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*President:* Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

**AGENDA ITEM 26**

**The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General**

1. Mr. NAWAZ (Pakistan): The situation in Afghanistan has been before the United Nations for almost two years. The Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979 and the installation of the present régime brought about a qualitative change in the security environment of the region, with profound repercussions for global peace. The emerging situation was serious enough to be discussed immediately in the Security Council and at the ensuing sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly, held in January 1980.

2. In its resolution ES-6/2, adopted with the overwhelming support of Member States, the General Assembly issued an unambiguous and forthright call for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan. It appealed to all States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, national independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan and recognized the right of its people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system without outside intervention, subversion or coercion. It also called for the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour. The affirmation of these principles and objectives by the Assembly was in fact an affirmation of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

3. At its thirty-fifth session the General Assembly, on 20 November 1980, adopted another resolution—resolution 35/37—which, while reaffirming all the principles and objectives contained in resolution ES-6/2, spelt out the elements for a political solution of the problem in Afghanistan, including the exploration of securing appropriate guarantees for non-use of force or threat of use of force against the political independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of all neighbouring States, on the basis of mutual guarantees and strict non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to continue to extend his assistance in the search for a political solution and to appoint a special representative on Afghanistan.

4. The adoption of this resolution with the support of 111 Member States was the clearest evidence of a near

unanimous international verdict in favour of the full and effective application of the fundamental principles of the Charter to the situation in Afghanistan.

5. The Afghanistan crisis was featured prominently not only at the United Nations but also in numerous other international forums. At the initiative of Bangladesh, an Extraordinary Session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers was held in January 1980 at Islamabad to consider the situation in Afghanistan.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, at the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Islamabad in May 1980,<sup>2</sup> at the Third Islamic Conference, held at Mecca-Taif in January 1981 [see A/36/138], and at the Twelfth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Baghdad in June this year [see A/36/421 *and Corr.1*], this problem was also deliberated.

6. The emphasis in the pronouncements of each of these Conferences was on four fundamental principles: namely, the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops; respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned and Islamic character of Afghanistan; the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government free from outside intervention or interference; and the creation of the necessary conditions for the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees in safety and honour.

7. These principles were endorsed by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in February 1981 [see A/36/116 *and Corr.1*], and at the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New York on 25 and 28 September [see A/36/566]. These principles were also upheld in the declaration of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, held at Melbourne in September/October [see A/36/587].

8. The spontaneous and unequivocal reaction of the international community to the massive induction of the foreign armed forces into Afghanistan, aimed at determining the outcome of a purely internecine struggle, underscores the fact that this event was not a matter of local or regional concern alone. It was, and continues to be, a grave issue in which the international community has a profound stake, since it undermines the sanctity of the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter and constitutes a flagrant violation of the universally recognized norms of inter-State relations.

9. The resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement in respect of Afghanistan have received massive support from the world community, because these resolutions uphold the national rights of the people of Afghanistan and respect their true sentiments and aspirations.

10. We have looked carefully at the proposals made by the Kabul authorities on 15 May last year<sup>1</sup> and on 24

August this year [see A/36/457]. It is clear that neither of these two proposals addresses itself to the fundamental issues of the foreign military intervention and the popular resistance against a foreign-imposed régime. The suggestion in the 24 August proposals of a certain flexibility on procedure is not sustained by the unchanged rigidity on the substantive issues. The true intent of these proposals was to secure legitimacy for the régime and to attribute the internal conflict in Afghanistan to external instigation.

11. The General Assembly is fully aware of the objective conditions inside Afghanistan. The people of that unfortunate land are locked in a bitter struggle to regain their national rights. The national and indigenous character of this struggle has been demonstrated both by its tenacity and by its growing intensity throughout the length and breadth of that country. Even as the world community has called repeatedly for a political solution to the problem, based on recognized and universal principles embodied in the Charter, the conflict in Afghanistan continues to intensify. As villages burn and cities erupt into violence, the hapless victims of this conflict continue to pour into the neighbouring countries. Already, no less than one fifth of the entire Afghan nation have fled their homes and hearths to take refuge in Pakistan and Iran.

12. During the 20 months' rule of President Taraki and President Hafizullah Amin, the number of Afghan refugees who crossed over to Pakistan was about 350,000. It was only after the military intervention of December 1979 that the flow of refugees became an inundation. This massive exodus continues unabated to this day. Nearly 2.5 million Afghan men, women and children have taken shelter in Pakistan alone. Let me recall here what the President of Pakistan said in his statement to the Assembly at the thirty-fifth session. He said:

"People do not leave the comforts of their hearths and homes to face the privations of life in exile without compelling reasons. The Afghan refugees on our soil had to leave their country because life was made unbearable for them. The orchestrated propaganda campaign accusing Pakistan of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs cannot mislead the world. It cannot conceal the truth that the insurgency in Afghanistan is a manifestation of the patriotic upsurge of a proud people which have never yielded to foreign domination. I wish to restate Pakistan's commitment to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States and categorically reject the allegation that Pakistan is in any way involved in the insurgency in Afghanistan." [18th meeting, para. 38.]

13. The central fact of the situation in Afghanistan is the national resistance of the Afghan people to the continuing foreign military intervention, which has prevented them from exercising their right to determine their own destiny. As long as this reality is not recognized by all concerned and attempts are made to ascribe the resistance to outside instigation and support, a political solution will remain beyond our grasp.

14. Pakistan has consistently adhered to the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. The propaganda campaign unleashed against Pakistan accusing it of allowing its territory to be used as a base of operations by the Afghan *Mujahideen* or a conduit for arms is totally unfounded. The allegation regarding the existence of training camps in Pakistan is a pure fabrication. Pakistan has repeatedly declared its willingness to accept

any impartial international inspection of the refugee camps. In fact, these are open camps, which have been regularly visited by officials or UNHCR and representatives of international organizations. Pakistan is ready to facilitate such visits to the refugee camps by neutral observers from the United Nations or the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

15. The consequences for Pakistan of a situation within Afghanistan which is not of its creation are inescapable and pose grave economic, social, political and security problems for it. Apart from the massive influx of refugees to our soil, there are frequent violations of Pakistan's territory and airspace along the international border. These violations have involved bombing and strafing of areas where refugee camps are located. Pakistan continues to exercise great restraint in the face of these provocations.

16. Pakistan is convinced that the situation in Afghanistan does not admit of a military solution. There is no alternative to a political solution of the Afghanistan crisis. In its own interest, as well as in the interest of regional and world peace, Pakistan will continue its efforts to bring about such a solution. Over the past two years Pakistan has explored every possible avenue to promote a peaceful settlement which would bring about withdrawal of the foreign forces from Afghanistan and thus ensure the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees to their homes. Following the adoption of resolution 35/37 by the General Assembly, and after appropriate consultations, Pakistan requested the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative on Afghanistan in order to pursue the search for a peaceful settlement. We welcomed the visits of the Secretary-General's Personal Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, to our region in April and August this year, and extended our full co-operation to him in his efforts to initiate political negotiations among all the parties concerned.

17. We have all along engaged in bilateral consultations with countries of the region as well as on the international scene, including the Soviet Union. Most recently, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, in his statement in the general debate at the current session of the Assembly, declared that Pakistan is

"... prepared to set aside procedural problems and engage in an exchange of views on substantive issues through the Secretary-General or his representative, and at the same time prepare the ground for trilateral talks between the representatives of the Governments of Pakistan and Iran and those of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, as soon as circumstances permit". [23rd meeting, para. 173.]

We express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative for initiating indirect exchanges between the parties concerned. It is our hope that these talks will continue and evolve into a genuine dialogue, generating a new momentum for the establishment of peace and security in the region.

18. The efforts that Pakistan has made towards finding a political solution of the crisis in Afghanistan are reflected in the report of the Secretary-General. After a description of the various stages in the consultative process, the Secretary-General concludes as follows:

"The steps taken in the course of the recent consultations have shown that the approach adopted can indeed facilitate the search for a fair political solution,

which will ensure that the Afghan people will be able to determine their own destiny, free from foreign intervention and interference. I will continue to pursue all possibilities for a peaceful settlement of the problem.” [A/36/653, para. 8.]

Pakistan is in agreement with the conclusion drawn by the Secretary-General and is determined to co-operate fully with him to promote and accelerate the process set in motion by him to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan crisis.

19. It is necessary that the momentum created by the efforts of the international community towards a peaceful political settlement of the Afghanistan crisis be maintained. The important role played by the United Nations in preparing the ground for such a settlement has already yielded some positive results, opening up possibilities for the resolution of the substantive issues involved. In the meantime, the conflict inside Afghanistan continues to rage. Men, women and children continue to die and to flee their ravaged homes. The human consequences of the conflict continue to multiply for the neighbouring countries which bear an inescapable responsibility to provide refuge to those who are forced to abandon their hearths and homes.

