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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
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AGENDA ITEM 116

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

1. Mr. DAUDLIN (Canada): At the beginning of this year, an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly condemned the grave breach of international peace which was committed by the Soviet Union through its armed intervention in Afghanistan. In resolution ES-6/2 the Assembly reaffirmed the fundamental principle of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Members of the Organization and called for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. It is a matter of deep regret to Canada that, more than nine months after the States Members of the United Nations joined in condemning aggression against one of its Members, the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan continues, and so does the suffering that it has brought with it.

2. The actions of the Soviet Union and its friends in Kabul over the last nine months would seem to have conclusively contradicted their own arguments justifying the military intervention. The introduction of so-called limited military contingents at the request of the Afghan leader allegedly to rescue Afghanistan from external aggression can now clearly be seen as a disguise for direct and massive intervention and long-term involvement. The leader who it was claimed had requested assistance from the Soviet Union is dead and hundreds of his supporters have been removed from Government and, in many cases, have shared the same fate as their leader.

3. The level of Soviet military involvement, in spite of an announcement earlier this year of partial withdrawals, has not in reality been reduced and now numbers close to 100,000 men. The Government in Kabul that was supposed to have been resisting external aggression with the help of Soviet Forces now finds the administration in many key positions being carried out by so-called advisers from the Soviet Union. In reality, either directly or indirectly, the administration of government in Afghanistan has

largely been taken over by the Soviet Union and its agents.

4. The facts remain the same today as they have been from the outset of the Soviet invasion; that is, Soviet forces are not defending Afghanistan against anything. The Soviets are themselves the aggressors, and with each passing week the horrors inflicted upon the people of Afghanistan by this aggression are increased.

5. A stark indication of the near total rejection of both the Soviet presence and the compliant Soviet-supported Government in Kabul has been the inspiring resistance of the Afghan people to an alien army of occupation. In conditions of privation and often great danger, they continue their struggle. While the full extent of the fighting is not known, it is evident that through the use of sophisticated military hardware large numbers of civilians have been killed, villages destroyed and the economy hopelessly disrupted.

6. A further dimension of the tragedy is the spectacle of the flight of hundreds of thousands of refugees into exile. They are for the most part simple people who possess few of life's material benefits. They know, however, that they wish to live according to their own governmental, political and social system and to practise their own religion without interference. The current situation of those people, gathered in refugee camps and deprived of their means of livelihood, is a shocking reminder of the oppressive nature of the Soviet-backed régime in Kabul.

7. It must also be recognized that the suffering of the people of Afghanistan constitutes a grim reminder for all those who live in the shadow of Soviet power. The invasion of Afghanistan has revealed that the Soviet leadership has been prepared to unleash its military might to intervene in a neighbouring country which could not possibly in any way threaten it—nor ever has. Independent nations bordering that huge country are fully justified in their feelings of apprehension. How can the future be faced by them, or indeed by any of us, with confidence if a powerful nation reserves to itself the right to subjugate its neighbours at will? We must work together to ensure that in the future the Charter of the United Nations, with its concerns for the protection of the rights of small States, will be honoured.

8. The consequences of the Soviet intervention for the people of Afghanistan and the threats to the countries of the region are all too evident. Another consequence has been the damage it has done to the interests of the world community as a whole. A terrible price has been paid as a result of the generation of the atmosphere of tension and distrust which has come to permeate East-West relations.

9. Canada believes that for the peace and security of all the world it is of paramount importance that the

process of détente not be abandoned. However, the refusal of the Soviet Union to alter its course in Afghanistan is having a cumulatively negative impact on the détente process. In particular, and very regrettably, the prospects of an early implementation of important arms limitation measures, which Members of the United Nations so earnestly desire, have received a serious setback. The Western countries have been forced to reconsider their perceptions of the meaning of détente and, against the background of its actions in Afghanistan, to ask themselves to what degree détente is a genuine commitment on the part of the Soviet Union.

10. The Soviet Union has justified its action on grounds of security—the security of Afghanistan and the security of the Soviet Union. Surely, if either Afghanistan or the Soviet Union were faced with real threats to its security, these could be dealt with through the established international machinery of which the Organization is a vital part. In its provisions, including the proposals for the appointment of a special representative by the Secretary-General, draft resolution A/35/L.12 which is before us offers just such a solution. It clears the way for the Soviet Union to prove its good faith and substitute negotiation for oppression in dealing with Afghanistan.

11. So far, one of the most profoundly disturbing aspects of the tragic developments in Afghanistan has been the apparent total unresponsiveness of the Soviet Union to the international efforts directed towards achieving a just solution to the crisis. Not only was resolution ES-6/2, adopted by the Assembly last January, ignored, as if the world community had never passed judgement on the situation, but the Soviet Union has also disregarded the united efforts of the Islamic nations to fashion an honourable resolution of the problem which would protect the interests of their Afghan friends and reinforce the rights of all small States. Furthermore, many non-aligned countries individually and in combination have striven to convince the Soviet Union that its actions in Afghanistan are simply unacceptable.

12. Canada has welcomed the efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in the search for a political solution and supports expressions of international concern over the violations of the sovereignty and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. For their part many Western countries, including Canada, have taken specific measures in an attempt to demonstrate to the Soviets the intensity of the adverse reaction which the invasion has aroused.

13. Over the past 35 years, the Assembly has played a vital role in bringing down the curtain on the era of colonialism. One reason that it was able to do so was that the colonial Powers were responsive to the currents of history and the voices of world opinion. It is particularly disheartening to observe that the Soviet leadership, which gave such vocal support to decolonization, seems prepared to ignore both history and world opinion while attempting to crush the resistance of a fiercely proud and independent people and reduce its country to colonial status.

14. Finally, I should like to address an appeal to the Soviet delegation. It should think hard about the implications of refusing to accept a draft resolution

the objective of which is solely to establish the right of the Afghan people to manage their own affairs without outside interference. The draft resolution is couched in terms of such moderation that we would find it very difficult to understand why any country genuinely committed to the freedom and independence of small nations could fail to support it. Canada would have preferred that the wording match more closely the terms of the resolution adopted by the Assembly in January but we understand the motivation of the sponsors in making every effort to devise proposals which are compellingly acceptable. For this reason, the Canadian delegation supports the draft resolution and hopes that it will receive a massive endorsement from the nations of the Assembly.

15. We take particular note of the reference in the draft resolution to the need to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan. We also endorse the attention it directs to the plight of the refugees. We very much hope that the proposal that the Secretary-General appoint a special representative to work towards a political solution will lead to real progress.

16. Finally, we hope that the adoption of this draft resolution will cause the Soviet Union, mindful of its responsibilities as a great and immensely powerful nation, to think again, and to allow the people of Afghanistan to decide their own future, thereby reversing the backward step the Soviets have taken towards the re-establishment of colonialism—just as colonialism was disappearing from the face of the earth.

17. Mr. McHENRY (United States of America): Less than a year ago the conscience of the world was shocked by the grim events in Afghanistan: a massive invasion by Soviet armed forces, the overthrow of the Amin régime and the killing of its leaders, and the launching of a campaign of violence and terror against the Afghan people by Soviet forces and their Afghan surrogates.

18. There is nothing new in the Soviet Union's use of force to maintain its dominion over other nations. The pattern set in 1953, when Soviet troops put down the East German workers' uprising, was repeated in 1956 in the bloody suppression of the Hungarian revolution and in 1968 in the destruction of Czechoslovakia's experiment in liberalization. Now, in 1980, the Soviet Union has gone beyond Eastern Europe to assault the independence of a non-aligned and Islamic nation—a nation intensely proud of its culture and religion.

19. Its attack and the cynical demand that client States recognize the reality of military occupation are in blatant violation of the most important principles of international law and the Charter: that a State must not use force against the territorial and political independence of another State; that a nation must settle international disputes by peaceful means; that all States must respect the principle of self-determination; and that human rights must be respected by all Governments.

20. The Soviet intervention and occupation was also—and remains today—a serious threat to the security and stability of an important and strategic region of the world.

21. The United Nations responded urgently to the Afghanistan crisis. We joined in supporting a draft resolution in the Security Council which called for withdrawal of Soviet forces.¹ But for a veto by the Soviet Union it would have been adopted. As a result, an overwhelming majority of the members of the Assembly swiftly adopted a resolution in an emergency special session on 14 January, which called for immediate withdrawal of foreign troops and restoration of freedom and sovereignty for the Afghan people. Since then, the invasion and occupation have been condemned by virtually all major international bodies, including the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers on 29 January and again on 21 May, the Commission on Human Rights on 14 February, the Foreign Ministers of the European Community and the Association of South-East Asian Nations on 7 March, and the Interparliamentary Union Council on 12 April and again on 24 September.

22. Notwithstanding those urgent appeals, the crisis has deepened in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union has ignored the mandate of 14 January. It has pursued and intensified its policy of military intervention and occupation, in total disregard of world opinion.

23. In the face of the Assembly's demand for withdrawal of Soviet troops, Moscow has increased its force—which it describes as a "limited contingent"—from 50,000 men in early January to 85,000 today. And more than 30,000 Soviet troops are massed just across the border of the Soviet Union.

24. In defiance of the Assembly's appeal for the restoration of sovereignty and self-determination for Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has sought to tighten its political and military grip on that country through a régime which is entirely dependent upon Soviet armed might for its very survival. It should be clear to all that this régime does not and cannot represent the people of Afghanistan. And in violation of the Assembly's appeal to refrain from coercion and constraint, the Soviet Union and its Afghan agents have waged a brutal campaign of violence and terror in an effort to subdue the Afghan people.

25. But the Soviet Union has failed to achieve its grim objective in Afghanistan. The Afghan people have resisted in a struggle for national liberation. And for all the Soviet Union's divisions, its sophisticated weaponry and its ruthless methods, including arbitrary arrests and imprisonment, the Soviet Union has failed to crush this struggle. Soviet forces have failed entirely to pacify the countryside. They are confined to the towns and cities, which are armed camps. And even there, guerrilla attacks on Soviet personnel and strikes and demonstrations against the invader are commonplace.

26. The struggle of the Afghan people to recover their freedom and independence is an inspiration to those who oppose tyranny. But the cost of their struggle has been high. Even as we meet today, more Afghan freedom fighters are dying, and more fields and villages are being laid waste as Soviet forces use the tactics of terror to impose a Soviet peace. Their tragedy is unfolding in a country which, since its independence

in 1921, has consistently followed a policy of neutrality and non-alignment.

27. In spite of the cloak of Soviet censorship, these facts of Soviet aggression in Afghanistan speak for themselves. The Soviet Union stands condemned in the eyes of the world. Yet it persists in trying to mask its aggression by casting the blame on others.

28. Moscow claims that it intervened in Afghanistan at the request of a former régime, in response to some undefined external threat to that country. That was, of course, the same régime whose leader was murdered when Soviet troops assaulted and subdued the Afghan State on 29 December last year. In the declaration of 14 May issued by the Soviet-controlled authorities in Kabul, Moscow argued that peace could be restored only through agreements between the Kabul régime and the neighbouring States of Pakistan and Iran, whereby those States and others would in effect accept the illegal military occupation and guarantee an end to the Afghan resistance. While continuing to support those unacceptable proposals, the Soviets have shown no interest in the initiative of the Islamic Conference or in other proposals for a just political settlement that would restore genuine freedom and independence to Afghanistan.

29. Moscow's claims that some external threat to Afghanistan justified its invasion and that an independent Government requested its assistance are simply unacceptable. Moreover, I wish to emphasize that the charges of the representative of the Soviet Union and those of Mr. Dost during this debate [65th meeting] that the Afghan resistance is dependent upon the United States and other nations are cynical fabrications unworthy of further comment. The world knows that the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and that it did so to suppress an indigenous Islamic insurgency which had long been struggling against an unpopular régime. The world also knows that that resistance movement is an expression of the powerful nationalism of the Afghan people and that the Kabul régime is a fiction manufactured in Moscow and marketed by the force of Soviet arms.

30. The real threat to Afghanistan is the presence of 85,000 Soviet troops who have illegally invaded and illegally occupied that country in gross violation of international law. The Soviet Union is locked in a conflict with the Afghan people. The cost of that conflict is mounting, most of all for the Afghan people but for others as well. For the Soviet Union the cost is heavy: international condemnation, increased isolation and the burden of a futile and seemingly endless war. For the other nations of South-West Asia, security and well-being are endangered while Soviet forces remain in Afghanistan. The use of force by the Soviet Union against a non-aligned neighbour with which it has a treaty of friendship means that every nation in the area is less secure.

