe that by virtue of the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, all peoples have the right freely to determine, without external interference, their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development, and every State has the duty to respect that right in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

60. What has happened in Afghanistan over the past 10 months gives us enough reason to be sad, unhappy and apprehensive about the maintenance of peace and security in that part of the world which is already beset with internecine conflict. We have seen that foreign intervention has taken place in violation of the aforementioned principles. In this context, we believe, peace and stability can return to Afghanistan only with the withdrawal of all foreign troops. We also believe that real peace can return to Afghanistan only when the people of Afghanistan are allowed to choose their own destiny without outside interference, let alone the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan.

61. We believe that the Organization must bear responsibility for maintaining peace and security in the world. The international community cannot be oblivious of its responsibility and efforts must be made to find ways and means for a peaceful solution of this crisis. We firmly believe that such a solution is dictated not only by the need to restore peace in a vital area of the world; it is our firm conviction that a political solution based on the fundamental principles of the Charter, would serve the real, present and long-term interests of all countries of the region, including those of the Soviet Union. Experience has shown that relations of genuine friendship and co-operation between nations and peoples can be built only on the basis of equality and mutual respect and that such relations are the best guarantee of any lasting peace and security. We also believe that a political solution is possible if the countries concerned display the necessary statesmanship and political will to negotiate, and negotiate seriously, and the first element of those negotiations is the withdrawal of the foreign troops, providing the opportunity to the people of Afghanistan to choose their own destiny. That is why my delegation has co-sponsored draft resolution A/35/L.12. We believe that it contains sound provisions paving the way towards a just and honourable solution of the problem.

62. Bangladesh pledges its support for any effort directed towards bringing about a peaceful solution of this tragedy, that is Afghanistan.

63. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations reads as follows:

“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.”

64. In spite of its extreme brevity, this paragraph constitutes one of the cornerstones of the United Nations without which the Organization's objectives could not be achieved. Hence it has been the most widely quoted paragraph of the Charter, both here in the United Nations and in other international forums. I believe that there is only one explanation of this phenomenon, namely, that international relations are not yet fully free of the vestiges of the imperialist era, when foreign domination was imposed upon the colonized peoples through oppression and intimidation, in complete disregard of their religious, cultural and social heritage. Although we now see that dark era receding, the phenomenon of aggression committed against the freedom and independence of others by force has not yet fully disappeared from the international scene. This phenomenon is only obscured by a modern mask. Perhaps the importance and significance of this paragraph of the Charter lies in the fact that small nations regard it as a shield for their political independence and the right to determine their own destiny in a free manner.

65. Most of the countries of the third world have been mere spoils divided among the colonial Powers. It seems that some great Powers are keen to relive that dark past, unaware of the fact that the peoples which have liberated themselves from the yoke of colonialism will not accept its shackles again, however cruel and harsh the repression and persecution unleashed against them, and that they will oppose the sophisticated modern tanks, aircraft and weapons of the super-Powers, even with outdated weapons—that they will oppose this aggression even with their bare hands.

66. The Afghan people has unequivocally expressed its rejection of the foreign armed intervention in its internal affairs, intervention which is intended to enable a certain political group to impose its control on that country. The Afghan people has done this by resisting the intervention, in spite of the meagreness of the means available to it compared to the huge resources used by a super-Power to consolidate its intervention and to crush the national resistance movement. Yet this Moslem people has refused to submit to any other will than that of its Creator, and is continuing to pay a high price for its resistance in the blood shed by its martyrs, men, women, children and elderly people, who have met their deaths beneath the wheels of tanks and armoured vehicles in towns and villages alike.

67. The consequences of the foreign intervention in Afghanistan are not limited to loss of life. The consequences have extended to affect the very bases of the economic structure of a poor developing country

which needs to devote all its human and natural resources to the cause of economic and social development, with the assistance provided by the developed and rich countries and specialized international institutions.

68. This intervention has not only deepened dissension and hatred among the Afghan people, but by transforming Afghanistan into a battlefield it has also disrupted the normal pattern of life and the cycle of development, diverting human resources from the cause of development and progress to the course of resisting the gunfire. The military action aimed at eliminating the national resistance movement in the country, according to reports of international organizations, has led to the devastation of thousands of acres of crops and to the destruction of livestock in that country. In these circumstances the Afghan people has become exposed to famine, and reports of WHO indicate the outbreak among the people of epidemics and fatal diseases such as smallpox, tuberculosis, and leprosy, because of the lack of sufficient medical care and the shortage of medicines. All those circumstances are bound to have produced a human tragedy of frightening proportions. This tragedy is exemplified by the problem of refugees who have fled to Pakistan to escape death. The true magnitude of the problem is demonstrated by the fact that the resources of Pakistan alone are insufficient to alleviate the plight of those refugees. The problem cannot be solved through gifts of food, medicine and clothing. While those elements are vital in the present circumstances, they are no more than mere palliatives. The only remedy for the problem is that set out in paragraph 5 of the resolution on the situation in Afghanistan adopted at the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Islamabad from 17 to 22 May 1980, which strongly urged the creation of the right conditions that would permit the early return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland in security and honour [*see A/35/419-S/14129, annex I*]. It is for us to ask ourselves what those conditions are.

69. Because of its adherence to the principles of non-alignment, its adherence to the principles and objectives of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, of which it is a member, and its adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, Qatar believes that respect for the principle of the political independence and sovereignty of States demands the ending of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. Qatar also believes that every country has the right to choose its own social and political system and that no foreign country—even if it is a super-Power—has the right to support a given régime against the will of the people of a country, let alone to impose a certain type of régime by force of arms.

