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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Tarua (Papua New Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 26

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

1. Mr. MATHIAS (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): At the 69th meeting of the preceding session, I had an opportunity, on behalf of my Government, to condemn the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. In so doing, my statement was consistent with Portugal's position as expounded at a meeting of the Security Council on 6 January 1980.¹ At that time, my delegation expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would fully assume its responsibilities in the international community by creating conditions that would enable the people of Afghanistan freely to decide their own destiny. Today, we are once again bound to note the persistence of a situation that represents an unacceptable expansionist policy and one that threatens international peace and security.

2. For it is with the greatest apprehension that my Government witnesses a super-Power remaining indifferent to the repeated appeals of the international community and of the Organization by prolonging an aggression that is a flagrant violation of the most elementary principles of the Charter and of international law. The sacred right of States to the inviolability of their borders and, therefore, to the integrity of their territory and to the full exercise of their national sovereignty constitutes the basis of relations among States, while also being the principle upon which international peace and understanding must be based. In the case of Afghanistan, we are witnessing the use of force by a permanent member of the Security Council in order to impose a status of limited sovereignty that we reject, for it can be justified by no consideration, either ideological or of security. Such a use of force has come about under the unlikely and tragically ludicrous pretext of invoking a treaty of friendship that would render admissible a military assistance designed to bring down the very Government that had requested it.

3. In the present debate, we are dealing with the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and to define their political, religious, economic, social and cultural policies in full sovereignty. It is also a question of international détente itself. The Soviet Union is a signa-

tory of the Helsinki Act,² whose principles we are at present seeking to reaffirm and to safeguard at the review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, at Madrid. To proclaim attachment to the fundamental principles of international law and to consider them valid only for a given region, while at the same time assuming the right not to respect them in other areas of the world is inadmissible. It is the comprehensive and indivisible nature of stability, security and peace that is at stake.

4. The use of force by the Soviet Union against a neighbouring country thus constitutes a grave factor of imbalance and insecurity for the region. But Afghanistan also claimed to be a member of the non-aligned movement, whose principles, which we respect, also seem to us to have been infringed in their essence by the military intervention of the Soviet Union and its persistence.

5. During the last two years the Afghan people has had to bear a long succession of privations and sufferings. We pay a tribute to that people for the spirit of sacrifice and courage evinced in its struggle to recover national dignity and freedom. The Soviet military occupation and the consequent repression which has been unleashed have led to an ever growing number of Afghan refugees in the neighbouring countries. My Government fully supports humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees as well as the aid which the international community is according to the countries where those displaced populations seek shelter. In this respect, I should like to emphasize the importance we attach to the action carried out by UNHCR.

6. Throughout its existence the United Nations has contributed to the struggle of peoples for liberation. It also seeks to guarantee their fundamental right to self-determination and, in certain cases, to enable them to recover territories of which they have been deprived. As regards Afghanistan, a formerly free and independent country, we see the forced exodus of its people because of the denial to them of a right which we seek here to ensure to other peoples and regions. It is for the community of nations to demand that this state of affairs be ended by the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet military forces of occupation.

7. My Government appreciates the very praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to find solutions to the problem of Afghanistan. The report of the Secretary-General [A/36/653], which we have read with special care, gives an account of these. His efforts should continue to be effectively supported by the international community.

8. We also welcome the decisions taken by the Third Islamic Conference, held at Mecca-Tarif in January [see A/36/138], and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in February [see A/36/116 and Corr.1]. In this same spirit we very strongly reaffirm our support for the plan presented by the European Community to convene an international conference on Afghanistan.³

9. We shall vote in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.15—as we voted in favour of resolution 35/37, adopted last year—since it contains the elements and proposes action which should serve as a basis in seeking a peaceful solution to the present situation.

10. The Soviet Union knows what the community of nations expects of it. We hope that at last it will see that the elementary principles of justice and international law are respected. It could thus contribute to the restoration of an atmosphere of international confidence, making possible dialogue, negotiation and co-operation that are essential to the preservation of international peace and security.

11. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I wish to emphasize once again the Bulgarian delegation's resolute disapproval of the imposition of a debate on agenda item 26 by the General Assembly. This item was included in the agenda for the present session despite the categorical objections of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. We are bound to note that this is a flagrant violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations. This fact in itself transforms the present debate into a factor which is detrimental to the restoration and strengthening of international co-operation among members of the international community and raises additional obstacles to the political settlement of issues related to the situation created around Afghanistan.

12. The delegation of Bulgaria takes part in this debate only to reaffirm its firm support for the efforts made by the lawful Government of Afghanistan to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of existing problems.

13. The democratic revolution of April 1978 was an expression of the centuries-old aspirations of the Afghan people to break the chains of socio-economic subjection and to do away with feudalism, underdevelopment and poverty. To raise the standard of living of the people, to democratize socio-political life, to create the conditions for the accelerated development of national culture: those, in sum, are the noble objectives of these substantive transformations. It is to be emphasized that the foreign policy of peace and non-alignment, mutual understanding and co-operation with all neighbouring countries constitutes yet another valuable gain for the Afghan people.

14. Nevertheless, the forces of imperialism and hegemonism, which have seen in the work of this revolution a threat to their selfish interests, have not resigned themselves to the choice of the Afghan people. The hostile, frenzied campaign against Afghanistan has turned into direct intervention, into incessant acts of armed intervention designed to undermine the free and democratic development of that country. Moreover the tension created around Afghanistan has served those forces that have provoked it to camouflage their global plans to exacerbate the international situation in order to justify the new spiral in the arms race started by the United States and to impose their policy of the position of strength.

15. On imaginary pretexts relating to the so-called question of Afghanistan all negotiations for the stabilization of the international situation have been blocked, as have negotiations on the effective control of the arms race and the maintenance of the process of détente in international relations. To this end there is a linking of the situation created around Afghanistan with the solution of radically different questions that have nothing to do with the destiny of that country. This provides further proof that the

false protectors and defenders of the Afghan people totally ignore the true interests of all the States of that region. Within the framework of this global strategy, attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign Afghanistan continue and have been elevated to the level of official policy. The efforts to organize, arm and train anti-Afghan mercenaries and to send them in to perpetrate acts of violence against the civilian population are continuing. The object of those terrorist activities is to undermine the national economy of a developing country and to cause supply difficulties and massive displacements of the population.

16. The propaganda campaign, the sole purpose of which is to give a false image of the real situation, and into which its instigators would obviously like to drag the United Nations, is also continuing. But this attempt to legalize open interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs and the terrorist acts against that country and to justify the unprecedented increase in arms deliveries to certain countries of the region is doomed to failure.

17. At the same time, it is fitting to emphasize that, despite this subversive political campaign directed against independent Afghanistan, the democratic Government of that country is successfully remedying the complex political and socio-economic problems which it faces. The transformations carried out in the country are irreversible because they are the expression of the will and the deepest aspirations of the vast masses of the people, since they reflect their vital interests. The consolidation of national unity, public order and economic life and the restoration of confidence, calm and faith in the future are extremely important achievements of the patriotic Government.

18. In the opinion of the Government of Bulgaria, the political settlement of disputes and the normalization of relations between Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries, that is to say, the only issue concerning the situation which has been created, resides in the realistic and general approach adopted by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This flexible approach and the concrete proposals stated in detail in the declaration of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 1 May 1980,⁴ and reaffirmed and developed on 24 August last in document A/36/457, set out acceptable bases for a settlement which will guarantee the political stability of South-West Asia. This should make it possible to eliminate the tension now prevailing in that region and to establish relations of peace and good neighbourliness, so that the States and peoples in that part of the world can fully devote themselves to the complex socio-economic problems which they must face.