31. Yet the will of the Afghans to resist is legendary. In the troubled times of 1941 the Grand National Council, or *Loya Jirga*, met to reaffirm Afghan neutrality. The Council adopted these concluding words in its resolution of 6 November 1941:

The Afghan nation has at no time been under any obligation to a foreign Government, nor will it ever be. The nation has always been free and will

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1980, document S/13729.*

also in the future maintain its free and independent existence. By the help of God, the people of Afghanistan are unanimously prepared to live a life of honour by defending their rights with all their material and spiritual forces, even to the point of shedding the last drop of blood."

Those words ring even louder today than then, for we are now witness to this same stubborn resistance in defence of honour and in defence of national rights.

32. Members of the United Nations have an obligation to find a solution to this impasse in accordance with the principles of the Charter. The draft resolution we are now considering offers a constructive approach. Yet some delegations have attempted to characterize support of this draft resolution as an unfriendly act. The real unfriendly act was the invasion of Afghanistan. This draft resolution deserves the support of every Member of this body. It has three elements which are essential for a solution and the United States is firmly committed to them: the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; the right of the Afghans to self-determination, free from outside intervention; and the need for a peaceful solution of the problem based on the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the non-aligned character of Afghanistan.

33. The draft resolution also addresses the tragedy of the Afghan refugees with an appeal for continued relief aid and a solution that will enable them to return to their homes. The flood of refugees, now more than 1.2 million in Pakistan and several hundred thousand more elsewhere, represents one tenth of the population of Afghanistan. Their flight is further dramatic evidence of the upheaval and suffering the Soviet invasion has caused.

34. Finally, this draft resolution goes a step beyond that of 14 January by expressing the hope that the Secretary-General will appoint a special representative with a view to promoting a political solution in accordance with the provisions of the present draft resolution.

35. In the past the Soviet Union has shown no willingness to discuss a political settlement except on the basis of formulas of its own which ignore the need for the prompt withdrawal of Soviet troops. Such formulations, which essentially seek to preserve the present Kabul régime, are no solution to the plight of Afghanistan. They offer neither peace nor freedom for the Afghan people. Nor do they offer any prospect for meeting the security interests of the region in question or of the rest of the world, or indeed the security interests of the Soviet Union.

36. In contrast, the approach of the draft resolution we are now considering offers a new opportunity for Moscow to change its course and to meet its international obligations. It points the way towards a genuinely independent, non-aligned and neutral Afghanistan, free of foreign troops, free of foreign intervention and with a Government acceptable to the Afghan people. Such an outcome would deliver Afghanistan from its present ordeal and it would pose no threat to the legitimate interests of the Soviet Union in the security of its borders. The United States supports a political settlement based on those principles.

37. None of us can rest until a just peace in Afghanistan is achieved. The Afghanistan crisis must remain at the top of the agenda of the Organization until this grave source of international tension is removed and removed permanently. If all of us, including the Soviet Union, can summon the necessary will and courage, such a settlement for Afghanistan can be accomplished on the basis of the principles of the draft resolution we are now considering. We must, all of us, commit ourselves to that goal.

38. Mr. MATHIAS (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): The situation that prevails in Afghanistan as a result of the Soviet military intervention in that country is being followed by my Government with the greatest apprehension. My delegation had occasion to stress the seriousness attached to that flagrant violation of elementary principles of international law, following that intervention, at the meeting of the Security Council on 6 January of this year that was called urgently in order to deal with the matter. During the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly, following the Soviet veto in the Security Council, before the Assembly we once again stated our opposition to the aggression by a super-Power against a non-aligned Member of the Organization.²

39. The recourse to force, interference in the internal affairs of a State and violation of its territorial integrity, not to mention the aftermath of suffering and grief for the Afghan people, constitute intolerable and unjustifiable aggression that threatens not only the stability of the region but also international peace and security.

40. However, in the face of all that, on those occasions we expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would fulfil its responsibilities within the international community, put an immediate end to its intervention and withdraw its forces from Afghanistan in order to enable the Afghan people freely to decide its political, religious, economic, and social future free of interference of any kind. We waited and hoped in vain. It is nearly a year since, under the unbelievable and tragically absurd pretext of a treaty of friendship that permitted military assistance aimed at overthrowing the very Government that was supposed to have requested it, Afghanistan was invaded. In the course of the months since then approximately 2 million Afghans have had to flee their occupied country. In their poverty and their grief, deprived of everything, they bear poignant witness to a people crushed, a people that some wish to humiliate.

41. We shall vote in favour of draft resolution A/35/L.12 because we wish thus to reaffirm our rejection of Soviet Aggression, because we believe that the text of that draft resolution contains the positive and constructive elements necessary for a peaceful settlement of the present situation in Afghanistan and because it represents an appeal for respect for the elementary principles of justice and international law, the persistent violation of which threatens the fragile balance in international relations and blatantly flouts the legitimate desire of peoples for a policy of dialogue and consultation.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting, paras. 174-180.*

42. Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to begin by once again expressing the strong objection of my delegation to the General Assembly's considering agenda item 116, entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security". Almost two months ago, when the General Assembly was considering the first report of the General Committee, on 19 September, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic expressed its strong objection [3rd meeting] to the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the thirty-fifth session.

43. Our position was and remains inspired not by any sort of partisan politics but by scrupulous respect for the principles and norms of international law and for the lofty principles of the Charter as clearly enunciated in Article 2, paragraph 7, which I should once again like to quote:

"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 or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter".

Therefore, pursuant to that Article of the Charter is quite obvious, whatever pretexts are adduced, that the action in which the General Assembly is engaged is not only illegal, and therefore binding upon no one, but also dangerous because it creates a precedent that might well be followed to the detriment of other sovereign Members of the Organization, particularly the medium-sized and small States that belong to the great family of the non-aligned and the developing world in general. Today it is the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a sovereign State and a full-fledged Member of the United Nations, that is courageously facing this grave violation of the Charter. But whose turn will it be tomorrow?

44. I would therefore invite all my colleagues here representing non-aligned countries and developing countries in general to give mature thought to this matter, which is of crucial importance for the peace and stability of our countries and for the peaceful toil of our peoples.

45. If there is a "situation" in Afghanistan, should not its settlement be left to the wisdom of the Afghan people, using the ways and means they deem most appropriate? Why should we arrogate to ourselves the right to do this for them—and, furthermore, against their will?

46. In this connexion the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Shah Mohammad Dost, in his enlightening statement at the 65th meeting of the Assembly, expressed his country's most categorical opposition to this regrettable undertaking, which he quite rightly considered to be flagrant and deliberate interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. We entirely share his viewpoint.

47. That is why we agreed with him and other delegations to oppose from the very outset the manoeuvres being carried out by imperialist, hegemonistic and international reactionary forces that have attempted artificially to create a problem concerning Afghanistan

in order to involve the United Nations in overt intervention in the internal affairs of the Afghan people and Government in the hope of recovering the ground they lost as a result of the decisive blows struck against them by the forces of peace and progress in Afghanistan.

48. Self-respecting non-aligned countries, whatever their religious faith, should not allow themselves to be involved in the irresponsible adventure being carried out by the imperialists, hegemonists and other reactionary circles, an adventure that sooner or later may well work against their own interests.

49. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, which was for many years a victim of the deceit and aggression of the imperialists and which carried on a stubborn and self-sacrificing struggle against those forces until final victory, fully understands and completely supports the heroic struggle of the brotherly Afghan people, under the leadership of its legal Government, presided over by Mr. Babrak Karmal, to eliminate all the consequences of feudalism, which was closely linked with international reaction and imperialism, thus ridding itself of obscurantism, poverty and all the evils that have stemmed from the retrograde régime of the past.

50. The victorious revolution of April 1978, which is the finest page written in the history of the Afghan people, was the inevitable outcome of a lengthy process of heroic struggle by the Afghan people for democracy, genuine national independence and major economic and social transformations in Afghanistan, which has made a considerable contribution to strengthening peace and stability in that sensitive part of the world.

51. Countries neighbours of Afghanistan which themselves carried out their own revolutions by beheading several of their former Heads of State who they regarded as having practised an erroneous policy harmful to their national interests were perfectly entitled to do so, and at that time neither the Afghan people nor any of the international community intervened in their affairs. One wonders why today those countries, on the fallacious pretext of respect for principles of international law and the Charter, are attempting, in collusion with imperialist, hegemonistic and reactionary international circles, to deny the Afghan people its sacred and inalienable right to carry out its own revolution.

52. Furthermore, why are those countries, which are so vociferous about respect for international law and the Charter, giving assistance to the so-called resistance movements in Afghanistan, which in reality, to use the words of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, are nothing but bands of counter-revolutionary terrorists, by arming, organizing and training those bands in their own territories and then sending them into Afghanistan to engage in destructive and subversive activities against the peace and security of the Afghan people?

53. In this connexion, the media of a number of Western countries and more specifically the "Green Book" distributed last Monday by the Afghan delegation to all members of the Assembly leave no shadow of doubt about the reprehensible doings of the countries mentioned in that book.

54. On the basis of the facts that cannot be seriously refuted even by the representatives of the countries involved, we can only wonder whether it is the so-called situation in Afghanistan which is the real threat to peace and security in South-West Asia, or whether that threat does not rather stem from the culpable activities of those countries themselves. Any sensible person would not hesitate to conclude, as we have, that it is precisely those activities which are the source of tension and growing disquiet in that part of the world.

55. Hence, would it not be more dignified for us all to put an end to this game which benefits only imperialism, hegemonism and international reaction? The principles and purposes of the non-aligned movement draw their inspiration above all from the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism including zionism, *apartheid* and all forms of domination and occupation. They are in no way directed against the right to self-determination of peoples, including the Afghan people which is a member, indeed one of the founding members of the non-aligned movement and which secured its self-determination in April 1978 by toppling the feudal and retrograde régime which had oppressed it for centuries.

56. Like the traitor Pol Pot, the traitor Amin, who usurped power and betrayed the higher interests of the Afghan revolution will know no better fate than that of the Bhuttos of Pakistan and the Pahlevis of Iran.

57. The Afghan people, which has an age-old history and civilization, which is profoundly attached to its Islamic faith as attested to by the measures taken in this connexion by the Government of President Babrak Karmal, which is so ardently devoted to the policy of non-alignment, as made clear by the statements frequently made by its leaders, which is fiercely jealous of its independence, as all speakers—and I repeat, all speakers who have spoken before me—have quite justly recognized—possesses ample political maturity to resolve any problem which confronts it.

58. Therefore, it is not the job of the United Nations, or of the non-aligned countries or, indeed, of the Islamic countries, which since they share the same faith as Afghanistan should, rather, stand behind it, to dictate to the Government and people of Afghanistan what policy they should adopt in conducting their domestic affairs.

59. However, the tone and the approach adopted in the course of the present debate by certain delegations, which claim to be acting in the best interests of the Afghan people, still cause us indignation, since their pronouncements take the form of injunctions as if emanating from Governments elected by Heaven to be sole watchdogs regarding respect for the principles of international law and the Charter. After all, as we say: men and Governments pass, only just causes remain. And we are profoundly convinced that the lofty cause which is being defended by the people and Government of Afghanistan with the firm support of their true friends, Islamic and non-Islamic, will finally score a resounding triumph.

60. It is clear as day that the dishonourable exercise in which we are indulging at present is turning ever more against the national liberation struggles and the struggles for freedom and the emancipation of peoples,

particularly the peoples of southern Africa, the Palestinian people and other small peoples throughout the world which are still languishing under the yoke of oppression, exploitation, imperialism, colonialism and expansionism practised by both large and small nations. This exercise has set up as champions of the independence and self-determination of peoples practically all those countries whose policies on those matters have been illustrated and continue to be illustrated by their uncompromising support for the *apartheid* régime in South Africa and for Israel and by their flagrant and persistent violation of the principles of international law and the Charter, is seriously harming the Organization and is prejudicial to all those who have given a helping hand to imperialist and hegemonistic manoeuvres.

61. Furthermore, those manoeuvres are clearly designed to deprive the peoples of non-aligned countries and of developing countries in general of the secure and guaranteed assistance which can be offered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which, in the Organization and elsewhere, have constantly fought at their side on all fronts. It is ironic to see that as a result of those manoeuvres a country such as Israel is emboldened to pose as a defender of the independence of the people of Afghanistan, while it continues to trample underfoot the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and illegally to occupy the territories of certain Islamic Arab countries.

62. It is to be feared also that if South Africa had not quite properly been suspended from membership in the United Nations, it would today be at the prosecutor's table and might, like the representative of the executioners of Allende, also become a sponsor of the draft resolution which is now before the General Assembly.

63. It is also to be feared that if it had been possible to sound out public opinion in the Islamic countries that are sponsors of the draft resolution, the reaction might have been completely unfavourable because of Israel's presence in the same camp as their representatives. Therefore, it is hardly surprising to see that many of the countries sponsors of this draft resolution have not even deigned to take part in the discussion and that the main instigators of that discussion up to now have been those countries which have regularly voted against the draft resolutions on the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, *apartheid* and Namibia, as well as on a number of other matters relevant to peace, security and the economic and social development countries.