70. Consequently, the State of Qatar appeals to the countries of the world, great and small, to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned and Islamic character of Afghanistan. We wish to reaffirm that it is vitally important to respect the will of the Afghan people. The State of Qatar wishes to lay stress again on the provisions of resolution ES-6/2 adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth emergency special session. We also emphasize the importance of the provisions of all the relevant resolutions adopted by

the Islamic Conference in Pakistan and to highlight the demand of the Islamic countries for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

71. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): This is the second time in a single year that the General Assembly has considered the situation in Afghanistan and its consequences for international peace and security. There can be no doubt that the problem of Afghanistan is one of the most difficult and disquieting problems in the world today. The United Nations is therefore duty bound to deal with it with great seriousness and to shoulder its responsibilities in this connexion as provided in the Charter.

72. The Fascist-style aggression unleashed barely 10 months ago by the Soviet social-imperialists against Afghanistan is a serious crime against the freedom and independence of a people and a sovereign State, an arrogant challenge to all peoples, a brutal and flagrant violation of the principles and norms of international law and complete defiance of the basic provisions of the Charter.

73. Since the day the Soviet troops launched its massive and treacherous invasion of Afghanistan, a powerful wave of anger and condemnation has been building up throughout the world against the aggressive and expansionist policies of the Soviet social-imperialists and against the unjust war they are waging to subjugate the Afghan people. The occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union was vigorously condemned during the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly last January. That occupation has also been firmly denounced at many international meetings and conferences. That aggression has been condemned with vehemence by the majority of Member States since the beginning of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. And it is quite right that the peoples, progressive public opinion and all decent people should continue to raise their voices to demand the total and immediate withdrawal of the Soviet army from Afghanistan, as well as an end to all acts of aggression and interference by the Soviet Union in that country.

74. But the situation remains very serious. During the 10 months of Soviet military occupation the Afghan people has endured immense misfortune and suffering. The occupying troops and authorities, as well as their local tools, are carrying out a policy of savage terror in order to intimidate the Afghan people and compel it to cease all resistance, renounce its freedom and independence and accept life under the yoke of Moscow. In order to achieve this the general staff of the Soviet army is testing its various strategies and tactics of aggression one by one, and are making use of the most sophisticated weapons, including weapons of extermination and mass destruction. Military units of the Soviet super-Power, trained in the most elaborate tactics of modern aggressive warfare and imbued with great-Russia chauvinism and the myth of invincibility, have rushed into the attack on towns and villages in Afghanistan to kill, burn and destroy. The Soviet occupiers are now behaving in that country as fierce enemies of the human race and of nature, just as the American imperialists did during their war of aggression against Viet Nam. But we must be sure that they fare no better. They have already suffered a

considerable number of crushing defeats. Their plans to bring the Afghan people to its knees by a treacherous surprise attack failed at the outset in the face of the resistance of the people, which has often in the past succeeded in defeating great Powers that tried to colonize its land. The Afghan freedom fighters have not flinched in the face of the enemy and are not prepared to lay down their weapons as had been expected. On the contrary, day after day they show their determination to fight without quarter and intensify resistance throughout the country in spite of the extremely difficult conditions of their struggle, and the great difficulties they face in finding weapons and ammunition. They have dealt severe and repeated blows to the army of occupation and to the handful of puppet soldiers still at its service.

75. The foreign occupiers and their agents are feeling increasingly insecure amid the widespread hatred of the people. Disturbed by the situation, and to conceal their failures, the Soviet social-imperialists are waging an intense campaign of demagogy so that it may be believed that they will soon pacify Afghanistan and put an end to the resistance and struggle of the people of that country. They ceaselessly spread slander concerning the just struggle of the Afghan people in order to shake its confidence of that people and of world opinion in the chance of success and final victory. There is nothing startling about Soviet propaganda calling the Afghan freedom fighters bandits, reactionaries and terrorists. Aggressors and colonizers throughout history have had recourse to such slander to discredit national liberation struggles. This is precisely what the Israeli Zionists are doing in respect of the Palestinian fighters.

76. Together with the great campaign of deceit go the efforts made by the Soviet social-imperialists to mobilize their agents throughout the world or to urge on those who for their own reasons are predisposed to play the Soviet game to help them to justify the occupation of Afghanistan and to prevent the growth of international solidarity with the Afghan people in their struggle. The Soviet social-imperialists use every means possible to impose on the Afghan people and on the international community the fait accompli of their aggression and the occupation, with all the disastrous consequences, including the acceptance of a puppet régime. They also wish to obtain through deception and political manoeuvring what they have not been able to accomplish by force of arms and by large-scale terror.

77. But even in that area their attempts have been futile. The more bogged down they get in the quagmire of the war of aggression in Afghanistan, the more ineffective will be their demagogy and their political manoeuvring. The cynical pretexts and the ridiculous false arguments that the Soviet social-imperialists have put forward to justify their aggression cannot mislead anyone. The authors of those arguments have indeed been ridiculed throughout the world for having attempted to explain the reasons for the military intervention in Afghanistan by invoking on one occasion the so-called appeals, the reiterated and very strange appeals, of the leaders of that country for the former to send a large, heavily-equipped army to kill them and on another an alleged invitation by a non-existent Government, because we know that the



present Kabul régime was pieced together long after the Soviet invasion. And then the Moscow propaganda office put into circulation another argument according to which the USSR could not leave its friends in Afghanistan in trouble. Following that version of the infamous doctrine of limited sovereignty, we had another masterful piece of reasoning according to which the USSR had a right to intervene militarily in Afghanistan to prevent the dangers that were threatening its security on its southern borders.