20. In these circumstances, the United Nations must play its role in bringing peace and tranquillity to the long-suffering people of Afghanistan. The General Assembly has a special responsibility to bring the weight of international opinion to bear on all the parties concerned to reach an early settlement in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the people of Afghanistan.

21. With that objective in view, I have the honour to introduce the draft resolution contained in document A/36/L.15 on behalf of the sponsors.

22. The draft resolution is designed to facilitate the process of instituting a dialogue for the peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan crisis. As in the case of the resolution adopted at the preceding session, it reaffirms the fundamental principles of the Charter which are pertinent to the situation in Afghanistan. It gives expression to the grave concern of the international community at the continuing military intervention in Afghanistan, in contravention of these principles, and at the social and economic problems posed to Pakistan and Iran by the presence of millions of Afghan refugees and their increasing influx. It underscores the urgent need for a political settlement of the grave situation in Afghanistan and takes cognizance of the important efforts made by the non-aligned movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference in this regard.

23. The central objectives to which the draft resolution addresses itself in its operative part remain consistent with those of the previous relevant General Assembly resolutions. These are: the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan; preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever; the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

24. The draft resolution also envisages the securing of appropriate guarantees for non-use of force, or threat of

use of force, against the political independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of all neighbouring States, on the basis of mutual guarantees and strict non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

25. In operative paragraph 6, the General Assembly would express appreciation of the Secretary-General's efforts to find a solution to the problem and request him to continue these efforts with a view to promoting a political solution, in accordance with the provisions of the draft resolution.

26. In dealing with the humanitarian aspects of the problem, the General Assembly would review its appeal to all States and national and international organizations to continue to extend humanitarian relief assistance, with a view to alleviating the hardship of the Afghan refugees. The international community has an obligation to remain fully alive to the growing humanitarian needs of the refugees and to respond generously to the appeal made in the draft resolution.

27. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express the appreciation of the Government and the people of Pakistan to the Member States and all the international agencies which have extended valuable assistance to us in meeting the gigantic problem of caring for nearly 2.5 million Afghan refugees. Despite this international assistance, Pakistan has to bear half of the cost of the upkeep of the refugees. In 1981 the total expenditure incurred by Pakistan will amount to \$200 million. This places a tremendous burden on our limited resources.

28. Finally, the draft resolution seeks to ensure that the question of the grave situation in Afghanistan remains on the agenda and would request the Secretary-General to keep Member States and the Security Council concurrently informed of the progress towards the implementation of the provisions of the draft resolution.

29. The draft resolution avoids polemics. It takes into account the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned and provides a comprehensive basis for a peaceful political settlement.

30. The gravity of the situation inside Afghanistan has ramifications far beyond its confines. The Afghanistan crisis poses a serious threat to the security and stability of the States of the region. It has far-reaching consequences for world peace and has already had an adverse impact on the process of détente.

31. The conflict in Afghanistan must be resolved speedily and peacefully in order to end the sufferings of the freedom-loving people of Afghanistan and to allay deeply felt regional and global concerns. This demands an exercise of imagination and flexibility on the part of all concerned. The post-war period abounds with instances of wanton repression and reliance on brute force to achieve untenable ambitions. Inevitably, such attempts have yielded to historical imperatives. What was portrayed as irreversible at first became the subject of accommodation and adjustment once the immutability of the principle of national self-determination had been conceded. The problems which confront Afghanistan today, and their consequences for the neighbouring countries, will disappear with the restoration of the sovereignty, independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. An independent and non-aligned Afghanistan at peace with itself and with all its neighbours can only be a factor of stability in the region, and not a threat to anyone.

32. I express the hope, on behalf of the sponsors, that draft resolution A/36/L.15 will receive the full support of the General Assembly. Our obligation to support this draft resolution flows from our commitment to the fundamental principles of the Charter and to world peace.

33. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): Allow me first of all heartily to congratulate the delegations of Belize and of Antigua and Barbuda on the admission of these newborn States to the United Nations.

34. Turning now to the subject of the debate, I should from the very beginning express the profound dissatisfaction and regret of my delegation that despite the resolute and well-founded objections of the delegations of Afghanistan and some other countries the debate on the so-called Afghan question has been imposed on the General Assembly. The Afghan delegation has already pointed out that the inclusion of this artificially created item on the agenda of the current session constitutes outright and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and as such is a violation of the Charter. Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter states: "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". Thus, the Charter clearly stipulates that matters related to the internal affairs of a sovereign, independent State cannot and should not be discussed against the will of the Government and the people of that State under any pretext whatsoever.

35. What has happened in Afghanistan since the April revolution of 1978, when the despotic Daoud régime was overthrown by the patriotic Afghan forces, is an internal matter and is entirely within the jurisdiction of the Afghan Government. The same applies to the events which have occurred since 27 December 1979, when the Afghan army, supported by the people of Afghanistan, removed from power the oppressive Amin clique and restored the basic principles of the Afghan national democratic revolution.

36. Nobody, including the General Assembly, can dictate to the Afghan people what kind of political and social system they must have and how they should run the affairs of their country. The Afghan people themselves have irrevocably and decisively made their historic choice and have taken the road of a basic and economic transformation of the country in the interests of the toiling masses. They have determined their own form of government and chosen their political and social system free from any outside intervention or coercion of any kind whatsoever. Nobody can dispute this sovereign right of the Afghan people.

37. The imposition on the General Assembly of this hollow debate is nothing but a new attempt of the imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary forces to meddle in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and to put political and moral pressure on the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. But no force in the world can compel the Afghan people to abandon the road they have chosen of their own free will. This diversionary exercise of the imperialist and hegemonist forces is particularly untimely at this moment, when encouraging prospects have emerged for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan by means of negotiations between Afghanistan and Pakistan and Afghanistan and

Iran. A realistic basis for such a settlement and the normalization of relations between Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries is provided by the proposals advanced by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its statement of 24 August of this year. I shall dwell on those proposals in detail a little later. As a matter of fact, a dialogue between Afghanistan and Pakistan has already begun through the intermediary of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. There is no doubt that this unwarranted and futile debate can hardly help to create an appropriate atmosphere for talks between the interested countries. On the contrary, it will only bring about additional recriminations and delay the political settlement desired by all concerned.

38. It is evident that this debate is unwarranted and unjustified and that it runs counter to the basic principles of the United Nations and has nothing to do with the real efforts aimed at resolving the outstanding problems of our region. However, we are dragged into it against our will. To put the record straight we should like to make a few observations on certain points raised by the previous speaker. He tried to create the impression that the situation in Afghanistan poses an immediate threat to the security of the region and alleged that there is a sort of national resistance in Afghanistan, that the people are fighting in response to the challenge to their sovereignty and independence. Nothing could be further from reality as far as the situation in Afghanistan is concerned. We are certainly aware that the imperialist and hegemonist forces and the forces of regional reaction spare no efforts or funds in order to mislead world public opinion and that their news media spread all sorts of malicious and slanderous allegations about internal developments in Afghanistan. The gross distortion of events in Afghanistan and around it is used by those in imperialist and hegemonist quarters to cover up their adventurist aggressive plans in Asia and the Gulf, to build up their military forces in that area and to justify the armaments race, in particular the nuclear arms race.

39. Lie number one used by the imperialist media is an allegation that there is widespread people's resistance to the "Marxist régime" in Afghanistan. Nothing could be further from the real facts. In fact, the resistance to the Afghan revolution is put up by a handful of former feudal lords and their lackeys, who, like their ancestors, sucked the blood of the Afghan people and lived in luxury, dooming the people to misery and deprivation. Their struggle against the people and the Revolutionary Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is an objective phenomenon of the class struggle. They are desperately trying to regain their lost privileges, and they fight not for the freedom of the people but for the freedom to exploit them. Counter-revolutionary bands of mercenaries and terrorists daily invade Afghanistan from outside, disrupting the normal life of the people, the vast majority of whom support the people's power; those bands kill government and party officials, women, children and the elderly, destroy and burn schools and hospitals and loot people's and state property. To call those people "*Mujahideen*", or freedom fighters, is a sheer insult to common sense. They are the arch-enemies of the Afghan people.

40. The Afghan army, police and security forces, supported by the people, deal blow after blow to the bandits, capture them and disarm them. The counter-revolutionary terrorist bands would have been wiped out and suppressed long ago had they not been supported by those in the

imperialist and hegemonist quarters. The resistance of the counter-revolutionary forces would have ceased if it had had no bases or sanctuaries in the neighbouring countries, mainly Pakistan.