64. In the opinion of my delegation, which is shared by many others, it is not the presence of limited contingents of Soviet troops in Afghanistan at the request of that country which represents the real threat to the peace and security of the peoples of that region. The real threat to the peace and security of that region resides in the stepped-up imperialist military activities in the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, where the United States is at present carrying out off the Philippine coast large-scale military manoeuvres which have been christened "Valiant Blitz". At this very time, furthermore, the United States, together with the Cairo Government, is carrying out a gigantic military manoeuvre in Egypt, that is, in the very heart of the Islamic world.

65. The real threat to universal peace and security can be found further in the persistence of the United States in strengthening and developing its military bases and installations, which at present number 3,400, spread among various countries and various oceans, particularly the air and naval base of Diego Garcia, which forms an integral part of the sovereignty of Mauritius and which should be returned without delay to that country as Mauritius has frequently demanded.

66. The Lao People's Democratic Republic supports the legitimate claims of Mauritius, as it supports the legitimate claims of Cuba for the recovery of its sovereignty over Guantanamo. We warmly support the initiative taken by President Ratsiraka of Madagascar for the convening of a summit conference on the Indian Ocean with a view to having that focal point of tension transformed into a zone of peace. It is this sort of initiative which we believe contributes to the strengthening of peace and security in South-West Asia, rather than initiatives which make for imperialist interference in the affairs of other countries in the region—in this particular instance the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

67. Bilateral relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are a matter of concern to those countries alone, which have for long been neighbours and friends. The fact that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in order to defend its independence and sovereignty against acts of subversion and aggression organized and remotely controlled from outside, has requested the assistance of the Soviet Union, pursuant to the provisions of the Treaty of Friendship Good-Neighbourliness and Co-operation duly concluded between those two countries, on 5 December 1978, and that the Soviet Union, to honour its commitments, acceded to that request is in no way contrary to the practice and well-established norms of international relations.

68. In this connexion, it will be recalled that a non-aligned African State, in order to put down a rebellion in 1978, resorted to seeking assistance from another African State, also a non-aligned country. That assistance was generously provided, with the logistic support of certain members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Who at that time would have thought of raising in the United Nations the question of the right of the people of that State to self-determination or the question of violation of the independence of the country involved? Why is so much noise now being made about the so-called situation in Afghanistan if it is not merely to exacerbate international tension and revive the cold-war atmosphere, in order to undermine détente and to accelerate the arms race? My delegation categorically refuses to be involved in this dangerous game of imperialism and its new friends in Peking. It is our hope that other delegations will sooner or later—and the sooner the better—unmask these perfidious manoeuvres.

69. Furthermore, as was very aptly emphasized by the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, there is nothing in the Charter or in international law which forbids a sovereign State to appeal for assistance to a friendly country in order to protect its independence and sovereignty. Moreover, this right to request assistance whenever it is needed is recognized by and confirmed in United Nations resolutions. For example, resolu-

tion 387 (1976) adopted by the Security Council four years ago on 31 March 1976, when it was considering the question of South Africa's aggression against Angola. The Minister went on to say that on the other hand, there is nothing in the Charter or in international law which permits the arming, equipping and training of groups and bands stationed abroad or the sending of those counter-revolutionary gangs into the territory of a sovereign State to carry out sabotage and other subversive activities.

70. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, which is at present in a situation similar to that of Afghanistan, denounces and condemns severely those activities which according to the definition adopted by the United Nations [*resolution 3314 (XXIX), annex*] are to be regarded as typical acts of aggression. We fully support the proposals made on 14 May 1980 by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [*see A/35/238-S/13951*] that a settlement of the situation prevailing in South-West Asia should be sought by means of negotiation with its neighbours.

71. It would also be unacceptable for any country in the same situation as Afghanistan to accede to demands by its neighbours for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the limited Soviet contingents from Afghanistan without having previously received a serious guarantee that subversive activities directed against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan from their territories would be effectively stopped.

72. With the regard to the withdrawal of the limited Soviet contingents, the joint Soviet-Afghan statement of 16 October³ contains extremely reasonable conditions according to which this withdrawal can be contemplated only within the context of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. It is quite obviously for Afghanistan's neighbours to undertake immediately a dialogue with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan if they sincerely desire, as they have proclaimed, a reduction of the tension in that region and the restoration of an atmosphere of good-neighbourliness and co-operation. It is only by sitting around the negotiating table, we believe, as has been repeatedly proposed by the Government of Afghanistan, that all the problems, including that of the refugees, can be properly resolved. Rhetoric in this body or elsewhere will only result in a new resolution which, whatever majority has supported it, will remain a dead letter and, furthermore, will be prejudicial to the United Nations.

73. We are profoundly convinced that what Pakistan and the other neighbours of Afghanistan desire is not that but, rather, peace and security for their region and for their respective peoples. If this is so, then let us lose no more time. Let us proceed to act, to negotiate. In this way and only in this way can the Islamic countries, which are respected and esteemed for their wisdom, demonstrate to the world their great political maturity and their desire to live together as independent and free nations without foreign interference.

74. Before concluding, I should like to say something about the draft resolution now before the General Assembly. This draft resolution, which the broad-

³ See A/C.1/35/9.

casting media of the United States have hastened to emphasize they regard as being a text of the Islamic and non-aligned countries, also has among its sponsors a number of countries which have nothing in common with Islam or with the non-aligned movement. This erroneous presentation of the facts by the United States broadcasting media and the great commotion these media have made about this text would lead us to believe that this draft resolution, if not in fact concocted by the United States, was probably drawn up with the blessing and encouragement of that country and its friends, both old and new, in order to undermine the unity of the Islamic and non-aligned countries and, even worse, to induce the United Nations to interfere in the internal affairs of the Afghan people. This text, furthermore, contains a number of provisions which give a tendentious presentation of the facts—for example, the sixth preambular paragraph, concerning refugees.

75. Of course, it is undeniable that when a radical change takes place in a country, people leave the country in small or large numbers either because of their past activities or often, as happened in my country, because of the trickery of the imperialists and counter-revolutionaries who organized and planned that exodus. With regard to the Afghan refugees, I had a chance last Sunday evening to see on television a report on the CBS network about the arrival on Pakistani territory of a fairly large number of persons who, for the most part, had rifles slung over their shoulders. Can these people reasonably be called refugees? In every likelihood, they were counter-revolutionary fighters who were returning to their bases, having accomplished their sinister mission in Afghanistan.

76. Next there is operative paragraph 3 which calls for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and does so without giving any assurance that the causes of their presence will be eliminated. It goes without saying that this paragraph is intended to turn Afghanistan back into a land conquered by bands of counter-revolutionaries, financed and supported from outside.

77. Then there is operative paragraph 4, which calls upon "all parties concerned" and not all States concerned to work for the achievement of a political solution. The use of the formula "all parties concerned" leads one to believe that it is the desire of the authors of the draft resolution to continue, against all opposition, to aid and support the bands of counter-revolutionary Afghan terrorists on their payroll in their activities aimed at undermining and subverting the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

78. Finally, the last operative paragraph, which decides to retain the item on the so-called situation in Afghanistan on the provisional agenda of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, provides clear evidence of a determination to get the United Nations even more deeply involved in constant interference in the internal affairs of the Afghan people.

79. For all the reasons I have just mentioned, my delegation will vote emphatically against this draft resolution.

80. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): More than 30 non-aligned nations asked for inclusion of this item

[A/35/144 and Add.1]. They did so because Afghanistan remains an occupied country. The Soviet Union continues to ignore resolution ES-6/2 adopted by an overwhelming majority. That resolution called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan so that the people of Afghanistan could determine their own form of government and their own political, economic and social system free from outside intervention. That call is repeated nearly a year later in the draft resolution before us today.

81. The armed invasion of Afghanistan was a grave violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter. It was all the more alarming as it was a small, defenceless country which was attacked by its overwhelmingly powerful neighbour. The Soviet Union's actions were a breach of the special responsibilities entrusted to the permanent members of the Security Council as guardians of international peace and security.

82. It would be wrong, simply because the occupation of Afghanistan has lasted for almost a year, to accept the situation in that country as irreversible; it would be both wrong and dangerous. We would be denying the very basis of international law and justice. We would be saying that a large and powerful country has some unassailable right to impose its will on the small and weak. That would be a prescription for anarchy.

83. The presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is clearly feared and resented. That is made obvious by the widespread and brave resistance of the Afghan people. It is also evidenced by the flood of refugees who have, tragically, felt that they had to flee from their own country. Over a million refugees have crossed the border into Pakistan. Thousands have moved into neighbouring Iran. Those unfortunate people are the tragic victims of events which they cannot control. Their plight has placed an enormous burden upon Afghanistan's neighbours. New Zealand joins with others in expressing its admiration at the way the Pakistan Government has provided humanitarian relief for the refugees. It recognizes that responsibility for the relief effort should not be Pakistan's alone, but should be shared by the whole international community.

84. The occupation of Afghanistan adds another dangerous source of tension to a region which already suffers from conflicts enough. Regional peace and stability have been endangered. Many countries have recognized this and have sought to find ways of promoting a political settlement to the crisis. New Zealand fully supported the initiative of the Islamic Conference earlier this year; we followed with sympathy other attempts to find a solution based on the concept of neutrality for Afghanistan. None of these initiatives, however, has yet met with success. That is because the Soviet Union has continued to avoid the central question of troop withdrawal. Without recognition that the occupying forces must go, how can there be political progress?

85. It is clear that the central element of any lasting political settlement in Afghanistan must be the withdrawal of all foreign forces—that, coupled with universal recognition of the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of

Afghanistan. Only then can the people of Afghanistan be free to determine their own future and their own political system. That is their right, a right which all of us, large and small, must uphold.

86. The draft resolution before us outlines the necessary principles for a comprehensive political settlement. It contains those elements which are essential for restoring the rights of the people of Afghanistan. It reaffirms the essential provisions of General Assembly resolution ES-6/2. It also recognizes that necessary conditions must be created to enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily and safely to their homes. New Zealand supports the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General in the search for a political solution, including the early appointment of a special representative as recommended in operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution before us. That text is a fair one. It does not seek to condemn. Rather, it offers a constructive approach towards a settlement. New Zealand will give it its full support.

87. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia): For almost a year now, a rather cynical propaganda campaign has persisted and spread in all directions around the so-called Afghan question. From time to time it is even stepped up, depending on the exigencies of the moment of the foreign policy plans of the hawkish circles, in particular those of the United States. The protagonists of a return to the cold war, from Washington to Peking, play it up artificially in their attacks against the policy of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems. A sober observer, without having to be an adherent of the Afghan April revolution, cannot but read behind the provocative slander against that revolution—as well as behind the hateful invectives used against the socialist countries in general—an almost too obvious endeavour to hold the world in tension. He cannot help but see through the attempt by the authors of that campaign to misuse the situation and even to take advantage of the confusion in world public opinion in order to step up the arms race and their own military preparations.

88. In their struggle for the implementation of the goals of the April revolution, the people of Afghanistan encountered organized provocations by the forces of imperialism and hegemonism determined to deprive the Afghan people of their revolutionary achievements. It was no coincidence. The undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan became a part of the global offensive against the forces of liberation, détente and peace.

89. If there were no Afghanistan, the enemies of peaceful coexistence would invent another pretext to aggravate the international situation. The campaign unleashed by reactionary circles around the events in Afghanistan is in actual fact in line with their other objectives, which represent a real danger for the life of nations in conditions of peace and co-operation. The transparent purpose of the entire campaign is to divert attention from the new wave of the arms race in which the United States is trying to involve the world in the pursuit of the illusive mirage of an unattainable military superiority and unchallenged power that it believes it enjoyed after the Second World War, to divert attention from its attempts to change the existing balance of forces in its favour and to gain strategic superiority from the creation of new

hotbeds of tension and the designation of entire regions of the world as spheres of its vital interests and to divert attention from imperialist efforts to take possession of the natural resources of other countries.

90. Although the efforts towards a return to the cold war may attack and even hamper progressive historical development, they cannot halt it. The world will gain nothing from the artificially produced tension around the so-called Afghan question, nor will anything be gained by either the deliberate or the involuntary participants in this inflammatory campaign.

91. This item has been included in the agenda of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly against the will and over the repeated protests of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly and emphatically stated that all the questions relating to the situation in Afghanistan are exclusively an affair of the people of that country and that no other country or organization of countries has the least right to interfere in its internal affairs.

92. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has furthermore also declared on several occasions, through its representatives in the United Nations, that there is no dispute between Afghanistan and its neighbours of the nature envisaged in Article 34 of the Charter that might endanger international peace and security. Moreover, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly emphasized on various occasions that Afghanistan wants to have friendly relations with its neighbours. It is perfectly clear that no threat to regional or world peace and security emanates from the events in Afghanistan.