78. None of this bears examination. The Soviet social-imperialists had for a long time been preparing their plans to invade their neighbour within the framework of the implementation of their expansionist and hegemonistic strategy. The Soviet army did not enter Afghanistan simply for a quick military incursion or to kill and bury Amin and set up in his place more docile servants. Contrary to the propaganda of the occupiers, the Soviet units are not a limited contingent stationed provisionally in Afghanistan. Those units were sent to stay in Afghanistan, to transform it into a stronghold and a staging-point for further attacks and new conquests with a view to the realization of the age-old dream of tsarist Russia of reaching the shores of the Indian Ocean. The USSR made it clear that it had no intention whatsoever of withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan when it insisted that its troops would stay there as long as necessary and until all foreign threats to that country had disappeared.

79. There is therefore every evidence that the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is a new dangerous escalation of the aggressive and expansionist policy and designs of the USSR. It is another proof of the continuing degeneration of Soviet social-imperialism on the path of ever-increasing militarization internally and in its behaviour at the international level.

80. In presenting to readers his new book of memoirs, entitled *The Khrushchevites*,<sup>2</sup> published recently, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, emphasized that

“... Under the leadership of the Brezhnev Khrushchevites, the Soviet Union has been turned into an imperialist world Power and, just like the United States of America, it aims at dominating the world. The tragic events in Czechoslovakia, the increased domination of the countries of the Warsaw Pact, the fact that they are ever more subjected to Moscow, the spreading of the tentacles of Soviet social-imperialism in Asia, Africa and elsewhere, all bear sad testimony to the totally reactionary policy of Soviet social-imperialism.

“The accurate assessments and forecasts of our Party concerning the reactionary domestic and foreign policy of Brezhnev are constantly being proved right. The most recent example is Afghanistan, where the Brezhnev Khrushchevites have undertaken overt Fascist aggression and are now trying by force of arms and by bloodshed to stifle the flames of the people’s war in order to prolong their social-imperialist occupation.”

81. The tragedy being experienced by the Afghan people is also the direct consequence of the rivalry

<sup>2</sup> Enver Hoxha, *The Khrushchevites* (Tirana, The “8 Nentori” Publishing House, 1980).

and plots indulged in by the imperialist super-Powers to establish hegemony and to divide up zones of influence throughout the world.

82. The American imperialists and the Chinese social-imperialists pretend to sympathize with the Afghan people and to be concerned about their struggle against Soviet occupation. In fact, it is not the sufferings of the Afghan people that are of concern to them, because they are themselves the enemies of the freedom and independence of peoples. They are also aggressors. Since the occupation of Afghanistan the United States of America and China have redoubled their efforts to strengthen every aspect of their alliance, particularly in the military field. The American imperialists have used the Afghan question as a way of distracting the attention of peoples from their own aggressive activities in various regions and in particular in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf region. The United States of America has also attempted to bring pressure to bear on its allies.

83. The chronology of events demonstrates that the occupation of Afghanistan was preceded and followed by a series of aggressive acts and plots undertaken by the two imperialist super-Powers in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf. The Soviet Union launched the attack against Afghanistan at a time when the United States was extending its threats and provocations against the Iranian anti-imperialist revolution. The American blockade of Iran and the attempt to intervene militarily in that country took place at a time when the war of aggression was running rampant in Afghanistan. The Israeli Zionists for their part were intensifying their activities in the annexation of occupied Arab territories. And, as has been demonstrated by the development of the situation in the past two months, at the same time the United States of America and the USSR were actively occupying themselves with preparing and provoking the bloody conflict between Iraq and Iran. That armed conflict has already caused vast losses and destruction in those two neighbouring countries and the Iranian people is compelled to engage in a bitter struggle, fraught with sacrifice, to repel the invasion and defend the territorial integrity of the country and the achievements of its revolution.

84. Taking into account all the events that have taken place up to the present, there is a question that cannot be evaded: in spite of the contradictions and the rivalry between the two imperialist super-Powers—the United States and the USSR—is there also a secret agreement between them that makes it possible for them to establish zones of influence in these regions? We know full well that, while there is this rivalry and distrust of one another, they know how to reach an understanding, they know how to concert their efforts and take parallel action to stifle revolutionary struggles and national liberation struggles and to prevent the awakening of peoples. Even this year the American and Soviet heads of diplomacy have not failed to find occasions for secret discussions, not to mention the other means of contact available to them.

85. The imperialist super-Powers tend to use for their own purposes the idea of a so-called political solution to the problem of Afghanistan. By a political solution, the Soviet social-imperialists mean acceptance of a certain number of arguments and conditions that they

advance from time to time and that are aimed at perpetuating the occupation of Afghanistan and creating pretexts for future aggression in the region.

86. The proposals for a political solution recommended by the United States of America or its allies are no better for the Afghan people because they make the national rights of that people subject to imperialist bargaining and deals. It would be illusory and detrimental to believe that a genuine solution can be found for the problem of Afghanistan on the basis of plans prepared by imperialism and social imperialism or that it would be in the interests of the Afghan people and of peace and stability in the world if the great Powers should succeed in reaching an accommodation with regard to Afghanistan.