41. The second slanderous assertion is that the present Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is not supported by the people. But any unbiased observer visiting Afghanistan these days can see with his own eyes that the Revolutionary Government of Afghanistan is enjoying ever greater support from all strata of the population, that that political and social foundation of the Government is being expanded and enhanced and that the organs of people's power are being strengthened. The Afghan people are rallying behind the National Fatherland Front. During 1980-1981 conferences and meetings of the representatives of various strata and groups of the population were held—trade unions, democratic youth, democratic women, farmers, clergy, tribesmen, writers, artists, journalists—and all of them expressed their support for the idea of the National Fatherland Front. Of great importance in this respect was the conference of Moslem scholars, *ulamas*, and other representatives of the Afghan clergy, who appealed to all Afghan Moslems to help the Government create the National Fatherland Front.

42. The policies of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are also founded on sincere respect and care for the historical, spiritual and cultural traditions and interests of all the nationalities and tribes of the country. Therefore, the Government enjoys the ever increasing support of the tribes. A joint *Jirgah* of the Pashtun tribes and representatives of major nationalities of Afghanistan, held in May 1981, took a decision to join the National Fatherland Front. On 15 June this year the founding Congress of the National Fatherland Front was held in Kabul and more than 900 representatives of all classes and strata of the population participated in it. The following organizations joined the Front: the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, trade unions, farmers' co-operatives, the Supreme *Jirgah* of tribes, the High Council of scholars and clergy, the Democratic Organization of Afghan Youth, the Democratic Organization of Afghan Women, and others. The Congress elected the National Fatherland Front Executive Committee, adopted its constitution and issued an appeal to the people of the region to safeguard peace and security.

43. The consolidation and strengthening of the National Fatherland Front, whose pillars were formed by workers, peasants, intellectuals, craftsmen, national traders, patriotic *ulama* and clergy and other members of the toiling sectors, stand as testimony to the determination and will of our people to reach the great objectives of the *Saur* revolution. The National Fatherland Front unites all national and democratic forces under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, all fraternal nationalities and tribes residing in Afghanistan. This unity of all national forces within the National Fatherland Front provides a fertile ground for the participation of all in the work of building a new society and in the struggle against the counter-revolution. The formation of the National Fatherland Front as a proud symbol of the popular support for the revolutionary sovereignty of Afghanistan and as the rallying point for all strata of the population and social and national forces vividly demonstrates that the aspirations of the people, of the People's Democratic Party and of the Government are being realized step by step and stage by stage.

44. The third allegation is that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is against Islam and "suppresses" the religion. But, quite contrary to that baseless assertion that Islam is in danger in Afghanistan, concerted efforts are being made by the Government further to strengthen the sacred religion of Islam and provide all the necessary facilities for worshippers. Article 29 of the Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which is a provisional constitution of the country, states that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan ensures and guarantees for the Afghan citizens full freedom to practise Islam as the sacred religion of Moslems and freedom of religious rites for the followers of other faiths according to the law.

45. As part of the efforts of the Government in the interests of the sacred religion of Islam, a Supreme Council of Clergy and Religious Scholars has been established for the first time in the long history of Afghanistan. Similarly, the establishment of the Islamic Affairs Department manifests the Government's sincere will to preserve Islam as a sacred religion. The Department, since its inception, has carried out constructive and important measures to provide facilities for religious rites for the Moslem people of Afghanistan. For instance, the tremendous facilities provided for the *hajis* made it possible for a large number of our compatriots to make a pilgrimage to Holy Mecca this year. As far as the religious establishments are concerned, not only have measures been adopted to protect and maintain them, but new mosques and large places of worship have been constructed in various cities and others are under construction. The Government, through the Islamic Affairs Department, has undertaken vast and comprehensive programmes for the renovation and restoration of mosques which have been damaged through the passage of time or as a result of anti-Islamic acts by counter-revolutionaries. It is gratifying to note that the Moslem people of Afghanistan, including the clergy and religious scholars, whole-heartedly support the plans and programmes of the Government and the measures already taken towards alleviating the misery of the long-suffering people of Afghanistan and for the sake of the future prosperity and development of the country. Islam is completely respected in Afghanistan and Islamic rites are strictly observed in accordance with the Holy Koran. In Afghanistan a genuinely pure Islamic faith is preached, not the one propagated by the United States and Britain, which is practised by some other countries. Let it be known that Islam is nobody's and no country's monopoly.

46. The fourth baseless assertion is that the economy of Afghanistan is in a shambles and that the living standard of the people has been deteriorating. On the contrary, despite the difficulties and dislocations caused by systematic raids by armed bands and outside aggression, the Afghan economy is in comparatively good shape and in 1980-1981 a satisfactory harvest of basic crops was reaped.

47. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan exerts every effort to improve the life of the peasants and of the farming population. As part of the efforts to develop agriculture, in which some 85 per cent of the country's manpower is engaged, the Government has undertaken sweeping and comprehensive programmes. Through interested and concerned organizations it has increased technical and financial assistance to farmers and provided them with technical guidance. The Agricultural Development Bank, the Afghan Chemical Fertilizer Company and the Afghan Seeds Company have increased the scope of their activities in providing farmers with easy-

term credit, agricultural tools, improved seeds and fertilizers as part of the plan to develop agricultural production in the country and to achieve at the same time the aim of promoting mechanized farming in the country. The Agriculture Extension Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reform has also intensified its activities to provide the necessary guidance for farmers to help them increase the productivity of their land by acquiring new and modern knowledge and methods of farming.

48. As a result of all these comprehensive and constructive plans, as well as the hard and concerted work put in by the Afghan peasants and stock-breeders, the overall agricultural yield and livestock output have registered increases over last year's figures. Among other things, the harvest of cotton, an important industrial crop of the country, is also expected to surpass last year's figure by 15,000 tons and the sugar output by 10,000 tons.

49. To improve the well-being of workers and civil servants, the Government has raised wages, salaries and food allowances, and has taken steps to upgrade the living conditions of the toiling people in the cities. The Government has also paid great attention to education and health services; illiteracy among adults is being wiped out and 10-year free school education is being introduced.

50. The fifth assertion is that Pakistan has nothing to do with the interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the armed aggression from outside. We have been told that the sole motive of the Pakistani authorities is purely "humanitarian" and that they are mainly concerned with the plight of so-called Afghan refugees. We have been assured that Pakistan does not allow its territory to be used as a conduit for the flow of arms into Afghanistan. However, these statements are in utter contradiction of the reality. There is ample and convincing evidence from all the available sources that Pakistani territory is actively used, and on an ever-increasing scale, by all and sundry as a springboard for armed aggression and subversion against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Moreover, the hostile, anti-Afghan activities from the territory of Pakistan are being carried out with the tacit approval of the Pakistani authorities, and sometimes with their direct participation.

51. It is well known that immediately after the victory of the April revolution in Afghanistan most of the counter-revolutionary Afghan elements and their ringleaders fled to Pakistan and, with the support of the United States, China and certain reactionary Moslem régimes, began to form armed bands for armed aggression and subversive activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

52. At least six counter-revolutionary organizations are located in Pakistan: Hezbe Islami, Jamiate Islamie Afghanistan, the National Front of Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan, the Front of National Liberation, the Revolutionary Islamic Movement of Afghanistan and a group of Yunis Khalis which split from Hezbe Islami. The headquarters of these organizations are located in Peshawar, near the Pakistani border with Afghanistan. The ringleaders of these groups, with the tacit agreement of the authorities, move freely about the country recruiting mercenaries; they have special passes for unrestricted travel throughout the frontier area. They also maintain regular contacts with members of the missions of the United States and other Western countries as well as the Embassy of China in Islamabad. They pay regular visits to the capitals of some Western and Moslem countries

seeking support; money and arms. These counter-revolutionary groups receive abundant supplies of all sorts of modern weapons, ammunition and military equipment from imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary Moslem quarters.

53. There are five major centres of counter-revolutionary terrorist activities, and about 80 smaller training camps, sanctuaries and bases in the border area of Pakistan. The major centres are located in Peshawar, Chitral, Bajaur, Miranshah and Quetta. A detailed description of anti-Afghan activities from these bases is given in two booklets, *The Undeclared War* and *The White Book*, published in 1980 by the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which, on our request, are being distributed to delegations together with the text of my statement. The evidence contained in these booklets is based on information received from the competent Afghan authorities, including the army and the security forces command. Most of the information was provided by mercenaries and terrorists captured in the course of operations against counter-revolutionary bands.