93. The continuing interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, in which an attempt is being made to misuse even the United Nations, cannot therefore be judged otherwise than as an effort to reverse the political development in Afghanistan and to thwart the endeavours of the people of that country to build a society in accordance with their own will and desire. It cannot be viewed in any other way than as a flagrant attempt to prevent the people of Afghanistan from continuing along the way embarked upon after the April revolution of 1978. It is time for the enemies of Afghanistan to realize that the revolutionary process in Afghanistan is irreversible.

94. After the upheaval of the democratic revolution, life in Afghanistan is gradually returning to normal. At the same time, however, armed attacks from outside and the support for internal counter-revolution are still continuing. In order to normalize the situation around Afghanistan, it is therefore necessary to halt without delay the hostile acts against the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan being launched from the territory of neighbouring States.

95. The conditions for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan exist. It is necessary for all the countries in the region to display the needed political will. Such goodwill has been clearly expressed by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its declaration of 14 May 1980. That declaration contains concrete proposals for bilateral talks between the Governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan and those of Afghanistan and Iran for the conclusion of agreements

on the normalization of the relations between those countries in accordance with the generally recognized principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, good-neighbourly relations, non-interference in internal affairs and the inadmissibility of the use of their respective territories for armed and other hostile actions against each other. According to the proposal by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, such bilateral agreements may be supplemented by appropriate political guarantees extended by other countries.

96. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic supports the positions and proposals of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. As was noted in the joint Czechoslovak-Afghan communiqué adopted during the visit to Afghanistan by the Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs in July 1980:

“... the complete cessation of all forms of external interference directed against the Government and the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the provision of reliable and firm guarantees that it will not be repeated in any form is considered by the two Parties as an indispensable prerequisite of the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, including the solution of the question of the withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent.”

97. The outlined approach of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the substance of the issue also determines the position of the Czechoslovak delegation in respect of draft resolution A/35/L.12. That text is of a blatantly anti-Afghan nature and is therefore absolutely unacceptable to the Czechoslovak delegation.

98. Among other things, the draft resolution proceeds from the demand for “the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan” without relating it in any way to the necessary cessation of the armed incursions against Afghanistan and the interference in its internal affairs. The termination of that external aggression and interference must be guaranteed in the first place. The appeal for a political solution contained in that draft resolution is addressed to “all parties concerned”. But the term “parties” in the obvious interpretation of the authors of that text also includes counter-revolutionary organizations. Does that not follow the obvious aim of returning Afghanistan to the period of feudalism and reaction?

99. The draft resolution furthermore does not envisage a normalization of the relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours, Pakistan and Iran. By rejecting direct negotiations between the States, which is the only realistic way to a political settlement, the text clearly reveals a lack of interest in the normalization of the situation around Afghanistan—not to mention the fact that the draft resolution quite openly attempts to involve the United Nations in interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan against the will of the Afghan Government and thus also in violation of the principles of the Charter.

100. The Czechoslovak delegation rejects the draft resolution and calls on all Member States which are genuinely interested in a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan to proceed likewise.

101. Is it not high time to ponder for a moment: to whom is it beneficial and what are the true objectives

pursued both by the consideration of the so-called Afghan question in the United Nations and by the draft resolution proposing its so-called solution?

102. Before concluding, I should like to speak briefly in connexion with the unfortunate statement made by the representative of the United States in the Assembly concerning Czechoslovakia a few moments ago. I resolutely reject his slander as a futile attempt to undermine our relations with our friend and ally, the Soviet Union. We, in Czechoslovakia, know who are our real friends. We were taught a tough lesson at the time of Munich and the Second World War. It cost us the blood of our parents and that of our brothers and sisters. That sacred blood mingled with that of our comrades in arms from the Soviet Union. We therefore know who is our only reliable friend and the guarantor of our independence and freedom. That is why Czechoslovakia is and will remain firmly a part of the socialist community, regardless of whether or not the Government of the United States likes it.

103. Mr. MISHRA (India): The situation in and around Afghanistan has cast, for the major part of this year, a long shadow on the international political horizon giving rise to complex scenarios of political pressure and diplomatic power-play.

104. While the reality of the situation in the region still remains grim, the developments of the past months have seriously affected the entire climate of international relations and set back the process of détente, limited as it was, so sedulously cultivated during the past few years. Indeed, Afghanistan today has become a flashpoint in a virtual return to the polemics and paranoia of the cold war. Successive efforts aimed at defusing the situation have been frustrated by the continued adoption of unrealistic attitudes and inflexible positions.

105. This continued impasse has caused deep concern and anxiety to India. We are all the more disturbed because the developments in Afghanistan have had the effect of reversing a trend of events in the subcontinent which had earlier given rise to a degree of optimism. The nations of the subcontinent had begun to experience a period of relative relief from the climate of distrust and hostility and were gradually embarking on relationships based on reciprocity, common benefit and a developing faith in bilateral negotiations as a means of settling outstanding problems. All the countries in our region having become members of the non-aligned movement, it was our hope that the entire area would be free of tensions and could engage purposefully in the challenging tasks of national reconstruction and the socio-economic advancement of our peoples.

106. The events of the past year have, if anything, interrupted that process and, in some respects, assumed more ominous proportions owing to factors most of which are not indigenous or germane to the immediate issues facing the region. Yielding to the impulse to resort to arms and confrontation could only prove detrimental to confidence building and to the evolution of stability through mutual co-operation among the countries of the region. Suspicion generated by the harbouring and encouragement of dissident elements and the consequent build up of tensions

could only heighten the risk of great-Power confrontation closer to our doorsteps.

107. As far as Afghanistan is concerned, India has always had close and friendly relations with the Government and people of Afghanistan and we have been deeply concerned and vitally interested in the security, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that traditionally friendly non-aligned country. We have continued our productive and fruitful co-operation despite the vicissitudes of history on both sides. Our concern with present developments affecting both Afghanistan and the region as a whole stems from the fact that the security of all our neighbours in the subcontinent is inextricably related to our security and national interest. We are concerned, therefore, not only because the existing situation could generate reactions and serve as a pretext for those who wish to create further instability in the area but also because the continued festering of this situation without attempts to ameliorate it could only lead to attrition of the political and economic resources of the countries, leading to their further weakening and serving as a standing temptation to outside intervention and cupidity. It is for the countries of the region to seek ways and means other than military force to bring about a solution to the problems underlying the present situation. That is why a political solution is of the utmost urgency.

108. The Government of India has over the past several months engaged in consultations with a large number of countries both within the region and outside it. In the course of those consultations we have consistently stressed the need to prevent an escalation of tensions in South-West Asia. While there has been general appreciation of the need for a political solution, it is equally understood that such a solution can emerge only out of an atmosphere of relative trust and confidence based on the realities of the existing situation in the area. The immediate task to be undertaken is that of establishing a dialogue without any strict stipulation as to the outcome thereof. Such an exercise will naturally involve a meticulous sifting of global, regional and national aspects and their inevitable interaction. We are convinced, however, that in the process of such a dialogue several other lines of perceptions would open up for further probing and action and would lead eventually to the contours of a political solution.

109. The adoption of public postures in international bodies should, my delegation feels, facilitate rather than hamper the process of a political solution. As far as possible, attempts should be made by all concerned to avoid extreme positions or to adopt confrontationist postures, as these could only retard the process of defusion of tensions. Any attempt also to proceed on the basis of decisions or recommendations, adopted even in a body such as the United Nations, which have not been accepted by the countries primarily involved could only aggravate matters. It is essential that all the States concerned should display a degree of flexibility and not attempt to impose rigid pre-conditions, whether through a United Nations resolution unacceptable to some of them or by setting up other rigid modalities designed to close the door on negotiation.

110. Thus, my delegation feels, as it felt in January of this year at the sixth emergency special session,

that a debate in the General Assembly on Afghanistan, which would almost certainly lead to the adoption of another resolution unacceptable to some of the countries directly involved, might very well be counter-productive. If we are taking part in the debate, it is only to advise restraint and in the hope of contributing towards a possible amelioration of the situation in the future, rather than in order to apportion blame for the past. We seek the urgent resolution of this question both for the peace and security of our region and in order to avoid further deterioration of the situation through increased involvement by outside Powers.

111. Above all, we seek a solution of the crisis on the basis of certain commonly acceptable elements. Naturally, important elements in such a solution would be the complete cessation of all interference or intervention in the internal affairs of States, firm opposition to the presence of foreign troops in any country, the withdrawal of existing foreign forces and the furnishing of complete and reliable guarantees against all forms of interference.

112. What must be avoided is emphasis on one principle or element more than on others. They must be taken together and they must be given equal importance in any political settlement. We cannot, therefore, support draft resolution A/35/L.12.

113. The Government of India will continue its efforts through diplomatic channels, bilateral contacts and other forms of consultation to seek ways and means of defusing the situation in the region and moving towards the creation of conditions that would facilitate a political solution of the problem. We appeal urgently to all concerned, particularly the more powerful countries outside the area, to act with responsibility and restraint.

114. Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The situation in Afghanistan continues to be a major source of concern for the international community. The intervention by foreign troops in Afghanistan in December 1979 not only aggravated an internal conflict but also seriously worsened international relations, hence the situation in that country has from the outset been before the Organization for consideration.

115. As a result of the Security Council's inability to act, the General Assembly met in an emergency special session in order to adopt measures to remove that serious threat. To that end, it adopted resolution ES-6/2, in which it expressed the concern of the international community at the military intervention in Afghanistan.

116. In that resolution, the Assembly went on to identify the principles which would make it possible to reach a settlement of the Afghan conflict and to remove the threats which that situation represents for international peace and security. Those principles are: respect by all States for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan, non-interference in the domestic affairs of that country, the withdrawal of foreign troops and the voluntary return of the refugees. These principles, which are all based on the Charter or on international law, are as valid today as they ever have been.

117. In the opinion of my delegation, the Afghan problem can be finally resolved only if all segments of the Afghan people are put in a position to decide freely and without any foreign interference the form of government that suits them. The same conditions should hold good concerning their choice of political, economic and social systems. The principles enunciated by the General Assembly have as their aim the achievement of those objectives. It is, however, a matter of regret that they have not been applied.

118. My delegation has listened very carefully to some statements to the effect that the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan is a temporary phenomenon. It is our hope that those declarations will very soon be backed up by specific acts. We believe that the withdrawal of those troops would be a positive contribution to the achievement of a solution to the problem in accordance with the principles enunciated in resolution ES-6/2.

119. Our purpose during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly should above all be to determine the appropriate procedures and machinery to facilitate the establishment of a just and lasting settlement. During its emergency special session, the General Assembly in fact identified the basic principles which would underlie a settlement of the Afghan conflict.

120. At this stage it is essential to find ways and means of encouraging the efforts to reach a political settlement which have already been initiated by a number of countries and groups of countries. My delegation takes this occasion to reiterate its support for the peace efforts undertaken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the members of the non-aligned movement and other nations. Those efforts must continue, for the search for peace is a collective undertaking requiring the participation and commitment of all people of goodwill.

121. The United Nations, the main purpose of which is to preserve peace, should make its contribution. By reason of its universality and its numerous activities in the field of peace-keeping, the Organization provides genuine possibilities in the area of mediation or good offices. It is our hope that all Members of the Organization will give thought to those possibilities and will be in a position to support a greater United Nations role in the search for a peaceful solution to the Afghan problem. The Organization is highly competent to hold discussions with the various interested or concerned parties, be they political movements or organizations.

122. The Afghan conflict undoubtedly has regional and international dimensions, but that should not cause us to lose sight of its national dimension. All peace efforts should be directed at finding a solution which takes due account of the national aspect of this problem, if only by creating conditions that will make it possible for the Afghan people freely to choose its political, economic and social system.

123. The draft resolution submitted is motivated by the considerations I have just set forth and is designed to find an honourable political solution to the Afghan conflict. It is our hope that all countries will take an open and positive attitude on it.

124. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): On 14 January 1980, the General Assembly, meeting in emergency special session, adopted by a very large majority resolution ES-6/2, on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. By adopting that resolution, the Assembly took the position that the armed foreign intervention of December 1979 in Afghanistan was a flagrant and intolerable violation of Charter principles which all States Members of the United Nations are in duty bound to respect. It therefore urged respect for those principles in order to establish the bases for a solution to the clear crisis obtaining in Afghanistan.

125. More than 10 months after the adoption of that resolution, the Afghan crisis has not taken the slightest positive turn. Soviet forces continue forcefully to operate in Afghan territory; the resistance by the indigenous population becomes ever more organized and stronger, while the mass exodus of refugees grows with each passing day.

Mr. Mashingaidze (Zimbabwe), Vice-President, took the Chair.