87. Alleged political solutions in conditions of continuing aggression and foreign occupation have always benefited the aggressors and harmed the victims. For example, that is the case with regard to the many plots hatched under the cover of efforts at finding political or negotiated solutions to the problem of the Middle East, where the Israeli Zionists have always been able to gain the advantage and even to carry through the Camp David plot.

88. History has taught that the sure path to vanquishing foreign aggression is the national liberation armed struggle. It is thanks to such a struggle on the battlefield that the Vietnamese people scored a victory over American imperialism.

89. The Afghan people is successfully resisting Soviet occupation by taking up arms. It has the right to oppose any alleged solution to its problems which the occupiers and other imperialists might wish to impose upon it. There is but one just solution to the problem of Afghanistan. The Soviet army of occupation must be immediately and completely withdrawn from that country; any attempt by the Soviet Union to interfere in the internal affairs of the Afghan people or to impose unacceptable régimes upon it must cease; also, that people must be allowed freely to resolve its problems according to its own wishes and without any imperialist interference or foreign influence.

90. Support for the just struggle of the Afghan people and solidarity with its cause are today a duty requiring that a position of principle be adopted. That support is for the struggle that is being waged and must be waged by peoples against the same enemies, against imperialism and social imperialism and all reactionary forces. The struggle being waged by the Afghan people is an integral part of that over-all struggle.

91. The people and the Government of Albania have condemned and continue to condemn with indignation the Soviet aggression and occupation in Afghanistan. They support the just national liberation struggle of the Afghan people and are convinced that that people will, in spite of all difficulties, continue successfully to fight and eventually to drive out the aggressors from its soil.

92. Mr. BANZAR (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Mongolian delegation has from the very outset firmly objected to the inclusion of the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly as an

attempt by imperialist and hegemonist circles to use the United Nations as an instrument for blowing up the so-called events in Afghanistan and an inadmissible step aimed at gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State.

93. In his statement on 17 November [65th meeting] the representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, Mr. Dost, quite clearly once again expressed the protest of his Government with respect to the discussion at this session of the General Assembly of the question of the situation in Afghanistan. The total inconsistency of raising that question and the true picture of events taking place in Afghanistan can be seen convincingly from that statement.

94. The position of principle of the Mongolian People's Republic with respect to this question has on more than one occasion been expressed in Government documents and statements of its representatives in the United Nations and other international organizations.

95. The reasons behind the malicious and slanderous campaign unleashed by the forces of imperialism and reaction against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union can be seen, in the first place, in the fact that those forces do not find to their liking the progressive transformations being effected by the new Government of Afghanistan which has been established as the result of the victory of the national democratic forces of the revolution in that country.

96. As is known, from the very first days of the April 1978 revolution Afghanistan has been the object of aggressive designs and attempts.

97. It is no secret to anyone that such actions are directed at destroying the revolutionary conquest of the Afghan people and restoring the old feudal order in that country. A futile attempt is being made to present to the world community the situation in Afghanistan in such a light as would benefit the interests of imperialist and hegemonist circles. Aiding and abetting the internal counter-revolution by all possible means, those forces are attempting to represent the bloody deeds of the bandits and mercenaries as some sort of "struggle by the Afghans for freedom against the Marxist régime of Babrak Karmal and the Soviet occupation forces" and so on. Thus everything is being done to undermine the current process of normalization of the situation and of organizing social and economic life in the country.

98. Extensive interference in the affairs of Afghanistan is being conducted from abroad. The United States of America and Beijing, are dragging other countries into the orbit of their actions. By financing and systematically organizing the training, equipping and dispatch of armed bands of Afghan mutineers, the imperialist circles and the Chinese hegemonists are continuing to wage an undeclared war against the people of Afghanistan. The "White Book" and the "Green Book" published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have factually demonstrated the perpetration of criminal acts against that country. Numerous facts reveal that the bands of mutineers are being supplied with various types of modern weapons, including chemical weapons manufactured in the United States

whose use has already led to extensive casualties. As is known, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has declared its readiness to have competent representatives of the world community examine those chemical weapons and investigate the circumstances and conditions under which they have been used by the counter-revolutionary elements.

99. The so-called question of refugees has been artificially created and is being deliberately promoted. Allegedly, refugees have been expelled from their country and found refuge in Pakistan. That is contrary to the facts. The Pakistani authorities have stepped up their border controls and do not permit persons who have for one or another reason turned up in Pakistani territory to return to Afghan territory and are forcibly holding them back on the Pakistan side by means of threats and bribes and directing them to so-called centres where foreign instructors are training diversionary groups for the purpose of infiltrating them into the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. China is displaying great zeal in this respect and the training of extensive numbers of Afghan counter-revolutionaries is taking place in that country.

100. The presence of a limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan upon the oft-repeated request of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan must necessarily be viewed precisely in the context of the intensification of imperialist interference and the emergence of a genuine threat to the independence of Afghanistan. The assistance of the Soviet Union has frustrated the designs of the imperialist circles to convert Afghanistan into an obedient instrument of aggressive policy and created a reliable barrier to any attempts upon the independence and territorial integrity of that country.