54. There is ample evidence that the Pakistani authorities and army are directly involved in the hostile activities against Afghanistan. They not only support the counter-revolutionary subversive groups, but also organize and co-ordinate their activities. Anti-Afghan armed terrorist bands have complete freedom of movement in the frontier area and across the border. They are allowed to hold meetings and carry out recruiting campaigns. They use government printing presses and radio transmitters to disseminate anti-Afghan propaganda. The inflammatory slanderous allegations of the enemies of Afghanistan are broadcast daily from Peshawar and Quetta by government transmitters. In Peshawar, counter-revolutionary groups publish a few propaganda sheets and thousands of copies of hostile leaflets for distribution in Afghanistan. Hezbe Islami alone publishes in Pakistan and Iran eight newspapers and magazines; a few newspapers and a magazine are published by Jamiate Islami. Thus, full-scale propaganda warfare against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is waged from the territory of Pakistan, and with the connivance of the Islamabad authorities. The Pakistani authorities and army command are directly involved and take an active part in forming counter-revolutionary bands and dispatching them across the border into Afghanistan. Pakistani frontier troops and their headquarters also help to smuggle all kinds of weapons and ammunition across the border for terrorist bands operating in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. A network of hospitals has been set up in the border area of Pakistan for the treatment of terrorists and mercenaries wounded in skirmishes with the Afghan army and security forces.

55. The head of State and other top-level Pakistani officials pay regular visits to training camps and bases of the counter-revolutionary organizations located in the Peshawar and Quetta areas, make inciting statements and reassure them of Islamabad's official support for their anti-Afghan activities. With the connivance of the Islamabad authorities, all Western and Chinese dignitaries visiting Pakistan go to the mercenaries' camps near the Afghan border, make inciting statements and promise all sorts of assistance to them. This year alone the counter-revolutionary hornets' nests were visited by several United States congressmen; the United States Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, James Buckley; the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, Lord Carrington; the British Prime

Minister, Margaret Thatcher; Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China; and many others.

56. So much for the so-called non-involvement of the Pakistani Government in the affairs of Afghanistan and its so-called purely humanitarian motives. The objective and irrefutable fact is that with the connivance and support of Pakistan's Government, the North-West Frontier Province has been turned into a gigantic base for the enemies of the Afghan revolution. It has been turned into a bridgehead used by world imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and Moslem reaction to wage an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

57. The sixth absolutely baseless assertion is that the so-called resistance to the Afghan revolution is of an indigenous character and is not supported from abroad. The objective truth, however, is that world imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and some Moslem reactionary régimes have never reconciled themselves to the victory of the April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan. These quarters have gone out of their way to render all-round support to the counter-revolutionary groups and their terrorist bands; they covertly and overtly participate in the armed intervention against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The counter-revolutionary gangs of armed mercenaries are paid in United States dollars, Chinese yuan renminbi, British pounds, West German marks, Saudi riyals, and so forth. They are armed with American, British, Chinese, West German and Egyptian weapons; they are trained by American, Chinese, Egyptian and Pakistani instructors. Some of the Western countries have declared the policy of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan to be their official policy. President Reagan, for instance, announced last March that the United States Government, if requested would supply henceforth the so-called Afghan *Mujahideen* with weapons and ammunition. The covert Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] operation in support of Afghan counter-revolutionaries, which was started under President Carter, became an overt policy of President Reagan's Administration. The United States intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan is being extended and intensified. Ample proof of that is provided by the American news media.

58. A well-known American journalist, Carl Bernstein, sheds some additional light on the origin and scope of the international imperialist conspiracy against Afghanistan, headed by the United States and also involving China, Pakistan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. In an article in *The New Republic*, of 18 July 1981, he writes that:

"Planning for the operation [against Afghanistan] was personally ordered by President Carter and carried out under the direct supervision of his national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and his CIA Director, Stansfield Turner".

According to him, a few hours after the beginning of the new phase of the Afghan revolution,

". . . the President told a meeting of the National Security Council that the United States had 'a moral obligation' to help arm the resistance. . . . Increased American assistance, the President told his aides, should do nothing to disturb the impression that the Afghan struggle was an Islamic struggle. Co-ordination with the Islamic countries has been conducted by the CIA through its counterpart intelligence services. . . ."

Mr. Bernstein continues:

"On January 1980 . . . the CIA outlined plans for the operation to the Senate Intelligence Oversight Committee".

He discloses that Senator Birch Bayh, then the Committee Chairman, said in an interview with ABC News that the CIA recognized that the Afghans had to be supplied with weapons that were effective against the gunships. He continues:

"Above all, that meant heat-seeking missiles—SAM-7s . . . RPG anti-tank rockets; anti-aircraft guns, Kalashnikov (AF-47) assault rifles and machine guns. . . ."

He points out that:

"Not a single objection to the CIA's proposal was raised on the Oversight Committee. . . ."

"While the Senate Committee was being briefed, Defense Secretary Harold Brown was in Peking. . . ."

"The secret part of his agenda dealt primarily with Afghanistan".

The article states that according to one participant in the discussions,

" 'There was an implicit agreement [that both sides] would do things in parallel'. The Chinese agreed to permit overflights of their territory for planes carrying arms bound eventually for Afghanistan. The Chinese also would help supply the SAM-7s and RPG anti-tank rockets. And if the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan were closed, the Chinese would take over the trans-shipment of weapons—permitting planes to unload in China and providing Chinese personnel to carry the cargo across the difficult Chinese-Afghan frontier.

"The roles of the other nations involved in the covert operation have remained constant since the operation began. The United States has provided financial assistance, \$20 million to \$30 million to start, considerably more since; has arranged the purchase of some weapons on the international arms market; and is the operation's primary planner and co-ordinator. Saudi Arabia has undertaken the other major financing role, equal to or greater than that of the United States. The Saudis, who also bankroll much of Pakistan's military budget, have kept a firm hand on the Pakistanis, pushing them—at United States urging—to keep their border open for the transfer of arms to Afghanistan. The Egyptians have provided training for the Afghan guerrilla fighters and serve as the major source of arms—supplying weapons obtained from the Soviet Union during the years of Egyptian-Soviet friendship, and tons of replicated Soviet armaments, turned out in factories on the outskirts of Cairo."

59. In that article Carl Bernstein also discloses certain facts which testify to an unsavoury role played by Pakistan in smuggling arms to the terrorist bands across the border. He writes:

"Pakistan, the country most essential to the operation's success, allows the weapons to be moved across its 1,400-mile border with Afghanistan. But the Pakistanis . . . have been reluctant to aid the insurgency openly. Even today, Pakistani diplomats, who were deliberately excluded from a role in the operation's planning, continue to insist that Pakistan is not officially co-operating in any venture to arm the re-

sistance. But all the major features of the operation, according to American officials, have been personally approved by Pakistani President Mohammed Zia . . . the Pakistanis imposed three conditions of their own: first, the countries supplying weapons to Afghanistan would not publicly acknowledge their role; second, arms arriving in Pakistan would have to move immediately across the border, without any storage or warehousing; and third, the quantity of weapons moving through Pakistan would be limited to the equivalent of about two planeloads a week.”

The article describes how the arms-smuggling operation is carried out:

“The weapons arrive as air cargo in Pakistan, in planes whose markings are constantly changed. There, under the supervision of the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate, the arms are transferred to the ‘*mujahideen*’, who carry them across the border on the backs of men or mules, then up into the mountain passes where the weapons are distributed to bands of tribesmen in the camps.”

The article discloses that the flow of arms started at the beginning of 1980. We read:

“In October 1980, the Carter Administration and the Islamic States committed themselves to a significant increase in the level of aid, particularly heavy equipment for anti-tank and anti-aircraft warfare. The effects of those shipments began to be felt this spring [1981]. The Reagan Administration has since reviewed the clandestine operation and ordered it expanded. Pakistan, impressed with the Administration’s pledge of \$3 billion in long-term military credits, has eased some of its restrictions on the quantity of arms crossing the border.”

60. The evidence given by Bernstein in the article from which I have just quoted, was corroborated by none other than the late President Sadat of Egypt. In an interview from Cairo, broadcast by NBC News on the evening of 22 September he said that the United States had been buying Soviet-made arms from his country for more than 21 months and flying them to rebel forces in Afghanistan. He added that he had been approached by United States authorities in late December 1979. “I opened my stores to them”, Mr. Sadat said. The weapons, the exact nature of which was not specified, were flown from Cairo in American aircraft to Pakistan, and from there clandestinely smuggled to Afghanistan. Mr. Sadat said that the arms shipment would continue as a token of his determination to “fight communism”. Thus, the late President once again fully and openly admitted his outright complicity in an international imperialist conspiracy against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. He admitted with unprecedented cynicism that the weapons earmarked to fight Israeli aggression and to defend the national interests of the Egyptian people were used by him and United States imperialism to strangle the Afghan revolution. The day after the late Mr. Sadat’s revelations to the NBC network, the same Mr. Bernstein, in an interview on an ABC programme, revealed some additional details of what the former Egyptian President had disclosed. He pointed out that:

“The clandestine operations to supply arms to the rebels . . . are much wider in scope and much more complicated than what was indicated by Sadat. They are co-ordinated by the CIA, and apart from the United States and Egypt, China, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia take part in them.”