126. All this is a source of concern to the Members of the Organization, first as to the value of resolutions adopted in this forum, and then as to the sense of responsibility and duty of members of the international community with regard to the principles of the Charter and the norms of international law. It is no less regrettable to note the lack of success achieved by authoritative international organs which have joined the Organization in seeking to make reason prevail and in formulating specific proposals aimed at resolving the Afghan crisis.

127. Motivated by the spirit of solidarity which unites its members, and in a number of respects pursuing the same objectives as those embodied in the Charter, the Islamic Conference held two successive sessions, in January and in May 1980 at Islamabad in order vigorously to express its anxiety over the situation obtaining in Afghanistan and to advocate a just and honourable solution to the crisis. A Committee was established; its mandate was to undertake all necessary contacts with the parties directly involved in the crisis to try to arrive at an agreed process leading to a negotiated solution. Unfortunately, its efforts have yielded no tangible results; moreover, its failure comes as no surprise.

128. The appeals issued from all sides during these past 10 months calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan have been rejected by the Soviet Union. In the face of this grave attitude of defiance, my delegation cannot but express its concern and preoccupation: preoccupation over the role of the Organization in this conflict, especially since the Security Council—by virtue of the rule of unanimity among its permanent members—has been prevented from discharging its main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; and concern over developments in the world situation and over the deterioration in international relations, contributed to in large measure by the Afghan crisis.

129. Peaceful coexistence and détente seem to have given way to competition and to shows of strength;

the chances for peace and security in the world seem increasingly jeopardized; there has been an alarming return to the use of force, while the ideals enshrined in the Charter are at times relegated to oblivion, if not blatantly flouted.

130. History has unfortunately shown us that might sometimes prevails over right, but would it not be a virtue in itself not to resort to force against someone weaker? That would certainly be a true demonstration of the strength of one's convictions. It is such a new order which the Organization wanted to establish by adopting the Charter. For our part, we shall always strive, within the Organization and outside it, for the establishment of that new order.

131. My country strongly opposes the intervention of foreign troops in Afghanistan because the right of countries and peoples to choose their own government and régime is, in our view, the very essence of sovereignty and independence. Regardless of the socio-political considerations that may be invoked, they cannot justify the intervention of foreign troops in the territory of a sovereign country against the will of its leaders and people.

132. Non-interference in the internal affairs of States is one of the most important principles in international relations. The last 10 months have provided us with irrefutable proof that the Afghan people is firmly committed to these principles. No other explanation could be found for the course of events in Afghanistan: the hardening of resistance within the country and the flow of refugees towards neighbouring countries, refugees whose number has now reached 1.7 million. This is stark proof, if such were needed.

133. Tunisia considers that the pretexts invoked to justify the intervention in Afghanistan cannot withstand scrutiny. Furthermore, their use constitutes a serious practice, which may have very harmful consequences for the independence and sovereignty of States.

134. Because of their vulnerability, small and medium-sized countries are the most exposed to this evil. In a matter of two years two countries have already fallen victim thereto and both have been plunged into disorder and suffering. If the United Nations and the international community tolerate faits accomplis, a serious precedent will have been established.

135. My delegation considers that the quest for any solution of the Afghan crisis calls first and foremost for a return to the unanimously recognized principles of freedom, justice and law.

136. To claim to impose a solution by force, to refuse to take account of the aspirations of peoples to freedom and justice or to label members of the resistance as faithless and lawless bandits is to fall into a trap and reveal a mistaken view of reality and an ignorance of history, which is rich in pertinent examples.

137. In a political crisis whose scope and gravity are unquestioned, a political solution must be found which takes into account the views of all the parties involved and which is based, in particular, on the principles of the non-use of force against the sovereignty and the political independence of States and on the inalienable

right of peoples to decide on their own form of government and to select their own economic, political and social system.

138. In our view, for that right to be exercised it is obviously necessary for the Afghan people as a whole to be consulted, with no exceptions, including all its components and factions, and in conditions in which a challenge would be unthinkable.

139. The role which the United Nations could play in that regard would be especially valuable.

140. It would fall to the Organization, in the first instance to restore a climate of confidence among all the parties concerned or interested in the situation in Afghanistan, and particularly the super-Powers, and to contribute to creating conditions likely to promote the process of dialogue and negotiation. In those conditions, it would be possible to conceive of an Afghanistan that could once again enjoy calm and unity and perhaps even a form of neutrality that would enable it to establish with its neighbours and with the rest of the world new relations based on trust and co-operation; an Afghanistan whose viability would have, in one form or another, the necessary international guarantees.

141. To that end, it behoves us to be aware and in particular it behoves the great Powers to persuade themselves that in this case we are not dealing merely with peace in Afghanistan but also with peace and stability in Pakistan and in Iran, in the South-West Asian region, in the Gulf and in the Indian Ocean. For if South-West Asia were to sink into a cycle of violence and unrest, it would serve the interests of no one.

142. In the world context in which we live, while the era of détente already seems a memory, given the renewed tension and the awakening of the demon of war, it is up to us to evince the greatest courage and a certain kind of imagination to understand the problems with which we are faced in such a global and drastic manner and to decide to find global and definitive solutions to those problems. That is the price that must be paid to ensure the preservation of international peace and security.

143. Draft resolution A/35/L.12, which the Assembly is considering today and which Tunisia joined in sponsoring, represents, in this framework, a starting-point for reaching a just and lasting solution of the Afghan crisis. Casting a vote in favour of that draft resolution would mean precisely acting in accordance with history, upholding the principles of justice and law and, in the final analysis, acting in conformity with the Charter.

144. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Despite the weighty and cogent objections expressed by a sovereign Member of the United Nations, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the so-called Afghan question has nevertheless been brought before the General Assembly for discussion. This is not to the credit of the Organization. Intervention in the internal affairs of a State—and imposing the consideration of a situation in a country against the clearly expressed will of its legitimate Government cannot be called by

any other name—is a gross violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

145. While reiterating its fundamental disagreement with the inclusion of this item on the agenda, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to express its own view on the situation which has arisen around Afghanistan. It is particularly necessary to do so, we believe, in the light of the fabrications which have been proffered here by a number of delegations.

146. An account of the situation, going back to its origins, could take the following form. On 27 April 1978 the festering and despotic régime of Daoud was toppled in Afghanistan. The national democratic revolution was victorious and that became a turning-point in the history of that country. The very first legislative acts of the new authority indicated that the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the guiding force of the revolution, intended to lead the Afghan people, which had given it its support, on the road to the construction of a new society based on the principles of social justice and to endeavour to put an end once and for all to the burdensome feudal past of that country.

147. As has always occurred throughout history, the overthrown exploiting classes, local feudal lords and the reactionary segments of the clergy, were reluctant to acquiesce in defeat. They developed a counter-revolutionary struggle.

148. Counter-revolution from abroad came to the assistance of internal counter-revolution. The imperialists of the United States and the hegemonists of China were by no means pleased that there was growing on the borders of the Soviet Union a State whose foreign policy was based on the principles of the non-aligned movement and on friendly and good-neighbourly relations with other countries. Furthermore, the United States had, from the point of view of its doctrine of vital interests, lost an important strategic outpost—territory of Iran—as a result of the victorious Islamic revolution in that country. It set its sights on stifling the Afghan revolution at any cost.

149. An essentially undeclared war was unleashed against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Washington, in collusion with Beijing, made Pakistan the main staging-post for that war. There quickly sprang up on the territory of Pakistan dozens of centres to train groups of bandits, diversionary groups and terrorists, who in their tens of thousands were infiltrated into Afghanistan, and they continue to be so infiltrated in order to prevent revolutionary changes by force of arms. The bandits kill children, teachers, old people, women, peaceful peasants and religious leaders who supported the revolution, and they destroy houses and mosques. They carry the most sophisticated American and Chinese weaponry. The trade of killing, burning and destroying has been taught them by qualified American and Chinese instructors. These are the hallmarks of counter-revolution.

150. Armed incursions from outside, as was convincingly shown in the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Dost [65th meeting], and in a number of other statements, started long before December 1979. The accomplishments of the revolution were put to a severe test as a result of Amin's treachery and

the assassination of the first President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Noor Mohammad Taraki.

151. In full compliance with the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions contained in the Treaty on Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Co-operation between the USSR and Afghanistan of 5 December 1978, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan requested assistance from the Soviet Union in order to repulse the ever growing military incursions. Faithful to its treaty obligations and the principles of international solidarity, the Soviet Union gave such help. The counter-revolutionaries' trick was trumped. Any hope that a régime to the liking of United States imperialism would be set up in Afghanistan was shattered once and for all. And that was when we first began to hear the hysterical wailing of American and Chinese "peace-lovers" about so-called Soviet aggressiveness. Unfortunately a number of other countries also fell prey to that demagoguery.

152. However, we are convinced that in the course of time most of the States Members of the United Nations will share our conviction that to deprive the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of support in conditions characterized by continued aggression from outside would not only be to imperil the gains of the April revolution in Afghanistan but the actual existence of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as a sovereign State.

153. May I now speak briefly on the question of how to find a political settlement of the situation that has arisen around Afghanistan. The socialist countries and many non-aligned countries have appealed for a political settlement of the situation, and demagogic peroration that effect have been heard in the West. However, there are different approaches to the question of how to bring about a political settlement and how that concept should in fact be interpreted, and it is precisely here that we can see the dividing line between those who are genuine friends and those who are merely putative well-wishers of the Afghan people, between those who genuinely wish to stabilize the situation in South-West Asia and those who are wagering on heightened tension in the Persian Gulf area for their own selfish ends.

154. The socialist countries believe that a political settlement is possible on the basis of the constructive programme that was put forward by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 14 May of this year, which envisaged bilateral Afghan-Pakistan and Afghan-Iranian talks in order to normalize relationships and the drafting of agreements on good-neighbourliness and co-operation, which would include specific obligations not to allow military or any other hostile activity among the parties. Apart from those bilateral agreements, the necessary international guarantees should be an integral part of the political settlement. Thus the key to a political settlement consists in a fully guaranteed cessation of armed aggression and indeed of all forms of hostile activity directed from abroad against the Government and people of Afghanistan. In other words, an end must be put to armed incursions into Afghanistan from the territories of neighbouring States by mercenaries in the pay of imperialist and hegemonistic forces. Effective steps must be taken to prevent infiltration by gangs of bandits, and an end

must be put to the supply of weapons to them. Their training camps must be shut down. That is an element of prime importance, and in that context, and that context alone, can we view the question of the timing of the withdrawal from Afghanistan of the limited contingent of Soviet armed forces, which is very clearly indicated in the joint statement of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 16 October 1980.

155. Unfortunately, the draft resolution which is now before the General Assembly, does not make the slightest attempt to devise an acceptable basis for a genuinely political settlement in South-West Asia. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will therefore vote against it.

156. Mr. HEIDWEILLER (Suriname): It is only a year since the late President of Afghanistan, Mr. Noor Mohammad Taraki, concluded his address to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Havana by paying a special tribute to "those people who have decided to liberate themselves from oppression, exploitation, occupation and foreign domination and to those who are determined to remain free".

157. None of us who were present at that Conference had the faintest idea that the freedom of the Afghan people was about to be put to a most severe test, and that large numbers of Afghans were to lose their lives in the cause of safeguarding their liberty. Since the end of last year we have been witnessing the unfolding of a great tragedy in the shadows of the Himalayan Mountains.

158. The question of Afghanistan, with which this world Assembly must deal, is indeed not a simple one since it is a matter of life and death for a people known for its fierce love of freedom, which gained its independence in 1917 after a heroic struggle against the British imperialists.

159. We are now dealing with a continuing war between an invading army of a super-Power and the people of a nation which happens to be a Member of the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement.

160. We have tried to take the justification by the Soviet Union for the invasion as seriously as it deserves to be taken, since we acknowledge that the Soviet Union has a valid and legitimate right to be concerned with that is happening across its borders. The repeated arguments presented by the Soviet Government in defence of its attitude towards Afghanistan, however, suggest undercurrents of a return to centuries-old ways which were already well established when the armies of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great marched against the Persian and Turkish empires in the South.

161. The often-used arguments to justify the intervention, that the military forces were sent to Afghanistan to rescue that country from "bandit raids" from across its borders, seem to echo the preamble to the 1772 Treaty of St. Petersburg when it stated that the amputation of part of Poland was necessary to restore order in that country and to bring to it a political existence more in keeping with the interests of its neighbours.

162. Those rationalizations of large-scale armed intervention by perhaps the most modern and powerful land army in the world do not explain the continuing and seemingly endless flight of more than 1.2 million poor Afghans—men, women and children—to Pakistan.

163. The Government of Suriname does not wish to be involved in super-Power politics, and it would certainly have been guided by the same considerations had it been called upon to judge the United States involvement in the Viet Nam war.