101. In this connexion I should like to refer to an article which was reproduced in *The New York Times* on 10 August 1980, in which we read, *inter alia*, that

“... no one can deny that it is the legitimate right of all sovereign States to choose their own allies and make treaties involving military aid. We ourselves”

—speaking here of the United States—

“have 60 allies by treaty and more than 400 important foreign bases occupied by many hundreds of thousands of our troops... For our government”

—that is to say, the United States Government—

“to condemn Soviet troops in Afghanistan as a criminal invasion is a classic instance of the double standard.”

102. We would also remind those who are unleashing all manner of propaganda campaigns that the request of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, like any such request by any Government, and the fulfilment of such a request are the exclusive prerogative of the Government in question and in this present instance that request is fully in accord with the Charter, which affirms the inalienable right of States to individual and collective self-defence.

103. However surprising it may be, the Afghan question is being raised by precisely those elements which themselves interfere in the internal affairs of other States. It is typical that among the sponsors of the draft resolution on the subject under discussion

we see precisely those delegations that were active participants in exaggerating the so-called question of the situation in Kampuchea.

104. The Mongolian delegation is in favour of the achievement of a political settlement of the situation that has been produced as regards the events around Afghanistan and considers that the premises for such a settlement exist. The systematic efforts of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are aimed at achieving that purpose. They found practical reflection in the statement of that Government of 14 May of this year, in which a concrete programme of measures was put forward. If that programme were implemented it would result in the normalization of relations among the States of the region—that is, an improvement of the political climate there. What is important in our opinion is to put an end, first of all, to armed incursions, subversive activities and all forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. It is important to carry out, as proposed by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, direct bilateral negotiations, without any prior conditions, for the purpose of concluding agreements with the neighbouring countries, and in the first instance with Pakistan. Such agreements could be strengthened by appropriate political guarantees on the part of certain States, including the USSR and the United States.

105. In the context of a political settlement, we could also, of course, resolve the question of the withdrawal from Afghanistan of the limited Soviet military contingent. As has been stated by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the withdrawal of the contingent would depend upon the resolution of the question of effective guarantees with respect to bilateral agreements between Afghanistan and Pakistan and Afghanistan and Iran. The solution of the problem in this way would open up genuine prospects for easing tensions in that region of Asia.

106. As for draft resolution A/35/L.12, it is not acceptable to our delegation. Like the posing of the question, the adoption of that draft resolution would be tantamount to interference by the United Nations in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The draft resolution does not reflect the real state of affairs at all and is aimed at diverting the efforts of the international community from the most important problems affecting the vital interests of the peoples of the world. It should be pointed out in particular how dangerous it is to engage in such actions, the thrust of which is aimed at the unity of anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces.

107. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic is firmly against the artificial magnifying of the so-called Afghanistan events, which is being used by some to camouflage and justify the intensification of the arms race and their expansion into Asia and other parts of the world.

108. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): Our position regarding the agenda item under discussion is well known. We have clearly explained our stance on several occasions in the United Nations and elsewhere. Our basic position in similar cases has always been, as it is in this case, in harmony with the principle of the rejection of any use of force, regardless of whether it manifests itself in the form of military intervention

or in the form of interference in internal or external affairs, pressure, or any other form of denial of the free development of sovereign countries.

109. We proceed from the principle, to which we have always strictly adhered, that there is no justification whatsoever for denying a people, either directly or indirectly, its right to decide freely its destiny, and even less justification for depriving it of that right.

110. I wish to reiterate that our position stems from our firm attachment to the principles of the policy of non-alignment and that it is in accordance with the letter and spirit of the documents of the non-aligned movement. Ever since they constituted themselves into a movement the non-aligned countries have opposed energetically any form of intervention or interference, emphasizing explicitly that such a policy is

“... unacceptable, unjustifiable under any circumstances and incompatible with the obligations assumed by the United Nations Members under the Charter of the United Nations”.<sup>3</sup>

111. They have also resolutely rejected any attempts to justify such a policy under any pretext whatsoever from any source. In that respect, the declarations of the conferences of the non-aligned countries are unequivocal. Therefore in our options we proceed from the principles and values that the policy of non-alignment has built into international relations and made a component part of international life. It has affirmed them as a basis for finding a way out of existing crises in various parts of the world and wherever there is a tendency to legalize the use of force on the basis of “might makes right”.

112. We are concerned about the ever more frequent practice of recourse to the use of force in over-all international relations, as reflected in direct infringement of the sovereign right of countries and peoples to free development, in the unabated arms race, in the policy of spheres of interest, in the imposition of various forms of dependence and domination and in the maintenance of the existing system of inequitable international economic and political relations. All this poses a constant threat to the economic and social emancipation of a number of independent countries and results in local, regional and so-called limited conflicts and hotbeds of crisis directly threatening peace.

113. The present general deterioration in the international situation is due to precisely such a policy. For this reason we see opposition to all forms of the use of force and efforts to find political solutions as a means of preserving détente as a universal process, consolidating it and transforming it into an irreversible movement towards world peace. Otherwise, détente will be constantly jeopardized by the emergence of new hotbeds of crisis, liable, since an indivisible process is involved, adversely to affect stability in every part of the globe. Actually, détente can be stable only if every country, large or small, regardless of its size, level of development, social system or military or economic might, can ensure its security and free national and social development.

114. Developments in the world have confirmed that it is not possible to find solutions either to regional or

global problems, or to establish stable relations in the world without ensuring respect for the right of all peoples and countries to national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and free development. This is borne out by the situation prevailing in all foci of crisis, from the Middle East and southern Africa through central Asia to South-East Asia and elsewhere.