61. According to Bernstein, since the very beginning of the events in Afghanistan counter-revolutionary bands have received weapons worth more than \$100 million. The weapons are delivered not only from Egypt but also from China and are supplied to terrorist groups. Beijing has secretly undertaken to allow American aircraft to overfly the Chinese territory and to provide a land communication network to supply the bandits in case the Afghan-Pakistani border is closed. The major part of the expenses, Bernstein pointed out, is covered by the United States and Saudi Arabia. Egypt, besides supplying arms, provides instruction facilities for counter-revolutionaries. In the border areas of Pakistan there are more than 50 camps where the bandit terrorist groups are trained. The training is carried out under the supervision of instructors and advisers from the United States, China, Pakistan, Egypt and the Federal Republic of Germany. The majority of the instructors are American and Chinese. Every month 2,000 to 3,000 trained and armed mercenaries are sent from Pakistan into Afghanistan.

62. I have dwelt in some detail on the evidence proving beyond any doubt that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is a prime target of a wide international conspiracy spearheaded by the United States and China, which use for this purpose the territory of Pakistan.

63. It is our strong feeling that if the Assembly wants to ensure justice and to maintain the lofty principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations it should resolutely and unequivocally condemn the continued interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by imperialist, hegemonist and other reactionary forces, including acts of aggression carried out from the territories of neighbouring States.

64. Confronted with this ever-increasing and intensifying aggression from outside backed by imperialist and hegemonist forces, the Afghan people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had no alternative but to appeal to their traditional friend, the Soviet Union, for assistance in repulsing intervention and aggression. The Afghan Government asked the Soviet Government to send a limited contingent of Soviet troops to Afghanistan to help the Afghan army and people to ward off the foreign aggression, to safeguard the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and to defend the gains of the April revolution. The Afghan Government asked the Soviet Union for military aid in a legitimate way in strict accordance with the Charter and article 4 of the Afghan-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation, which says that the parties shall consult and take appropriate measures with a view to ensuring the security, independence and territorial integrity of both countries.

65. On 24 June Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the People’s Democratic Party and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, stated:

“As long as we have no guarantees that the gross provocations will not be repeated, that interference in our internal affairs will stop, the Soviet help will continue. The forces of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction which threaten our country are in fact the obstacle preventing the limited contingent of Soviet forces from returning to their peace-loving country.”

66. The Government and people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are quite confident that they can



secure the final defeat of the counter-revolutionary forces and completely normalize the situation in the whole country. The Afghan army and security forces, assisted by the people, can achieve that goal irrespective of the support given to the counter-revolution by those in imperialist and hegemonist quarters. The schemes of the enemies of the Afghan revolution are doomed and the just cause of the Afghan people will triumph. However, the Afghan Government would prefer to achieve the termination of outside aggression and intervention and to secure the non-recurrence of such intervention by political means, through negotiations with the neighbouring countries from which the counter-revolutionary forces infiltrate into Afghanistan and where they have bases and sanctuaries. We are earnestly seeking a political solution, because we want to avoid further bloodshed and to lessen the loss of life among our citizens. We are quite sure that such a political settlement would serve the interest of the peoples of Iran and Pakistan as well. They have nothing to gain in the long run from the continuation of such a situation, in which their lands and resources are used by mercenaries and terrorists for subversive activities against Afghanistan. On the contrary, they will lose more and more.

67. Therefore, despite the hostile activities carried out from the territories of the neighbouring countries, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly expressed its willingness and sincere desire to restore normal, friendly and good-neighbourly relations with Pakistan and Iran. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has on many occasions expressed its preparedness for a solution of the differences through talks and bilateral negotiations. We have made every possible effort to normalize the situation in the region. Striving to defuse the tension in the area, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan Government as far back as May 1980<sup>2</sup> put forward a comprehensive and realistic programme for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan which evolved as a result of armed aggression from outside and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

68. On 24 August this year the Afghan Government came forward with a new peace initiative and conveyed to the Governments of Pakistan and Iran elaborate proposals aimed at a political settlement and normalization of relations with those countries by means of direct negotiations. These proposals reflected the experience accumulated during the indirect contacts with the Government of Pakistan during the year and took into account certain new realities and some of the suggestions made by the Pakistani side.

69. The main aim and the basic essence of a political settlement remain the same—to secure the complete and reliable cessation of armed or any other intervention in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and to create conditions making impossible the recurrence of such intervention in the future.

70. However, guided by goodwill and trying to remove all obstacles on the way to a dialogue with the neighbouring countries, the Afghan Government made some substantial modifications to its initial proposals of 14 May 1980. Let me dwell on the new proposals in some detail, because imperialist and hegemonist propaganda is trying to play down their significance, maintaining that they have no new ideas. The text of our new proposals has been circulated as an official document [A/36/457].

71. First of all, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan now takes a more flexible position with regard to the format of the negotiations. It is ready to hold bilateral talks separately with Pakistan and Iran, which in our view would be more efficient and therefore preferable. But we are also ready for trilateral talks if Pakistan and Iran so desire. We feel that the unwillingness of one of the parties to begin the talks should not impede the commencement of a dialogue between Afghanistan and the other party, that is to say, between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the achievement of a relevant agreement between them. Certainly, the country initially refraining from taking part in the talks can join in them at a later stage or commence separate talks with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan at a time convenient to it.

72. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has already indicated that it does not object to the presence of the Secretary-General or his representative in such negotiations, be they bilateral or trilateral. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for the efforts he has already made to bring the interested parties together.

73. As we have pointed out, the major essence of the agreements between the countries concerned should be the termination and guaranteed non-resumption of the armed or any other intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan. To facilitate such agreements, the Afghan Government for its part is ready to reaffirm its continued determination to pursue the policy of peace and non-alignment and its desire to develop friendly relations with all countries, particularly the neighbouring countries.

74. It is imperative that such agreements have reliable international guarantees for their implementation. The discussion of the problems relating to such guarantees can be started at the same time as the bilateral or trilateral talks between Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran and may be pursued in parallel. Initially, such a discussion could take place by way of multilateral consultations and, at a later stage, at a relevant international forum. It goes without saying that the working out of the international guarantees, as well as the solution of other problems touching upon the national interests of Afghanistan, should be carried out only with the full-scale and equal participation of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

75. With regard to the withdrawal from Afghanistan of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, we should point out that reaching agreement on a political settlement providing for a complete termination and non-recurrence of armed and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, including the working out of appropriate international guarantees, would make it possible to establish, by agreement between the Governments of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, a procedure and timetable for the withdrawal of the troops. The pull-out of the troops could be carried out to the extent that progress was made in implementing the agreements. So the sooner the agreements are reached and implemented, the earlier the Soviet troops will be withdrawn.

76. In order to create the most favourable conditions for the negotiations, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is ready to discuss with the Governments of Iran and Pakistan other problems of mutual interest, so as to facilitate the normalization of relations among them. For instance, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will be ready to discuss with Iran such prob-

lems as trade, economic relations, transit and cultural ties. Any impartial political analyst can see that the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 24 August are realistic and flexible; they take into account the interests of all parties concerned, in the most comprehensive way. We are pleased that many countries gave a positive assessment of these proposals and welcomed the new peaceful initiative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

77. We express once again our regret that certain quarters have imposed on the Assembly this futile debate, which is aimed at interfering in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and at whipping up tension around Afghanistan. This is particularly deplorable in the light of the latest encouraging developments, with contacts having taken place between the representatives of Afghanistan and Pakistan through the good offices of the Secretary-General. We are of the opinion that these contacts have proved to be useful and we are ready to continue them. There is no doubt that the adoption by the General Assembly of any resolution hostile to Afghanistan would only impede progress on the way to a political settlement. We are certainly aware that such a course of events would correspond to the sinister calculations of those quarters which are not interested in a political settlement and do everything to torpedo it. But we are convinced that such a turn of events would run counter to the interests of the peace-loving countries and the interests of peace in Asia and the world at large.