164. The massive intervention by Soviet armed forces touches the quintessence of the non-aligned movement. What is at stake here is the right of States, in particular the smaller nations, to live their own life free from interventions by foreign Powers. The non-aligned movement is based on that sacred principle. It is as clear as day that a threat mounted against that principle is a threat against all of us.

165. Because of the sanctity of that principle—not because we are anxious to take sides in conflicting super-Power rivalries or because we wish to be or to seem unfriendly—we cannot condone the continuing armed intervention by foreign forces in Afghanistan. As a Member of the United Nations, whose Charter enshrines the principle of territorial integrity, and as a member of the non-aligned movement, we cannot submit with good grace to a blatant violation of those principles, on pain of sinning against our own existential interests.

166. My delegation sincerely appreciates the efforts made by the Islamic Conference in its quest for a peaceful political solution of this crisis. It shares the view that draft resolution A/35/L.12 incorporates the essential elements for arriving at such a solution: the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity and the non-aligned status of that country; respect for the right of the Afghan people to determine its own future free from outside interference; the creation of the necessary conditions for the return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland; and last, but not least, an approach for reaching a political settlement, in particular the appointment of a special representative of the Secretary-General.

167. The draft resolution, in our opinion, is not aimed against any specific Member of the United Nations. It is concerned only with the tragic lot of the Afghans and, as such, with the safety of all Member nations, in particular smaller nations like my own. For those reasons we shall vote in favour of it.

168. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): It is with no animosity towards the Soviet Union, a friendly country with which we have maintained diplomatic and other types of relations since our accession to independence 20 years ago, that we speak now in this debate in the General Assembly on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

169. Both in the Security Council on 7 January 1980 and at the sixth emergency special session on the situation in Afghanistan on 12 January 1980, the delegation of Zaire presented its views⁴ in a clear-cut manner

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting, paras. 42-72.*

on the substance of this problem. I should like briefly to recall here the burden of our remarks in that we condemn the invasion of one country, particularly a small, non-aligned developing country, by any other—in this particular case a super-Power.

170. As far as we are concerned this is essentially, if not exclusively, a matter of principle. We are for the defence of and respect for the principles of the Charter and international law. We are for the prevention of acts which might risk plunging the world into chaos which can only benefit the strongest and largest forces in this world. We totally reject an international political order based on the law of the strongest, the law of force or the balance of terror. Lastly, we favour the defence of and respect for the force of law in international relations.

171. Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter states:

“All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.”

Article 2, paragraph 4, stipulates:

“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.”

172. The Soviet Union, as we all know, is a Member of the United Nations and furthermore, a permanent member of the Security Council—in other words, one of the States on which, in accordance with Article 24 of the Charter, we have conferred the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and which we have declared to be entitled to act on behalf of us all when performing duties involved in carrying out this responsibility in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

173. Article 33, paragraph 1, of the Charter stipulates:

“The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.”

174. Therefore, even if we suppose that there was some dispute or problem existing between the Soviet Union and its neighbour, Afghanistan, under the Hafizullah Amin régime or any of the States in the region surrounding Afghanistan, a dispute or problem which might have in any way disquieted the Soviet Union—although none of us seems to have been aware of any such dispute—the Soviet Union, as a Member of the Organization, had no choice but to seek legitimately to settle that dispute or problem by the machinery described in Article 2 and Article 33 of the Charter, or at any rate in a way that would be compatible with the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

175. I come from a small and developing country and I know, as many of us do, that the great Powers have got into the habit of indulging in acts of subversion in order to induce instability in the territories of other States or of those States whose options or

political, ideological, economic and social orientation they disagree with. Therefore it can be affirmed without fear of contradiction that it is the great Powers, blinded by their desire for political, ideological, economic and cultural conquest, by their desire for power, hegemony and supremacy, that have taught these unacceptable practices of subversion and this intolerance to young nations. If it should occur that certain States imitate them in this dangerous policy and follow them down the murky paths of unreason and blind dogmatism, the great Powers have only themselves to blame for the fall-out—fortunately, not radioactive—from their own doctrines.

176. Even if we imagine that there have been—and this has by no means been improved—acts of subversion directed against the régime in Kabul at that time, acts which might disquiet the Soviet Union, could that justify a third State's undertaking armed intervention in Afghanistan to topple the established régime, to eliminate its leaders and to occupy the territory, without paying any respect to the stipulations of the Charter and the principles of international law? Can we, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, in all honesty condone among civilized nations the political mores of a different age we thought the world had been rid of once and for all? Undoubtedly, if Hafizullah Amin were alive in any part of the world, even in prison, I am sure he would have borne witness in favour of the invading troops. We all know that he is dead, and in what terrible circumstances.

177. The Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty, contained in resolution 2131 (XX) stipulates *inter alia*:

“1. No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned.

“2. No State... shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the régime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State.

“3. The use of force to deprive peoples of their national identity constitutes a violation of their inalienable rights and of the principle of non-intervention.

“4. The strict observance of these obligations is an essential condition to ensure that nations live together in peace with one another, since the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security.

“5. Every State has an inalienable right to choose its political, economic, social and cultural systems, without interference in any form by another State.”

178. The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the

United Nations, contained in the annex to resolution 2625 (XXV) stipulates, *inter alia*:

“Every State has the duty to refrain in its 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. Such a threat or use of force constitutes a violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations and shall never be employed as a means of settling international issues.

“A war of aggression constitutes a crime against peace, for which there is responsibility under international law.

“... ”

“Every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force to violate the existing international boundaries of another State or as a means of solving international disputes...

“... ”

“All States enjoy sovereign equality. They have equal rights and duties and are equal members of the international community, notwithstanding differences of an economic, social, political or other nature.”

179. I could go on to quote the language of other resolutions, such as resolution 34/99, concerning the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States, resolution 34/103, concerning the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations, resolution 3070 (XXVIII), concerning the importance of the universal realization of the right of people to self-determination, resolution 34/102, concerning the settlement by peaceful means of disputes between States, relevant United Nations resolutions on measures to promote trust in international relations, and many other relevant United Nations texts.

180. All we are asking the Soviet Union to do at this time is to respect these stipulations that it has violated, which are now part of international law and which are binding on all States, because they are consistent with the aims and objectives of the Charter. The present exercise we are embarked upon is designed to do just that.

181. All of us here are aware—those who say so, those who do not say so and those who say so in veiled terms—that the USSR has violated those stipulations and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, notwithstanding the sympathy which many of us have for this friendly Power.

182. Our purpose in requesting that that great Power unconditionally withdraw its troops from Afghanistan is to help it to rid itself of a serious problem which has extremely detrimental consequences both for—for a number of reasons—and for the international community, and hence, to protect its image and its prestige in the world, for we must not forget that the USSR is an important element of the international balance.

183. Whatever that unconditional troop withdrawal might cost it quite understandably in terms of self-

esteem, the fact remains that such a withdrawal would be useful to it in every way, and that the opposite would continue to do it harm.

184. The delegation of Zaire does not consider that the invading and occupying Power is entitled to lay down any pre-conditions for its withdrawal, for it simply ought not to be there, and no one in Afghanistan had provoked it for it says itself that it had excellent relations with the then régime in Kabul, even though we know that that régime was overturned and destroyed upon the arrival of the troops of its powerful friend and neighbour.

185. The deployment of the most sophisticated and deadly military forces of one of the two greatest military Powers in the world has resulted in street demonstrations, strikes by Afghan students, merchants and workers, the armed resistance of the *Mujahedeen* and defections from the ranks of the regular armed forces, and this is adequate proof—if such proof were still needed—that the Afghan people has not accepted and does not accept the new situation which has been imposed on it and which is the result of the invasion of Afghanistan by foreign troops.

186. It is fortunate that the principle of withdrawal has not yet been questioned by the Soviet Union. But we venture to hope that the Soviet Union will heed the appeal and the concern of the overwhelming majority of the members of the international community, among which it has many friends, whose barely concealed discomfort and embarrassment tell a great deal about the deep anxiety that has been caused to them by the invasion of a small non-aligned country without resources, which was relying on the policy of non-alignment to protect it from precisely such acts of force. We continue to believe that the Soviet Union, a great Power and an important element of international balance, ought not to have burdened itself with this problem.

187. Draft resolution A/35/L.12, as we see it, is simply an urgent and heartfelt appeal by the international community to a great Power to be reasonable, to adopt an attitude conducive to security in international relations and to return to its rightful place in the comity of free and responsible nations. The unconditional withdrawal of the foreign troops will undoubtedly help to create conditions propitious for finding a political solution.

188. Our vote on the draft resolution will be determined by the considerations I have just set forth.

189. Mr. VILLARREAL (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): For a small country like Panama—which has no weapons or shields other than those provided by codes, treaties and conventions, as well as by the ethical principles which should govern international relations—the case of Afghanistan has been, and continues to be, cause for deep concern. For that reason, we advocate an end to the presence of foreign troops inside the borders of that country, which has not known true peace for many, many years.

190. The small nations of the world cannot admit the machiavellian dictum that necessity knows neither legal norms nor moral reasons. The truth is that the international community had believed that after the interventions of past years—in Europe as well as in

Asia, Africa and Latin America—the use of military force by large nations had been finally abandoned as an instrument of political power. But once again we must regret a repetition of that use of force, this time with the decisive speed which modern means make available to the great Powers.

191. The pretext of an enabling treaty and of the apparent consent of the other country is an argument which does not stand up to the least scrutiny. That is precisely why, foreseeing such an instance, the States which make up the United Nations have denied all legal validity to clauses which permit the intervention of foreign armed forces in a State when such clauses are part of treaties or agreements entered into after the Charter came into force.

192. Indeed, Article 103 of the Charter leaves no room for doubt in this regard. It establishes that

“In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.”

This is all well known and my delegation has already stressed it during the Security Council meeting which was convened to discuss this same item at the request of 52 countries.

193. On the basis of the principles of respect for national sovereignty and independence, of the territorial integrity of States, of non-interference in their internal affairs and the non-use of force in international relations, we believe that the Afghan crisis can and must find a political solution within the framework of the United Nations system, and this is the sense of draft resolution A/35/L.12, of which we are one of the sponsors.

194. For a speedy and final solution to the problem, it is necessary that the great Powers abandon their policy of taking advantage of crises such as this one and using them as pawns on the chess board of their interests. It is clear that to find an adequate solution to this difficult problem, it is a necessary condition that a climate of good will among all interested parties should exist.

195. Furthermore, another very important element must be taken into account: it is Afghan nationalism, which is not something new resulting solely from present circumstances. Basically, we are also dealing with a struggle among elements desirous of going forward with an appropriate modernization of the country by means of social, economic and political reforms, altering the almost mediaeval structure of the Afghan world. Many of us still remember the battles centred around the famous Khyber Pass in the days when Russia and Great Britain were vying for hegemony in the region. A whole body of Kipling-esque literature then flourished, in verse and prose, and especially in English, with regard to the military campaigns and political intrigues that took place then in an effort to win the allegiance of the power of Kabul. Today's history is therefore nothing more than the continuation of that same old policy on the part of the powerful countries.

196. In the light of these old and new considerations, my delegation can understand the imperative need to

find an effective political solution for the Afghan problem, with the assistance of the United Nations, one that should be uninfluenced by any outside interest so that the people of Afghanistan may accede to self-determination solely on the basis of their own interests.

197. We wish to reiterate here as we have done on many occasions our belief that the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan is an essential condition for the peaceful solution to the problem.

198. The draft resolution we support is an important step towards that end, since, we repeat, in order for it to be fruitful and of lasting value, the solution to this question must be political in nature. That is why my delegation trusts that the interested parties will devote themselves to finding a solution to the problem, bearing in mind the inalienable right of the Afghan people to follow its own path, free from outside forces and free from internal subversion, coercion or constraints of any kind whatsoever that would oppose the progress and the well-being of the masses of that suffering people, on whom the horrors of wars and coups d'état have already left indelible marks and for whom at the same time the shackles of out-dated and unjust traditions have not yet been broken.

199. No doubt there are many aspects to be considered in a situation such as this, but in the final analysis we are dealing with a problem that goes beyond a mere bilateral relationship, because it involves the status of Afghanistan as a non-aligned country and the endangering of peace and security in the region of the Indian Ocean, now declared a zone of peace, which might induce other countries to compete with each other to obtain greater zones of influence in that area in order to control sea lanes or other strategic points.

200. My delegation cannot but mention its concern at the serious situation being created by the thousands of Afghan refugees who have sought refuge across the borders of neighbouring countries. At the same time, we are concerned at the serious economic problem this situation poses for countries such as Pakistan, which for humanitarian reasons have admitted those refugees and which must bear the tremendous economic, as well as social and political, consequences of their generous attitude.

201. My country, which has always defended and respected the basic principles of international coexistence as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, appeals today for the Afghan people to be allowed to exercise their right to choose their own form of Government and way of life, without outside interference or internal intrigues, since it is the people who are called upon to solve their own problems and to determine their own future.