19. We fully share the view that the key to an equitable and lasting settlement of the problems resides in the cessation of any interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and the adoption and application, under viable international trusteeship, of guarantees to prevent such interference in the future. This would create the prior conditions for the withdrawal of the limited Soviet military contingent. As we see it, such a political settlement of the situation created around Afghanistan, which could be adopted and applied progressively, would be in the interests of the Afghan people and of the peoples of the neighbouring countries and would eliminate tension in the entire region.

20. The establishment of a direct dialogue between the countries concerned would be an important practical step in this direction, and would enjoy the full support of all

peace-loving countries and peoples. This dialogue would be carried out parallel with the preparation of international guarantees and could therefore lead to multilateral negotiations of an informal kind and could then be continued in an appropriate international forum.

21. It is only by understanding the political realities in the region, and the possibility of discussing the problems regarding the situation created round Afghanistan with the overall questions of strengthening peace and security in South-West Asia that it will be possible to bring about stability and eliminate tension in that part of the world.

Mr. Kittani (Iraq) took the Chair.

22. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

23. The continuing crisis in Afghanistan is a matter of profound concern to the General Assembly. Its growing toll of human suffering brings anguish to Afghanistan itself and places an increasingly severe burden on neighbouring States. Its reverberations pose an ever-present threat to the stability of the region and a constant danger to international peace and security. Its long shadow spreads darkness over détente, which is and must be global and indivisible. It is now nearly two years since the Soviet Union began its military occupation of Afghanistan, in flagrant breach of its obligations under the Charter. Despite repeated condemnations and calls for withdrawal by the overwhelming majority of the international community, the occupation continues. Indeed, it has taken on an increasingly permanent character. It is particularly shocking that the people of a developing and non-aligned country should continue to be the victims of such an act of force. This cannot but have a serious effect on international relations. The tragic sufferings of the Afghan people increase. Innocent men and women lose their lives and homes as the occupying forces attempt to suppress a courageous resistance. The refusal of this staunchly independent people to submit to invasion demonstrates the futility of the arguments put forward by the Soviet Union to justify its military action. It is transparently clear that the wish of the Afghan people is for freedom to determine their own future. This is also their right.

24. The enormous scale of the human misery caused by the Soviet occupation is shown by the vast number of refugees now in neighbouring countries—over 2 million in Pakistan alone. The number of these refugees increases day by day, imposing a heavy burden on their host countries. The members of the Community, mindful of the plight of the refugees and recognizing the burden which the host countries are having to shoulder, have been making a significant contribution towards the international relief effort.

25. But assistance to the refugees can be no more than a temporary palliative. What the refugees want is to be able to go home. And that means that there must be a genuine political solution for which the need is more urgent than ever. Such a solution should enable Afghanistan to return to its traditional independent and non-aligned status, free from external interference and with the Afghan people having the full capacity to exercise their right to self-determination. It should also enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in full security and dignity. The principles which should be observed in the search for this solution have been clearly

laid down by the Assembly, and the members of the Community reaffirm their full and unchanging support for them.

26. It must be a matter of deep regret that the Soviet Union has been unwilling, as yet, to accept a solution in accordance with these principles, even though they have been endorsed by 111 States Members of the United Nations. We do not consider that the Soviet Union's support for the proposals put forward on 24 August by the régime in Kabul represents any real advance as far as the substance of the problem is concerned. There is no change in the Soviet demand that the international community accept and recognize a régime which, as the continued resistance and the outflow of refugees clearly demonstrate, the Afghan people do not accept. Moreover, the proposals of 24 August provide no guarantee of Soviet military withdrawal and thus fail to address the root cause of the problem.