78. Mr. MUHAMMAD GHAZALI (Malaysia): It is with a sense of profound concern that I participate in this debate today to share some thoughts with members of the Assembly on a problem which carries serious implications for international peace and security. Two years ago, when Soviet troops and armour struck across the border into Afghanistan, occupied that country, removed its legitimate Government and installed a puppet régime, the world reacted with understandable vehemence and indignation. It was natural for the world to have reacted in the manner it did against what was clearly a blatant act of aggression and armed intervention by a super-Power in the internal affairs of an independent non-aligned country. Rightly, the international community overwhelmingly condemned the Soviet action and demanded the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable the people of that country to determine their own future free from outside intervention.

79. But these demands, made successively by the General Assembly at the emergency special session in January 1980 and the thirty-fifth session, as well as by the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement, have fallen on deaf ears in the Soviet Union. Today more than 80,000 Soviet troops continue to occupy Afghanistan in support of an illegal Government that they have helped to establish. They are being deployed to put down the Afghan people, which are waging a valiant struggle for independence and freedom from foreign domination.

80. For us members of the international community, in particular the small developing nations, the issue at stake is whether an external Power is to be allowed to interfere with impunity in the affairs of another State for the sake of its own selfish, ideological and strategic interests. Far from peripheral, the issue impinges on the basic principles of the Charter, and indeed on the whole foundation of international peace and security. The very fact that the General Assembly is once again addressing itself to the situation in Afghanistan, after having done so for the last

two years, is unmistakable evidence of the determination of the international community not to allow itself to be side-tracked by those spurious arguments adduced in support of an illegal external armed intervention against an independent sovereign State. We are encouraged by the steadfast stand of the international community against what is clearly a dangerous trend in international and inter-State relations.

81. Only four weeks ago the Assembly debated the situation in Kampuchea, a country against which a similar act of intervention had taken place exactly one year before the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan. The same arguments advanced by the handful of delegations in support of the intervention in Kampuchea are being advanced to support Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Indeed, the close similarities between the two events and the arguments advanced to support them are no coincidence, for there is a definite, disturbing link, between them. They are clearly part of a big-Power strategy to gain advantages and domination in various parts of the world. The timing of these two events, coming at a time when the other super-Power, the United States, was seen to be retreating from the regions concerned, clearly points to the opportunistic nature of Soviet policy in order to extend its hegemony and influence.

82. I often wonder why big-Power rivalries should induce the Soviet Union to emulate the experience of the United States. It is ironic that the Soviet Union has its own Viet Nam in Afghanistan, and no doubt will end up sooner or later the same way. And because a United States submarine succeeded in knocking off a Japanese fishing vessel, the Soviet Union has to go one better by getting one of her submarines stranded on the sands of Sweden. What is happening in Afghanistan is a cause for concern to all of us, particularly the small developing nations, which are anxious to free ourselves from external Power domination and influence and consolidate our hard-won independence on the basis of the policy of non-alignment. The fact that the Soviet Union was not mentioned by name in the communiqué of the non-aligned movement relating to the situation in Afghanistan could not hide our deep disappointment and indignation at the action of a super-Power that often claims to be a supporter of the third world and the non-aligned movement.

83. The immediate consequences of the Soviet action in Afghanistan are all well known to us. Today, over 2 million Afghan refugees have crossed the border into neighbouring Pakistan and Iran in search of safety from the dangers of the repression mounted by the illegal Government backed by Soviet troops, putting tremendous pressures and burdens on the two neighbouring countries. The obvious dangers of the presence of such a large number of refugees in the two countries to those countries' peace and stability cannot be over-emphasized. As any country which continues to face the problems of refugee influx from neighbouring countries, Malaysia is fully conscious of the tremendous pressure and burden that they, and in particular Pakistan, have to bear under such circumstances. In this regard, I wish to salute the Government and people of Pakistan for their forbearance and sacrifice in the cause of humanity.

84. The trampling on Afghanistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity apart, the mere presence of such a large number of foreign troops in the country, backed by sophisticated armour and war equipment, has added a dangerous dimension to the security problem of the entire region. Positioned within easy striking distance of neigh-

bearing countries and of major sea routes in the Indian Ocean, the presence of Soviet forces has brought about a counter-reaction from other major Powers of the world, exacerbating the already tense situation in the region. It is a matter of grave concern to us that the situation in Afghanistan has led to an intensification of great-Power rivalry, in which regional interests have assumed secondary importance. It is all too obvious to us that the intensification of the arms race in the Indian Ocean area and the atmosphere of mutual distrust among the major Powers resulting from the Soviet action have set the clock back in the efforts by the countries of the region to reduce tension and promote co-operation among themselves. One obvious casualty has been the proposal to hold the Conference on the Indian Ocean in the context of implementing the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. It may be asked, under the circumstances, what has happened to the regional interests of the regional States? Do they not matter at all? Are they to be whittled away in the promotion of super-Power interests?

85. During the general debate in this very Assembly at the beginning of this session I was struck by the unanimous concern expressed by heads of delegations at the deterioration of world peace and security arising from the blatant use of force in international relations. There was a general appeal for a return to the spirit of Dumbarton Oaks that had spawned the ideals and principles of the Charter. Let me not repeat what I myself said in my own statement at the 10th meeting of the Assembly. But, in all humility, I must once again remind all present here today that the use of force in the search for power and influence in a situation in which major Powers are armed to the teeth could not but endanger the security of the entire world. There is no alternative but to return to the basic principles enshrined in the Charter.

86. In the context of Afghanistan, there is therefore an urgent need for the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from the country and to participate in a peaceful approach to the solution of the country's problems consistent with the principles of the Charter. Such an approach must pave the way for the people of Afghanistan to determine their own form of government and their future, free from outside interference. It must also lead to the creation of the necessary conditions to enable the people of Afghanistan who have fled to neighbouring countries to return to their homes in safety and honour. Failure to include all these elements will only prolong the conflict in that country.

87. We note that in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 35/37 the Secretary-General appointed a Personal Representative to undertake the necessary consultations with all parties concerned in order to promote a political solution to the present problem in Afghanistan. Commendable as the work of the Personal Representative has been, it could not be expected to achieve any meaningful result as long as foreign troops continue to remain in Afghanistan. In urging the Soviet Union to co-operate with all the parties concerned in the effort to bring about the return of peace and stability to Afghanistan consistent with the principles of the Charter, we cannot but share a feeling of humane concern at the fate of millions of innocent Afghans who have been driven from their homes and are now living the life of refugees in neighbouring countries. Pending a political solution which would enable these people to return to their homes, the international community must show its responsibility by coming to the assistance of these people and providing adequate relief aid to meet their basic needs. The problem of refugees is

an international problem and must be shared equally by the international community.

88. I spoke earlier of the similarities between the situation in Kampuchea and that in Afghanistan. Both issues are issues of international concern and rightly must be considered by the international community. Solutions to the problem should be considered in the context of a United Nations resolution and not relegated, as the opponents of the two items intend, to a bilateral or regional approach. It is in this light that my delegation sees the merit of the proposal made by the European Council for an international conference on Afghanistan in which all the parties concerned should participate. Such a conference could provide the necessary framework for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and at the same time provide the appropriate guarantees for non-use of force against the political independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of all neighbouring States. In supporting this proposal let me stress that my delegation will accept any political reality freely determined by the Afghan people once foreign forces withdraw from Afghanistan. We are opposed to the imposition of the concept of any form of sphere of influence or the application of the theory of limited sovereignty and all that goes with it in practice. Our only concern is with ensuring that there is respect for the Afghans' right to self-determination without any outside interference, coercion or intimidation. At the same time, we have no interest whatever in strengthening the political and military bastion of any super-Power. We are only interested in strengthening the cause of a people so that it can live in its country in freedom, honour and dignity.

89. My delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/36/L.15; we see in it all the necessary elements for an equitable solution of the problem. It is a practical draft resolution that is capable of being implemented. We urge all Member States to give their full support to it. If, in spite of our sincere and moderate demands, the draft resolution continues to go unheeded, then it is the responsibility of all those who support this draft resolution to ensure that the Afghan nationalist struggle is sustained, particularly when the success of such a struggle only strengthens the cause of non-intervention.

90. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): It is to be regretted that the General Assembly has once again found itself embroiled in an unseemly venture and, contrary to the fundamental principles of the Charter, is being used by some States to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign Afghanistan. It will be recalled that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly and strongly protested at the fuss surrounding the so-called "Afghan question" orchestrated in the Organization by the forces of imperialism and hegemonism. The Soviet delegation, fully supporting this position of Afghanistan, opposed the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its consequences for international peace and security". Yet, inasmuch as the debate has begun and a number of countries have submitted a draft resolution, allow me to make a few comments.