115. As a matter of fact, the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to free development and free choice of social system represent the essence of the struggle for new international political and economic relations. Non-respect for and violation of these principles have the effect of weakening this struggle in all spheres, including those of détente, disarmament and the establishment of the new international economic order, and wherever there is a need for common efforts to solve crucial international issues.

116. It is obvious that, in the contemporary conditions of a general awakening of peoples and countries no problems can be solved by force and still less can solutions be sought in attempts to impose an alien will on independent countries. Therefore, the solution of the Afghan crisis should in our view be sought within political frameworks. Such a solution, in order to be realistic and just, must involve the withdrawal of foreign troops, respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Afghanistan and for the right of its people to choose freely its own social system, the obligation of all countries not to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and other countries in that region and to respect their independence, and the establishment of normal relations among the countries of the region.

117. We consider that the role of the United Nations as a catalyst of positive efforts towards negotiations is irreplaceable with regard to the achievement of a peaceful solution.

118. My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/35/L.12 as it is essentially an expression of efforts to move forward towards the solution of the crisis. We are convinced that, provided all parties make constructive efforts and provided all legitimate interests in security, independence and free development are preserved, the way can be paved for a political solution of this crisis which threatens the peace in the region and beyond it.

119. The worsening situation in the world, especially in the region of central Asia and in the Gulf, impels all of us to approach this problem with a high sense of responsibility and urgency. Otherwise, as a result of the very logic of confrontation, it will become ever more difficult to eliminate this focal point of crisis. The danger is becoming ever more immediate, as tensions in the broader region are rising, military presence is strengthened, overt or covert forms of pressure are increasingly exerted against sovereign countries, military bases and other strong points are established—all this having the effect of gradually altering the physiognomy of the whole broader and narrower region.

120. Therefore it is indispensable that increased efforts be exerted in order that conditions may be

<sup>3</sup> See A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 245.

created for halting and reversing such a negative development.

121. Mr. ABDALLA (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is indeed regrettable that the General Assembly should be obliged for the second time in less than a year to examine the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. Had it not been for the perpetuation of the causes that led the international community last January to hold an emergency special session of the General Assembly following the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan, here today in the Assembly we would have been examining another of the crisis which have been on the agenda of the Assembly for more than 30 years.

122. Thus, although almost a year has elapsed, foreign troops are still in Afghanistan, threatening with imminent danger the future of the region and thereby posing a direct threat to international peace and security. In the face of this grave situation, the delegations of more than 30 countries, including the Sudan, requested the inclusion of an item to be examined by the General Assembly during its current session [A/35/144 and Add.1] in order that appropriate measures might be adopted for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, for the safeguarding of the independence, neutrality, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and to permit its people to determine its own destiny and to choose the social and political system which is in keeping with its own aspirations and conditions.

123. Despite the good intentions which led us to request the inclusion of this item, we categorically reject the doubts expressed by some speakers concerning the motives of all those who have openly opposed the armed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan or who have sponsored draft resolution A/35/L.12. Our rejection of these expressions of doubt spring from the fact that the contribution of my country in expressing its view on this question and its support for the relevant draft resolution were not inspired merely by a desire to express the solidarity of our people with the brother people of Afghanistan, with whom we are bound by age-old ties, nor merely by the fact that our two peoples have come together within the framework of the non-aligned movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference in this modern age. Our contribution is also motivated by our belief in the principles of the Charter, which should guide all Member States in their international relations, and by our commitment to the principles of the maintenance of international peace and security.

124. Although the peoples of the third world have been grateful to the Soviet Union for its assistance and support and their just wars against imperialism and for independence and freedom and in their struggles against the policy of *apartheid*, and for its support for liberation movements in Palestine, Namibia and South Africa, those people cannot but feel a deep sense of disappointment when they see a major Power, committed by virtue of its permanent membership in the Security Council to certain responsibilities in the safeguarding of international peace and security, commit armed intervention against a developing non-aligned nation of the third world, a people that cannot possibly constitute any direct or immediate threat or

danger to the peace and security of a country such as the Soviet Union.

125. Thus, our opposition to the violation of Afghanistan's sovereignty should be viewed in the light of our defence of the sacred principles enshrined in the Charter. The countries of the third world and the non-aligned countries cannot but struggle, within the framework of the General Assembly, against the policy of the use or threat of the use of force, against expansionist interests, against the policies of blocs, and against all forms of dependency and subjugation. Otherwise, international détente will collapse, and the absence of even a minimum degree of restraint will undoubtedly lead our world to rivalry and confrontation and the escalation of the arms race. There will be increased disorder and, because of their rivalry, the Powers will attempt further to increase their spheres of influence. I need not remind the Assembly of the dangers that such a trend poses to the countries of the third world.

126. That is why the non-aligned movement has rejected the struggle of the major Powers to divide the world into spheres of influence. That movement realizes the adverse effects that such a struggle would have; it would deprive the peoples of their national right to sovereignty and to the exploitation of their natural resources. That rejection took concrete form in the adoption of a number of basic principles to govern the policy of non-alignment in international relations: the principle of total commitment to the right of every State to safeguard its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as its right to non-intervention in its internal affairs; the principle of the inadmissibility of the use or threat of the use of force; the principle that there should be no recognition of the results of aggression or the usurpation of territory by force.