202. In conclusion, we reiterate our conviction that the Afghan problem should be solved in accordance with resolution ES-6/2 and pursuant to the tenets of the meeting of the Islamic Conference which, under the presidency of Pakistan, was held at Islamabad from 17 to 22 May of this year.

203. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The bellicose escalation and forced march

undertaken by imperialism towards a new cold war have been dominating the world scene since the end of last year. The United States, which is mainly responsible for the deterioration in the international situation, has orchestrated a prolific and systematic campaign to conceal its determination to bring about a change favourable to its world-wide interests by attributing sinister designs to the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, and with brazen effrontery imputing to them its own sins. But those of us who have long recognized the permanent divorce between the words and deeds of United States foreign policy are surprised by none of those actions.

204. In 1961, while Adlai Stevenson was swearing and forswearing himself in the Security Council that the bombing of the airport in Havana on 15 April had been perpetrated by so-called "rebel Cuban pilots", the President of the United States, in collusion with a murderer of the Nicaraguan people, Anastasio Somoza, and with his Guatemalan stooge of the time, the decrepit and abject Ydigoras Fuentes, ordered the invasion of Playa Girón, later confessing his direct responsibility for that failed aggression.

205. At the beginning of 1980, while intoning pharisaical psalms for the Afghan people whose destiny it was seeking to pervert, in a repulsive alliance with its new partners in Beijing and other reactionary forces in the area, it shamelessly declared that the oil-producing States of the Middle East and Asia and the neighbouring seas and gulfs were areas of vital interest to Yankee national security and, without further ado, it set about creating new military bases and facilities in compliant countries, increased its naval and military presence in the Indian Ocean and in the Gulf and, as if in passing, on a belated impulse to apply the Monroe Doctrine based an interventionist force designed to threaten the revolutionary countries of the Caribbean in Key West and installed 572 new nuclear missiles in Western Europe directed against the Soviet Union.

206. To parody Cervantes' unhappy knight, we might say, on seeing such incredible happenings, "You see, Sancho, we are again tilting at the same windmills."

207. The sound and fury of the Yankee commotion, as in the tale of the Shakespearean idiot, have no significance unless it be that of throwing a smoke-screen over their ill deeds, their abandonment of the process of international détente and their own political and moral crisis. All the sound and fury, in sum, are nothing but a Freudian projection of their cerebral hatred against socialism and revolutionaries.

208. That is why we clearly stated at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly,⁵ and repeat today, that Cuba will always support—as it has supported in the past at the cost of its own blood—the right of peoples to their sovereignty, but that we would never carry water to the mill of reaction and imperialism.

209. The situation in South-West Asia is indeed a source of serious concern for my Government. That is so in the first place because of the gross manipulation of the events in Afghanistan by the North American imperialists, but furthermore because States in the

area are pitted against each other to the detriment of the genuine interests of their peoples.

210. For that reason, President Fidel Castro decided to send the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba, Comrade Isidoro Malmierca, to deliver separate personal messages to the leaders of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan, so as to explore the possibilities of arriving at a negotiated, peaceful and just settlement of the problem which has arisen in the area, on the basis of the principles and objectives of the policy of non-alignment and, particularly, on the basis of respect for sovereignty, non-alignment, territorial integrity and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

211. The primary objective of that Cuban endeavour was and continues to be to find an urgent political solution which would be mutually satisfactory and which, by guaranteeing the legitimate interests of the States of the area, would make it possible to eliminate the remaining abnormal features of their relations, and would put an end to external intervention and create the conditions necessary for the Soviet Union to be able to give effect to its publicly expressed preparedness to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan.

212. We firmly believe in the rightness of that course, in which only a negotiated political solution can strengthen peace and security in that important region of South-West Asia.

213. Being profoundly convinced of the need to persevere in the search for that solution, the delegation of Cuba could only vote in favour of a draft resolution intended to achieve precisely that lofty objective. Accordingly, since we consider that draft resolution A/35/L.12 does not contribute to that, we shall vote against it.

214. Mr. TUBMAN (Liberia): Under Articles 34 and 35 of the Charter of the United Nations any Member of the Organization may bring a dispute or situation likely to lead to international friction or a breach of the peace to the attention of the General Assembly. During the sixth emergency special session of the Assembly last January, precisely this was done by several Member States, and my delegation voted in favour of the text adopted as resolution ES-6/2 which called for the unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. Because that resolution has not been implemented, my Government's position in this matter remains unchanged.

215. At the time of the emergency special session, it was not unreasonable for some countries to contend, and some did, that the situation in Afghanistan was a domestic matter and therefore could not properly be dealt with by the United Nations. When 104 delegations voted in favour of the text adopted as resolution ES-6/2, their actions were based on the dangers which they anticipated the situation in Afghanistan would pose for world peace rather than on what had actually occurred. The months since then have sadly proved them right. The Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, the SALT II agreement, which had been signed between the Soviet Union and the United States and which was generally welcomed throughout a world anxious for disarmament, has been frozen. Trade and commercial contacts as well as important ties between the two super-Powers in the field of science, culture and human contacts have been

⁵ *Ibid.*, 7th meeting, paras. 21-28.

disrupted while the pressure has grown for a sharp increase in military spending within the great military blocs. Those developments have already caused economic hardships not only within the developed countries but, most ruinously, in most of the developing world. A dramatic worsening in the international situation has occurred as a result of the situation in Afghanistan. In the bad international climate thus created the global economic discussions on which we, the world's poor countries, had pinned so many hopes for finding a way out of our economic difficulties cannot be commenced. Without a doubt, therefore, the situation in Afghanistan has proved to be an even graver problem for the whole world than we had supposed it would be less than a year ago.

216. In our opinion, two essential factual contentions underlie this debate. One is that there are foreign troops in Afghanistan and that their presence there violates the Charter. The other contention is that external aggression against the territorial integrity of Afghanistan has been stirred up from and is still going on in Pakistan, contrary to the Charter. Because those contentions have created a situation which affects world peace, how are we in the General Assembly to react to them?

217. Is there subversion in Pakistan against Afghanistan? The Government of Pakistan has repeatedly denied this. Many of us rely on Western media for information on what is going on in that area of the world. But at the same time that we are told in this debate that Western media spread lies, we are referred to the same media presumably to rely on them when they report an incident suggesting that no heavy resistance to the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan is occurring within that country.

218. Clearly, there is some confusion and doubt in many people's minds regarding the facts surrounding this problem, but regarding the question of the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan, no such doubts or confusion arise. The whole world knows the troops are there. Those who despatched the troops declared that they are there. The authorities in Afghanistan admit that the troops are there. Indeed, both the senders and the recipients of the troops have proclaimed that the troops will remain in Afghanistan until the situation of destabilization that led to their going there has been ended and guarantees given that such efforts at destabilization will not recur. Since no one admits to such destabilization activity, no guarantee can be expected. Hence, the foreign troops are not likely soon to be removed from Afghanistan.

219. Many small States, like ours, which believe in the United Nations security system on which alone we can depend for the safeguard of our sovereignty, maintain that when disputes of this type arise if they cannot be resolved within a regional context, they should be brought to the United Nations. We are happy that the spokesman from Kabul by implication appears to share this view, because in his speech to the Assembly a few days ago he suggested that this matter might have been brought to the Security Council but because there would have been an improper use of the veto by certain opposing members of the Council the matter was not brought there. That reasoning by the spokesman from Kabul suggests to us that there

is nothing improper about considering the Afghanistan question within the United Nations.

220. The improper use of the veto by those vested with that power is something against which many small countries, including my own, have cried out for a very long time. But to use this issue of the misuse of the veto as the reason for ignoring the collective security system of the United Nations and preferring the protection of one of the super-Powers not only further weakens the collective security system of the United Nations but takes us back to the old days of colonial domination and spheres of influence by major Powers. In any case, the threat of misuse of the veto in the Security Council does not excuse Member States from obligations arising under the Charter. Two wrongs do not make a right; therefore, even the improper use of the veto in the Security Council, much less the threat of such misuse, does not absolve States from the obligation to settle their disputes peacefully. Moreover, in this particular case the requirement to submit to the Security Council the issue of the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan is not a discretionary matter where States may do as they please. Referral of the matter to the Security Council is an essential requirement under the definition of self-defence contained in Article 51 of the Charter. Since this requirement has not been met, the contention that the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan constitutes self-defence within the meaning of the Charter cannot be sustained.

221. But since the contention by the representative from Kabul that the situation in Afghanistan has not been brought to the attention of the Security Council because of the likely abuse of the veto power there suggests that he would respect world opinion and international law, why does he not follow the course already suggested by an overwhelming majority of the Member States in the General Assembly ever since last January? Why does he not have recourse to the non-aligned movement, of which Afghanistan is a member? Rather, he appears to brush aside both the United Nations and the non-aligned movement and to choose instead to accept the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan.

222. For Afghanistan and its freedom-loving people, peace is today shattered, as it is for its neighbours and, indeed, for all small States. The events in Afghanistan fill us with great fear, and we shall not and cannot feel secure so long as actions of this kind by a major Power are allowed to stand.

223. Since it is the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan that has contributed to the sharp rise in international tensions, only the removal of those troops will cause those tensions to ease. Until that is done, the climate under which negotiations can take place between Afghanistan and its neighbours for the restoration of harmonious relations between them and stability in the region cannot exist. That is why the renewed call in draft resolution A/35/L.12, sponsored by some 40 States, for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and for the appointment by the Secretary-General of a special representative whose task will be to see that such withdrawal takes place has received the whole-hearted support of my delegation. It is the belief of my delegation that, in the selection of this special representa-

tive and in the efforts which he will later make, the non-aligned movement, regrettably under-utilized in this crisis, has the potential for playing a most valuable role.

224. Once any item has been included in the agenda of the Assembly, all States have a right—I would even go so far as to say a duty—to contribute to efforts aimed at resolving the problem. Participation by any Member State in a United Nations debate under such circumstances is not an unfriendly act; on the contrary, it is a proper service in the cause of peace. Whenever a small third-world State decides to exercise its right to speak or vote in the General Assembly, no real friend of peace or of the third world would seek to intimidate that State with regard to the manner in which its sovereign right should be exercised.

225. It is precisely this type of domination that has caused the problem in Afghanistan and raised international insecurity and tension in the world today to a high and dangerous level. Would any Power which attempts to frighten small countries from exercising peacefully and harmlessly their sovereign rights in the Assembly be likely to despatch nearly 100,000 troops to foreign soil simply to guarantee another small State the exercise of its sovereign rights? My delegation thinks that such inconsistent conduct would be most unlikely. Therefore, no country engaging in such conduct can really expect anyone to take it at its word when it claims to be anxious to protect the freedom of small States.

226. Protection of this kind is precisely what we small States have been fighting to end in the world today. This is what our fight for self-determination and independence is all about. Protection which depends on the goodwill of the protector serves only the protector's interest. When those interests are not served, the protection not only may be ended but the self-assumed mission to protect becomes the pretext for aggression. This is why we small States, if our independence is not to be left to the mercy of the powerful States, have no alternative but to support and strengthen systems of collective security, the best potentials for which are offered to us within the United Nations.

227. The alarm which has been felt throughout the world over the situation in Afghanistan does not spring only from sympathy and concern for the people of that country, whose liberty and independence are being trampled underfoot. Could it not be that the alarm is so great because it is tinged with disappointment that a super-Power, which even now still claims to be the natural friend of the third world, is showing itself not to be a friend of small countries, the United Nations, the non-aligned movement or similar organizations in which the weak and poor countries of the world have placed their last hopes for a new world order based on justice, freedom and peace?

228. The PRESIDENT: One representative has asked to exercise the right of reply. May I remind Members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply shall be limited to 10 minutes and shall be made by delegations from their seats. I now call on the representative of Afghanistan.

229. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The attempts of representatives of countries such as Pakistan, China,

the United States and Egypt, which are directly involved in the acts of armed aggression and provocation against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, to cover up their aggression are of no avail.

230. The competent Afghan authorities have collected a lot of evidence from captured mercenaries and other sources which proves beyond any doubt that those countries and their authorities are directly involved in hostile activities against my country.

231. The Islamabad authorities not only provide all the necessary facilities for the counter-revolutionary bands on the territory of Pakistan, but organize and co-ordinate their subversive activities. Pakistani army officers and servicemen and Chinese, Egyptian and American instructors not only are directly engaged in the training of mercenaries but take part in their terrorist raids.

232. The Pakistani frontier troops and their headquarters staff also take part in protecting the illegal clandestine traffic of all sorts of weapons and ammunition across the border to Afghanistan. For instance, in August 1980 alone dispatch of arms across the border was carried out by the headquarters staff of the Tochi frontier region—11 camels with weapons and ammunition—and of the Badjur frontier region—2,000 units of American weapons for the Gulbeddin band in Khanabad. On 25 August weapons were dispatched to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by Pakistani helicopters, which landed in the Hazarnan gorge, in the province of Kunar.