91. Those who took the lead in raising the question now under consideration in the United Nations are trying to contend that the developments that occurred in that country after the April 1978 revolution and the friendly assistance provided to its Government by the Soviet Union in order to protect the gains of the revolution and the

security of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan against any encroachment from outside have caused the deterioration of the situation around Afghanistan and the alleged threat to international security resulting therefrom. Yet nobody has been able to substantiate those contentions and prove them with facts because such facts are simply non-existent. No State, either in South-West Asia or in any other part of the world, has been threatened or harmed by Afghanistan. No operations or terrorist actions are launched from its territory against neighbouring countries. Afghanistan has been and remains a non-aligned State that has consistently pursued a peaceful foreign policy based on generally recognized principles of peaceful coexistence. Everyone in this Hall knows full well that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan takes an active part in the work of the United Nations and the non-aligned movement and fully supports all initiatives aimed at strengthening international peace and security.

92. At the same time, Afghanistan itself is a victim of a real, albeit undeclared, war involving weapons and economic, political and propaganda means, as has been irrefutably proved by numerous facts. Against whom and against what is this war being waged? In answering that question it is necessary to bear in mind current developments in Afghanistan and the concerns of that country and its people.

93. It may be recalled that before the April 1978 revolution Afghanistan was one of the most economically backward countries. In view of this the Government of democratic Afghanistan from the very outset directed its efforts primarily towards ensuring the development and improvement of the national economy and of the cultural standards of the population. Today, if we are to take an objective and impartial attitude, it is impossible not to recognize the obvious fact that despite the economic dislocation and other difficulties caused by outside interference, the Afghan revolution is successfully coping with broad democratic tasks. The country is carrying out agrarian reform that has given land and water to tens of thousands of peasants. Economic plans are being implemented to ensure the development of both public and private sectors. Afghanistan, the population of which has been almost totally illiterate for centuries, has begun to build hundreds of schools and set up courses to combat illiteracy. The living standards of the people have markedly improved. As a result the political and social foundations of the new system and Government have been expanded, as manifested by the establishment of the National Fatherland Front, in which virtually all classes and social groups of the Afghan people supporting the goals of the national democratic revolution are represented.

94. In Afghanistan the political, economic and social rights of the individual, including freedom of religion and respect for Islam, are fully guaranteed. The conference of Moslem scholars, *ulamas*, and other representatives of the clergy discuss and settle matters which guarantee observance of the principles of Islam. A special Islamic Affairs Department has been set up within the Government. Central and local authorities help preserve and properly maintain mosques and other places of worship. For their part, the clergy participate within the framework of the National Fatherland Front in the social and political life of the country.

95. For developing countries which are themselves trying to break away from the grip of underdevelopment and to keep abreast of the pace of progress it is easy to understand the meaning and historical significance of these

changes. At the same time, many of them are well aware that all revolutionary changes in the interests of the people provoke fierce resistance by the forces of external and internal reaction. That is precisely what Afghanistan is up against today. Gangs of counter-revolutionary terrorists infiltrated into the country from neighbouring States, mainly from the territory of Pakistan, intimidate and rob people, kill men, women and children and destroy industrial and agricultural facilities and social and cultural institutions, particularly schools. All this clearly shows that the undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan is a war against progressive and revolutionary changes in that country and against the vital interests of the entire Afghan people.

96. In the United Nations talk is often heard about Afghan refugees. To understand the reasons why some Afghans have found themselves out of their country it is necessary to take into account the specific conditions obtaining in Afghanistan, with its sizeable nomadic population, ties of kinship and tribal interests. It is also necessary to take stock of the fact that a change in the social and economic system of a State often involves a certain exodus of people from that country because some accept the new régime while others do not. The history of England, Russia, Germany, France and many other countries provides evidence of this.

97. Emigration from Afghanistan should not be regarded as a crucial or insurmountable problem. The Afghan Government has no intention whatsoever of taking revenge on those who have left their country. On the contrary, it encourages them to come back and expresses its readiness to ensure—as it in fact does ensure—the conditions for a peaceful life. To that end special legislation has been enacted in the country. The decree of 18 June 1981 of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as well as some other official documents concerning a general amnesty, guarantees to those Afghans who come back their safety, a free choice of residence and all the conditions necessary for their participation in economic and political life.

98. However, the fact should not be ignored that there are forces that are actively engaged in blocking the peaceful return of Afghans to their homes and that are anxious to use them as tools in their struggle against the new democratic system in Afghanistan. Those forces finance and arm Afghan counter-revolutionaries. It is known that a leading role in this is played by the United States. And Beijing is not far behind. The Afghan people would have created peaceful conditions in their country long ago had it not been for the support those in imperialist and hegemonist circles are providing to the gangs of counter-revolutionary terrorists. It will be recalled that at one time, contrary to the obvious and well-known facts, those that mounted an armed struggle against the Afghan people and their achievements tried to deny their involvement in this flagrant violation of international law, counting on the so-called covert operations to be carried out by military and special services personnel. But the "secret" is gradually coming out into the open. The statement made by President Reagan during his second month in office about the intention of giving military aid to Afghan counter-revolutionaries was not merely an official confirmation of that dangerous policy; it elevated United States armed interference in the affairs of Afghanistan to a qualitatively new plane. That statement by the United States President was followed by specific moves. This year the United States has allocated nearly \$100 million for arming and training bandits in special camps on Pakistani territory. It

has now been revealed that part of those funds has been used to pay for and smuggle into Pakistan Soviet-made weapons or replicas manufactured in Egypt.

99. One of the main purposes of Secretary of State Haig's visit to Beijing last summer was clearly to make China a trans-shipment base for the supply of arms to Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations. Aides to the Secretary of State, according to *The New York Times* of 18 June 1981, stated that "... the United States stood to gain from a strategic Chinese-American consensus and they expected closer co-ordination on such issues as Soviet influence in Cambodia and Afghanistan".

100. What is the United States seeking in South-West Asia? The United States Secretary of State Haig, speaking on 30 July of this year before the Senate Armed Services Committee, gave the following reply to that question:

"In Southwest Asia, the United States is seeking a strategic consensus among our friends directed toward the common Soviet threat. We are attempting to convince them that we are a reliable and capable security partner, serious about defending our vital interests in their region in partnership with them. The U.S. naval presence in the Indian Ocean, our efforts to improve security relations with Pakistan, and the generally expanded security assistance budget requests for South-west Asia are examples of this."<sup>3</sup>

Naturally, that concept leaves no room for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, while usual talk about the perceived "Soviet threat" merely serves to justify the expansion of United States military presence in the area.

*Mr. Adjoyi (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

101. In a letter to the editor of *The New York Times* published in the issue of 4 May of this year, L. Poullada, former State Department specialist in Afghan affairs, revealed United States designs in a more cynical and blunt manner: "American officials talk big about a Rapid Deployment Force for the Middle East but it has so far failed to materialize. The Afghans, however, have already provided us with such a force on the ground and in actual physical contact with the enemy."

102. These confessions show with what disdain Washington treats the interests of other peoples and how false are the contentions of United States officials concerning their alleged selfless solidarity with Afghan rebels and with Pakistan. Apparently, the United States would prefer Afghanistan to be what Iran was under the Shah, in other words, a military stronghold of American imperialism against neighbouring countries, rather than a democratic non-aligned State.

103. Surprisingly, those in Washington who have declared a crusade against "international terrorism" are in fact encouraging Afghan insurgents who terrorize their own people and are providing material support for their criminal acts. They brand as terrorists those who fight for the just and inalienable rights of the Palestinians while hailing as "freedom fighters" those who kill children, teachers and clergymen in Afghanistan. Is there any logic in all of this?

104. If the tension in the situation around Afghanistan is to be defused and a political settlement of the situation is to be achieved, it is essential above all to ensure the

complete cessation of armed or any other forms of interference in the internal affairs of that country and to create conditions that would rule out such interference in the future. As A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR stated in the general debate during the current session of the General Assembly:

"There is a basis for a political settlement; it is simple and, given goodwill, can be translated into reality. A constructive programme to this effect was set forth in the Statement by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 24 August this year." [7th meeting, para. 145.]

The content of those specific and elaborate proposals was clarified by Shah Mohammad Dost, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, in his statement before the General Assembly on 22 September of this year and in the statement just made by the representative of Afghanistan.

105. This plan for a political settlement is logical, flexible and realistic. It deals constructively both with substantive matters and with a framework for proposed talks with the Governments of the neighbouring countries. The proposals of the Afghan side take into account some of the wishes expressed by the other parties concerned and are a gesture of goodwill aimed at bringing about an early start of a meaningful dialogue.