127. We have referred to the principles of non-alignment, which are enshrined also in the Charter and the constitutions and charters of various regional organizations to which the majority of non-aligned countries belong. On that basis, the Sudan, which has the honour of belonging to various regional and international organizations, unreservedly denounces and condemns any and all forms of intervention in the internal affairs of States, regardless of their source, size, justification or location. The Sudan, which has chosen to adopt this attitude, affirms once again its rejection of the use of a double standard in connexion with these situations—that is, on the one hand condemning foreign intervention and, on the other, maintaining silence about it.

128. The current crisis in Afghanistan is linked to the crucial question of the sovereign right of the Afghan people to self-determination and to administer its own affairs. Hence, it was only natural for the Organization of the Islamic Conference to seek a peaceful solution to the crisis. To that end, the Foreign Ministers of the countries members of that organization held two meetings this year. The resolutions adopted during those meetings did not go beyond what was said in resolution ES-6/2, adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth emergency special session, held in January of this year—a resolution supported by the majority of the non-aligned countries. Hence, we cannot but

express our deep regret at the failure to provide the conditions suitable for the success of these efforts.

129. We would have preferred the Soviet Union to view the efforts exerted by the Organization of the Islamic Conference towards a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Afghanistan as a reflection of the responsibilities shouldered by the Conference towards the Afghan people, whose rights have been violated and who have been left with no choice but to struggle to express their rejection of a Government imposed upon them against their will.

130. The social and political system prevailing in Afghanistan today is alien to the Moslem people. It was natural that, in view of the far-reaching ideological effects of the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan, which run counter to the Moslem faith and ideology, the people of Afghanistan found in the Islamic Conference the understanding and assistance they required. The Islamic Conference, in exercising its responsibility, was not alone, it received the support of the international community represented in the General Assembly.

131. During the current session, the international community is called upon to champion the sacred principles enshrined in the Charter, principles which are threatened in Afghanistan. It should resolve to support the people of Afghanistan, to restore their sovereign right to self-determination, to decide their own future. The United Nations should exert every effort to safeguard full recognition of and respect for the principles of national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and equality of rights, as well as the right of peoples to social and national development in freedom. To that end, the General Assembly should support draft resolution A/35/L.12, which the Foreign Minister of Pakistan introduced here. By adopting that draft resolution, the Assembly would be reaffirming the sacred principles enshrined in the Charter and would be signalling a victory for the will of the international community, which has chosen these principles to govern its international relations.

132. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): This is the second time this year that the delegation of Turkey has come before the Assembly to set forth its view on the subject of the situation in Afghanistan. That has been made necessary by the fact that the Afghan people, so devoted to the principles of freedom and human dignity, are still deprived of their fundamental and inalienable right to self-determination and to decide their own destiny, and by the fact that the country remains the victim of foreign military intervention and interference.

133. As a nation that has always maintained traditional brotherly ties with the Afghan people, Turkey is deeply sensitive to the suffering endured by that people on its own soil, and is particularly disturbed about the physical and spiritual fate of the ever-increasing number of Afghan refugees forced to seek shelter outside their country.

134. Turkey has followed the development of events in Afghanistan with the greatest concern. From the very beginning, it disapproved of the foreign military intervention and interference in the domestic affairs of that country, describing those actions as grave violations of the basic rules of conduct governing

relations between sovereign States. We feel that the situation in Afghanistan represents not only a threat to the stability of the region, but also a danger to international peace and security as a whole. From that standpoint, we cannot but note the deterioration in the international political picture that has resulted from the events in Afghanistan; those events have had a retrogressive effect, leading to an increase in tension at the expense of détente, which we regard as a process indispensable, indeed crucial, to the safeguarding of peace throughout the world and which, as such, can be neither partial nor geographically limited; its indivisible character must be recognized and respected by all.

135. Accordingly, Turkey feels that it is both imperative and urgent to bring about a political settlement for Afghanistan. Such a settlement must involve, *inter alia*, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of Afghanistan and the re-establishment of conditions that will make it possible for the Afghan people to take in hand their own affairs and to become masters once again of their own destiny without any foreign interference. Moreover, this settlement must provide the refugees with an opportunity to return to their homeland in security and dignity. It goes without saying, along this line of thinking, that any lasting solution must guarantee for all time the national sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan.

136. Turkey has from the beginning maintained and encouraged the efforts aimed at a political solution of the problem of Afghanistan and has supported all resolutions adopted for this purpose, in particular those within the United Nations and at the Islamic Conference.

137. We are convinced that the United Nations must make its contribution to the creation of conditions that will lead to the elaboration of a politically negotiated solution for Afghanistan. We are of the opinion that draft resolution A/35/L.12, of which Turkey is a sponsor, contains the principles and essential elements necessary for a just settlement of the question of Afghanistan. We feel that such a resolution must not itself seek to present any given solution. It must try only to promote such a solution through negotiations. In this sense we feel that the general content of the draft resolution is both constructive and balanced. We are of the opinion that the appointment of a special representative of the Secretary-General who would carry out his task within the framework of the mandate assigned to him by that resolution would represent not inconsiderable progress towards a negotiated political solution.

138. We call on all States to have particular regard to the moderate style and the realistic and constructive formulation of the draft resolution before and, above all, after the Assembly votes on it. Our action within the United Nations must bring us closer to a political settlement in Afghanistan and not lead us further away from it, because, as we have already said, it is imperative and urgent to find a solution to this problem so as to restore their rights to the people of Afghanistan and make it possible for the refugees to return to their country. This solution is just as essential for the restoration of peace and stability in the region as for the elimination of a source of conflict that threatens

world peace and security, without overlooking the fact that it would have a beneficial effect as regards the proper pursuit of the process of détente.