233. Islamabad even resorts to military blackmail against my country. In early November military exercises were carried out by the Pakistani Air Force in the north-west frontier province, in great proximity to the territory of my country. Those exercises had the code name "Jetstream". The command of the exercises was located in Peshawar, which is well known as a main centre of subversive activities against Afghanistan. It is precisely from there that dozens of armed bands are sent weekly to Afghanistan. It is clear that the Pakistani air force exercises were intended to boost the depressed morale of the anti-Afghan mercenaries.

234. Pakistani authorities also provide finances to the counter-revolutionary ringleaders. For instance, by the end of March 1980 the so-called refugee fund established by the President of Pakistan amounted to \$240 million, donated by various Pakistani reactionary religious organizations. That fund is used mainly to buy arms, ammunition and other supplies for the terrorist bands.

235. The Government of Pakistan itself takes part in the financing of subversive activities against my country. In June 1980 it took a decision to pay compensation in the amount of 500 rupees to each of the families of Pakistani military men who "voluntarily" joined the bands of anti-Afghan mercenaries and were killed while in combat in Afghanistan.

236. As far as the training of mercenaries is concerned, the direct involvement of Pakistani officers is confirmed by many terrorists captured by the Afghan army. One of the terrorists, a certain Shirak Jan, captured by the Afghan security forces in the Paktia

province, had been trained in a special camp near the town of Miramshah. He narrated the following:

“At this camp, encircled with barbed wire and very thoroughly guarded, we were trained by foreign instructors. The Chinese taught us how to handle the Chinese automatic weapons, grenades, and how to mine the roads. The Pakistanis taught us tactical lessons... There were American military experts in the camp too. One of them trained us in how to use American weapons and other arms of Western make... In the evenings we were brought back to tents in the ‘refuge camp’ and the instructors went to their residences.”

237. Thus, any attempt by Pakistani representatives or by representatives of the other countries I have just mentioned to deny their role as accomplices in the armed subversion and intrusions into Afghanistan are fruitless. They cannot convince anybody who has the slightest respect for facts. The fact that Pakistan has placed its territory at the disposal of anti-Afghan mercenaries has many times been confirmed by the world press. For instance, the influential Indian newspaper *Hindustan Times* wrote on 3 November 1980 that the city of Peshawar had been turned into a base for foreign mercenaries; hired assassins were gathering there from all over the world, and numerous representatives of special services from the United States, Britain, China and many other countries had established their centres in Peshawar. It also stated that they acted under the signboards of non-existent organizations or posed as businessmen and journalists. However, all of them were concerned with a single business: planning and co-ordinating aggressive attacks against Afghanistan, shipping weapons to the formations of Afghan counter-revolutionaries, training them and hiring mercenaries.

238. Many similar comments in other well-known newspapers could be mentioned.

239. We should like to draw the attention of the Pakistani Government to the following words of Babrak Karmal:

“I once more explicitly declare to the world, especially to Pakistan, that we warn the militaristic ruling reactionary circles of Pakistan to discontinue aggressions, provocations and interventions on the sacred soil of revolutionary Afghanistan. We warn the militaristic circles of Pakistan not to play the part of a tool in the hands of regional reaction, international imperialism led by United States imperialism, Chinese hegemonists and other reactionary circles.

“We explicitly reaffirm that in accordance with the statement of May this year of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan we are ready to sit down for talks, and we extend the hand of friendship to all peoples of the world.”

240. The United States is raising a hue and cry about the so-called Afghanistan question and the so-called Soviet threat, and under the cover of this propagandistic hullabaloo it is feverishly building up its military presence in the Indian Ocean, in the Gulf and all over the world. About 500,000 American troops are permanently stationed abroad. The United States has 429 large military bases and 3,000 other military facilities abroad. Since the Second World War the

United States has undertaken 215 military actions connected with the use or threat of force.

241. Afghanistan, as a country located in proximity to the Indian Ocean and the Gulf, cannot but follow with concern the feverish United States military activity in that area. It is quite evident that a real rather than a fictitious threat to the independence and national sovereignty of the peoples of the Middle East emanates not from Afghanistan but from the United States, which is feverishly undertaking unprecedented military activities in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf.

242. For the sake of objectivity it should be noted that the United States is not the only imperialist Power which is involved in an undeclared war against Afghanistan. Not the last among those who render all sorts of assistance to the counter-revolutionary bands is Britain.

243. In June 1980 one of the ringleaders of the anti-Afghan terrorists, S. A. Gilani, visited London and had meetings with the Minister of State at the Foreign Office, D. Hurd, and other top-level British officials. It was reported by the British press that Mr. Gilani had tried to obtain arms and financial assistance. *The Sunday Telegraph* disclosed in August that the weapons Britain sells to some countries are redirected so as to be put at the disposal of anti-Afghan mercenaries.

244. In explaining this British version of a cover-up operation, the London weekly *The Economist* stated in its editorial on 25 October that the West certainly should help the guerillas indirectly and with the minimum of publicity so as to give less substance to Russian propaganda about foreign interference in Afghanistan. It lamented the fact that the so-called guerillas were running out of guns and ammunition. It urged that they be supplied with badly needed anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons.

245. Thus, that mouthpiece of those in British ruling circles openly and brazenly called upon Western countries to broaden their interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and to step up supplies of arms to counter-revolutionary bands. It should be recalled that a motion was introduced in the British House of Commons last summer that Britain should render direct military assistance to the so-called Afghan insurgents.

246. The PRESIDENT: I regret having to interrupt the speaker, but the 10-minute period is now up. May I therefore ask him to be kind enough to conclude his statement.

247. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): I am on the last page, Mr. President, and with your permission, I shall finish the reply as soon as I can. *The Times* of London even went so far as to list in its editorial the types of weapons—machine guns, missiles and so on—which the British Tories would like to supply to them.

248. As to the involvement of the Egyptian régime in anti-Afghan subversive activities I should like to state the following. According to a report by Reuters news agency on 18 January 1980 the Egyptian Prime Minister, Mustafa Khalil, said that Egypt planned to give Afghan rebels financial and military aid. Egypt's War Minister Kamal Hassan Aly, had announced a

few days before that Egypt had completed preparations to receive so-called volunteers from Afghanistan, saying "Camps have been opened for Afghan counter-revolutionaries to undergo military training." In February the same Kamal Hassan Aly disclosed at a press conference that there were special camps in Egypt where Afghan refugees were trained and then dispatched clandestinely to Afghanistan.

249. One of the ringleaders of the Afghan anti-revolutionaries, in an interview in the magazine *Der Spiegel*, issue No. 3, 1980, announced that his group had received training in facilities in Egypt and would like to have Sadat's instructors as well.

250. The present Egyptian régime's treacherous policy with respect to the Arab cause, and the Palestinian cause in particular, is well known. Having shamelessly trampled on Arab interests, having concluded the separate deals with Israel and the United States imperialists, President Sadat betrayed the Arab nation, perpetuated the Israeli occupation of Arab lands and made impossible a just and lasting Middle East settlement.

251. The present Egyptian régime sides with imperialism in its attempts to strangle the Afghan revolution and it renders all possible assistance to the counter-revolutionaries, terrorists and mercenaries. It is noteworthy that Sadat's régime co-ordinates its anti-Afghan activities with Israel.

252. This has been a brief account of the anti-Afghan subversive activities and interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of the countries I named. If my delegation had had additional time, I should have been able to provide delegations with ample information and documentation on the involvement of those countries in our internal affairs.

253. The PRESIDENT: Since one more representative has asked to exercise the right of reply, I should like to remind Members once again that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats. I call on the representative of Pakistan, who also has 10 minutes.

254. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): In view of the seriousness and high level of this debate it is with extreme reluctance that I exercise the right of replying to the representative of the régime in Kabul.

255. On 17 November and again today, speaking on behalf of the Kabul authorities, a representative of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has reiterated the familiar allegations against my country, which were also repeated by the Soviet representative. Specifically, the Kabul spokesman said that Pakistan had allowed its territory to be used by so-called Afghan counter-revolutionaries to carry out subversion in Afghanistan; that Pakistan was a conduit for American, Chinese and other foreign weapons going to the insurgents; and that Afghan refugee camps in the northern part of our country were training camps for Afghan insurgents.

256. The statement of the Kabul spokesman in support of those arguments contained fabricated details and wove into a fictional account the names of intel-

ligence agencies, officials and even foreign diplomats. The baseless nature of those allegations is exposed by the internal contradictions implicit in the statement itself.

257. First of all I would refer to the allegations regarding the Afghan refugees. The Kabul spokesman admitted in the statement that repression was carried out against the Afghan people by Hafizullah Amin, who was once hailed as a great revolutionary by the leaders of the People's Democratic Party and their international sponsors. The statement also mentioned that more than 200,000 of the Afghan refugees who had fled from their homes as a result of that repression had returned to Afghanistan and that many more could not do so because of "impediments" created by the Pakistani authorities.

258. The number mentioned by the Kabul spokesman, 200,000, is not a small number. We are glad to hear that they are no longer denounced as bandits and counter-revolutionaries, by which terms they had been branded earlier. The number of refugees alone gives an idea of the scale of the violence and repression which had been carried out in Afghanistan before the overthrow of Hafizullah Amin. It may be asked what happened after the overthrow of Hafizullah Amin; did that bring to an end the Afghanistan tragedy? The truth is that that tragic situation was further aggravated. The overthrow of Hafizullah Amin was brought about by the introduction into Afghanistan of nearly 100,000 Soviet troops, a fact conveniently ignored in the statement of the Kabul spokesman. The present régime was not brought to power by an uprising of the people in Kabul, as contended by the Kabul spokesman, but was imposed by the military intervention of a foreign Power.

259. The number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, which has exceeded 1.2 million, is not hypothetical. That is the number of refugees officially registered by the Pakistan authorities as well as UNHCR. Indeed that figure does not represent the entire number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan as it does not account for those who are living with their kith and kin in our northern provinces and who have not registered with the UNHCR. Surely those unhappy people, who comprise nearly one tenth of Afghanistan's entire population, have not left their homes without reason. This tragedy has befallen them because they did not accept the imposition of an alien system and foreign domination and became victims of repression in their own homeland.

260. As regards the allegation that the refugee camps are being used for the training of Afghan insurgents, the falsity of that allegation is evident from the fact that those camps are open to international inspection. They are visited frequently by 64 UNHCR officials stationed in Islamabad, Peshawar and Quetta, officials of various international agencies such as the World Food Programme, UNICEF and WHO, and numerous foreign correspondents. Those camps can be visited by anyone who wishes to verify for himself the falseness of the allegation and to witness the hardships of those unfortunate people suffering the privations of life in exile. To describe them as counter-revolutionaries and bandits only betrays the extreme cynicism and utter disregard of human values of those who have been responsible for their exodus.

261. It is an inherently fallacious argument to say that the 100,000 Soviet troops armed with the most sophisticated weapons have been invited to counter the "incursions of a handful of bandits from the territory of Pakistan".

262. The charges concerning the Karakoram Highway and Pakistani airports being used for transshipments of weapons to the *Mujahedeens*, the freedom fighters, are equally groundless. The Government of Pakistan has repeatedly affirmed its determination not to let Pakistan territory become a conduit for the flow of arms for the *Mujahedeens*. The struggle of the *Mujahedeens* is entirely indigenous. The truth is that the Afghan *Mujahedeens* have maintained their resistance with primitive weapons which they have always possessed and for which they need no training. For the few sophisticated weapons in their hands they are exclusively and entirely beholden to the thousands of regular Afghan soldiers who have joined the ranks of the freedom fighters, deserting the Afghan army, which is now reduced to less than 40 per cent of its former strength. Incidentally, many of those regular Afghan soldiers that are now part of the Afghan resistance received excellent training and arms from no other source than the Soviet Union itself.

263. The Kabul spokesman this evening has also charged Pakistan with military violations of Afghan territory, but the truth is just the opposite. The Pakistan Government has maintained a policy of restraint, but it has been constrained to bring to the notice of the Secretary-General by a letter of 6 November that was signed by me personally [A/35/605-S/14245], serious violations of Pakistan's air space and territory by the Afghan helicopter gunships.

264. Finally, I would say that propaganda cannot obfuscate the reality of the Afghanistan situation, which is that of a tragedy inflicted upon the Afghan nation by foreign armed intervention. That intervention has met with the strong resistance of the valiant people of Afghanistan and has evoked universal condemnation by the Afghan compatriots outside their tormented motherland.

265. The objective reality of the events in Afghanistan is affirmed by the verdict of the people of Afghanistan, their compatriots abroad and the overwhelming majority of nations represented in this world body.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.