106. The Afghan side expresses its readiness to conduct not only bilateral negotiations separately with Pakistan and Iran, although they still seem to be more preferable as the shortest path to agreement. In its latest proposals the Afghan Government gave its consent to trilateral talks if Afghanistan's partners in the talks find them more suitable. Moreover, Afghanistan does not object to the Secretary-General or his Personal Representative attending those negotiations, be they bilateral or trilateral. Of course, the talks should deal with the international aspects of the Afghan problem rather than with the domestic affairs of Afghanistan, which are fully and entirely within the competence of the Government of Afghanistan.

107. Agreements to normalize relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours should be complemented by appropriate international guarantees that would provide for the cessation and non-resumption of armed or any other forms of interference in Afghan affairs. Such guarantees should be an integral part of a political settlement. We share the view of the Afghan Government that the USSR, the United States and other countries acceptable to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its neighbours should figure among the countries extending such guarantees.

108. It is highly important to note that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan does not object to the discussion of questions pertaining to the elaboration of international guarantees being initiated simultaneously and conducted in parallel with bilateral or trilateral negotiations among Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. During the initial stage such a discussion might be conducted in the form of informal multilateral consultations and later on at a relevant international forum. It goes without saying that the examination of any problem concerning Afghanistan, including the situation that has developed around that country, should involve Afghanistan, in other words, specifically the Government which exists in Afghanistan and in effect exercises authority there. The achievement of a political settlement would create conditions for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from

Afghanistan. Thus, the sooner agreements that rule out interference in the affairs of Afghanistan are reached and implemented, the earlier the withdrawal of Soviet troops will be initiated and completed.

109. The statement by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has evoked positive reaction in a number of countries. It deserves to be carefully studied and accepted by all those who are truly interested in normalizing the situation in South-West Asia and who respect the right of peoples to develop along the path that they have chosen themselves without interference from outside.

110. The attitude of the Soviet Union is clear and definitive. We fully support the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 24 August. The Soviet Union favours a peaceful political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, complete and unconditional cessation and guaranteed non-resumption of armed or any other forms of interference in its affairs and the normalization of relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours. We regard Afghanistan as an independent non-aligned State and we believe that Afghanistan should retain such status in the future.

111. Here in the United Nations some people are deliberately inflating and distorting the issue of the presence of a limited Soviet military contingent on Afghan territory. Most actively engaged in all this are those who have engineered and now continue an armed interference aimed at overthrowing Afghanistan's lawful Government. The Soviet side has given a clear-cut reply to such pronouncements and arguments. Speaking in May of this year in Tbilisi, L. I. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union stated:

"An accord on a political settlement would make it possible to determine, by agreement with the Afghan side, a time-table and modalities for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The non-resumption of intervention against Afghanistan should be reliable and guaranteed. The withdrawal of troops could be carried out to the extent progress is made in implementing the agreements achieved."

112. It has to be pointed out that those who, like the United States and China, harp more than anyone else on the subject of the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan have in fact taken the lead in raising obstacles to a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and, consequently, obstacles to the withdrawal of the limited Soviet military contingent from Afghan territory. Hence their concern to preserve a focal point of tension in South-West Asia for the sake of their selfish objectives rather than to settle the current situation and safeguard the interests of the peoples of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

113. There is no other way to reduce the tension in South-West Asia but through negotiations. Unfortunately, Pakistan has so far been avoiding direct talks with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It may be recalled, however, that contacts took place recently between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan and Pakistan through the intermediary of the Secretary-General. Both sides regard those contacts as useful. Negotiation in the framework of such contacts is a more difficult endeavour than a direct dialogue. At the same time it would be

wrong to underestimate and, what is more, to ignore the wish expressed by both sides to continue the diplomatic process now underway. It is to be hoped that Pakistan is indeed ready, as its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Aga Shahi, stated in the general debate before the General Assembly "to set aside procedural problems and engage in an exchange of views on substantive issues through the Secretary-General or his representative [so as to] set in motion an irreversible process of a dialogue for peace". [23rd meeting, paras. 173 and 174.]

114. The opportunity to reach mutual understanding on this subject should not be wasted. In any case one can all but agree with the conclusion made in the report of the Secretary-General that "... the approach adopted can indeed facilitate the search for a fair political solution" [A/36/653, para. 8]. On the other hand, if the United Nations finds itself dragged into a fruitless and harmful discussion of the so-called Afghan question, this, looked at objectively, would only play into the hands of those who wish to wreck a political settlement and preserve tension in South-West Asia to serve their own imperialist and hegemonist interests.

115. It is quite obvious that the resolution on the "Afghan question" adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session did not bring a political settlement one iota closer, and could not have done so. If some headway—albeit insignificant—has indeed been made in reaching a political settlement, this has happened not because of that resolution but in spite of it. The draft resolution submitted to the Assembly at the current session has the same shortcomings that made unacceptable the anti-Afghan resolution adopted at the thirty-fifth session. Thus, for instance, it fails to mention talks as a means of reaching a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The issue of the withdrawal of troops from Afghan territory has been separated from the problem of guaranteed cessation of interference in the affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Besides, the draft resolution contains a number of other totally unacceptable paragraphs which are tantamount to encroachment on the sovereign rights of Afghanistan. Therefore, the draft resolution lacks political realism, ignores the objective factors of the situation and totally overlooks the legitimate interests and constructive initiatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Consequently, the Soviet delegation strongly opposes this draft resolution. Its adoption contrary to the clearly expressed will of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan would constitute impermissible interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. We feel that those who vote in favour of this draft resolution will in fact be supporting—of their own free will or under pressure from other States—the preservation of tensions in South-West Asia for an indefinite period of time.

116. The Soviet delegation reaffirms once again its conviction that the efforts of the United Nations should be aimed not at stirring up passions and backing armed interference, but at facilitating in every possible way a genuine political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

117. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): The situation in Afghanistan, which was brought about in December 1979 by the Soviet military invasion and aroused indignation and apprehension throughout the world, continues unabated. That situation, as has been repeatedly argued, violates basic principles of international law, in particular the principles of non-interference and non-use of force which are contained in the Charter of the United Nations. It thus

constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security. Voices of profound concern and appeals for a settlement of this serious problem have continued to echo throughout the international community.

118. The clearest expression of world opinion is found in resolution ES-6/2, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly in January 1980 and which calls for, *inter alia*, the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan. A similar call was made last year in General Assembly resolution 35/37. In spite of these expressions of concern and appeals from the international community, the Soviet Union remains intransigent, and there are as yet no prospects for a settlement. The Government of Japan maintains that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, which contravenes international law and justice, should be terminated at once and that the Soviet troops should be withdrawn immediately. The problem must be solved in accordance with the principles of non-interference and respect for the right of self-determination.

119. In this connection I wish to refer to the efforts made by the Secretary-General to facilitate negotiations among the parties concerned. On two occasions he dispatched Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar to the countries in the region and in May of this year he himself visited the Soviet Union to explore ways and means for settling the problem. Japan appreciates and supports such efforts and hopes they will be continued in the future.

120. Japan fully understands the profound anxieties which this situation has created among the non-aligned countries, and particularly the Islamic countries. The efforts which the Organization of the Islamic Conference has been making for its settlement have our full support. Furthermore, we highly appreciate the European Council's proposal, made last June, for an international conference to bring about a solution, as well as the Council's efforts to influence the Soviet Union.

121. The situation in Afghanistan is having an enormous effect on Pakistan and other neighbouring countries.

My country sympathizes with the Government of Pakistan, which is experiencing manifold difficulties in receiving refugees from Afghanistan. It is our intention to continue to extend—from the humanitarian point of view as well as because of considerations of regional peace and stability—positive co-operation to relief activities through UNHCR and the World Food Programme, as well as through other organizations.

122. Japan strongly supports draft resolution A/36/L.15, which has been proposed by more than 40 Member States. It reflects the will of the international community and confirms basic principles for the settlement of the problem. My delegation hopes that it will be adopted by an overwhelming majority, as were previous resolutions on this question.

123. The Government of Japan reiterates its appeal to the Soviet Union to heed the calls which the international community has been making during the past two years to withdraw its troops immediately. Further, it urges that the right of self-determination be promptly restored to the Afghan people. Japan does not recognize the present régime in Afghanistan, although, as an Asian nation, it had long maintained friendly and co-operative relations with the Afghan people. Therefore, we strongly hope that the Afghan people will be able in the near future to establish a government based upon their freely expressed will, and that we may once again enjoy relations of friendship and co-operation.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*

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<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14129.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. 81, No. 2054 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981), p. 17.