139. Mr. AL-ELFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Within the context of the political and propaganda campaign that is being waged by the imperialist and reactionary forces, we are witnessing for the second time, unfortunately, an attempt to push the General Assembly into discussing the so-called situation in Afghanistan. This constitutes a violation of the Charter in view of the opposition of the Government of Afghanistan, which represents the Afghan people and its aspirations and is a Member of the United Nations. This debate constitutes interference in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and is a deliberate attempt to cast doubt on the national choices of the people of Afghanistan and on other liberal and progressive régimes. It therefore constitutes an open attempt by the imperialist forces to justify their presence in the region and their acts of aggression, the object of which is to dominate the peoples in the region and obstruct their liberation movements.

140. What has taken place in Afghanistan since the revolution of 27 April 1978 is an internal matter concerning Afghanistan and falls within the competence of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The Afghan people are today building their new society, which is serving the toiling masses that in the past suffered injustice and oppression under the monarchy, which has now been overthrown. Those toiling masses were forced to remain in a very long time in conditions of under-development and privation. The democratic and progressive reforms in the political, economic, social and other fields and the guaranteeing of the rights and democratic freedoms of the masses in Afghanistan are evidence of the fundamental principles on which the April revolution was based. When the imperialist forces realized the true scope of these reforms in Afghanistan and their effects on their interests in the region, they started to put into operation their plots and schemes designed to frustrate the Afghan revolution, using reactionary forces inside the country and assistance from abroad, taking advantage of counter-revolutionary forces whose interests had suffered as a result of the revolution of April 1978. So these forces were exploited to carry out acts of sabotage and to prevent the Afghan people from following its chosen course.

141. In Democratic Yemen we fully understand the nature of these imperialist plots, because since the attainment of our independence in 1967 we have had to deal with similar situations. Thanks to the alertness of our people, we have frustrated all those imperialist plots and designs and have been able to fulfil the aspirations of our people and its ambition to live in peace and improve its living conditions both materially and spiritually. This has been accomplished through radical revolutionary reforms in all fields. Our people has made many sacrifices and is making more to this end.

142. The people of Afghanistan, in pursuing its goals, which are set out in the Fundamental Principles of the April revolution, and exercising its right to freedom and independence and to choose its own social régime in complete freedom, has had to deal with numerous

imperialist plans and designs, which manifested themselves in acts of aggression, sabotage, pressure and political propaganda campaigns carried out on a large scale by the organs of imperialism and their agents in order to smother the Afghan revolution. This induced the Government of Afghanistan to ask for military aid from the Soviet Union in confronting the danger of aggression and the imperialist plots, so that it could guarantee the territorial sovereignty and integrity of Afghanistan and defend the achievements of the April revolution. The favourable response of the Soviet Union to the request of the Government of Afghanistan is in keeping with the Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Co-operation signed between the two countries on 5 December 1978 and with the provisions of the Charter and international law as a whole. The Charter guarantees to each sovereign State the right to ask for aid from any other State in order to defend its independence and sovereignty.

143. Imperialism the world over, headed by United States imperialism, whose history is filled with examples of aggressive practices, continual threats to use force and flagrant interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and peoples, cannot deceive our peoples by shedding tears over Afghanistan or stability and security in the region on the pretext that there is some alleged enemy in that country. The real dangers that the peoples and States in our region have to deal with are the imperialist and Zionist plots, the purpose of which is to perpetuate imperialist domination in the region and especially to destroy the national causes of the peoples of the area, first and foremost the national cause of the Palestinian people.

144. The United States is increasing its military presence in this region, with its naval units in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, its various military bases and the installation of a rapid deployment force, in order to block the progress of our peoples and frustrate their attempt to exercise their right to sovereignty and independence and to exploit their national resources. Furthermore, obstacles are being put in the way of their independent social development. As a result of all these measures the peoples and nations of the region are still faced with the danger of imperialist intervention and are concerned about their stability and security.

145. The common interests of all the States of the region are such that they must necessarily use dialogue among themselves as an important element in maintaining and establishing peace and stability in the region and in concerting their efforts to deal with imperialist interference in the region. In order that this dialogue may take place it is necessary to refrain from any action that might lead to the deterioration of the situation, to establish the conditions conducive to the settlement of urgent common problems and to improve relations among the peoples of the area on the basis of respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence and the principle of non-aggression and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

146. In this connexion, we support the constructive proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 14 May 1980, as well as the proposals submitted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan during the present

discussion [65th meeting]. The implementation of those proposals would contribute to the security and stability of the region. There is no doubt that if other States of the region were to respond favourably to those proposals, it would be possible for negotiations to begin with a view to reaching agreement on the settlement of common problems.

147. Democratic Yemen wishes to reaffirm its position. We support the people of Afghanistan, in its struggle under the direction of the People's Democratic Party, to fulfil the principles of the April revolution,

to maintain its independence and national sovereignty and to follow the path of social progress which it has freely chosen. We consider that to pretend that tension has increased in the region does not serve the cause of peace and stability therein, and will not lead to concerted efforts to overcome the imperialist threats to which our region is exposed. In our view, draft resolution A/35/L.12 will not serve to reduce tension in the area.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*