27. In seeking a political solution the members of the Community have continued to give their support and encouragement to the initiatives of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. They have welcomed too the efforts made by the non-aligned movement. They gave their full support to General Assembly resolution 35/37 of 20 November 1980, which sought the appointment by the Secretary-General of a special representative who would be able to exercise his good offices in promoting a political solution in accordance with the provisions of that resolution. They welcomed the appointment of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, and would like to express their appreciation of the efforts which the Secretary-General and he have made. We very much hope that the continuation of these efforts, which are described in the Secretary-General's recent report, will serve to overcome the present deadlock and to promote progress towards a political solution in accordance with resolution 35/37.

28. The 10 members, for their part, have put forward, in the statement by the European Council of 30 June of this year, what they believe to be a reasonable and practical proposal for opening the way to a political solution of the problem of Afghanistan; this plan for a two-stage conference on Afghanistan³ was carefully drawn up. It takes account of statements by Soviet leaders but at the same time recognizes that no settlement which is not endorsed by the Afghan people can bring lasting peace and stability to the area. It accepts that, given the existing political climate, the difficult question of Afghan representation cannot be solved at the outset of the negotiating process. It therefore proposes a formula which postpones that problem until there exists a climate more conducive to agreement, while guaranteeing that the Afghan people will be represented and will participate in all decisions taken by the proposed conference, thereby fully safeguarding their rights.

29. The members of the Community have found in their contacts with other States a wide measure of support for their proposal as a genuine attempt to advance a peaceful solution. They therefore sincerely regret that the Soviet Union has so far taken a negative and inflexible attitude towards it. They also regret the negative response of the representative of the régime in Kabul contained in document A/36/672 of 13 November. If and when the Soviet Union truly wishes to withdraw its troops in the context of a political solution—and that withdrawal is the crux of the matter—then the Community's proposal offers a way for negotiations to begin. In the meantime the 10 mem-

bers maintain their proposal and their readiness to enter into discussions about it.

30. In this debate we are reaffirming the great importance which the international community continues to attach to the question of Afghanistan. To accept the present situation in that country would be to acquiesce in the most serious breach in the fundamental principles of the Organization. The General Assembly owes it to the suffering people of Afghanistan to show that its support for their rights continues as strongly as ever. It can do this by continuing to keep their plight closely before it, by rejecting the attempt to impose a *fait accompli* and by demonstrating in its vote the desire to seek a genuine political solution. The Community urges that the members of the General Assembly should once again demonstrate clearly that this is their steadfast position and that it enjoys overwhelming support.

31. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): The tragedy of Afghanistan continues unabated. The proud and freedom-loving people of Afghanistan and their country are still being subjected to the active presence of foreign troops. The internal strife in Afghanistan is no doubt a consequence of their presence. At the same time the number of Afghan refugees is ever increasing, posing severe social and economic problems for Pakistan and Iran as host countries. The passage of time has not healed any wounds; on the contrary, it has made the need for a negotiated political solution to the problem of Afghanistan all the more urgent.

32. Turkey is a country whose people have traditionally enjoyed fraternal bonds with the people of Afghanistan. We have therefore been deeply and closely concerned with the unfolding events in that country, and from the outset we have disapproved of foreign military intervention and foreign interference in the affairs of the Afghan people, which constitute grave violations of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We have regarded the situation in Afghanistan as a threat to regional stability and a danger to international peace and security. Furthermore, we have felt that the developments concerning Afghanistan have dealt a serious blow to the process of détente, which in our estimation is indivisible and global in scope.

33. The situation in Afghanistan remains critical, and the need for a negotiated political settlement is ever more imperative. As we have stated on previous occasions, solution of the Afghanistan problem would be best served by a political settlement. Such a settlement should reflect the legitimate interests of all the concerned parties. We believe that the desire and calls for a solution on the part of the international community are necessary conditions for a settlement in Afghanistan. But that desire and the appeals based upon it will not be sufficient to solve the Afghan problem without paving a reasonable road towards such a settlement. The eventual solution and the road to it must, if they are to become reality, be viable and respond to the concerns of all the parties to the problem.

34. In our view, to be fair and lasting, any solution for Afghanistan must provide for the following: the withdrawal of all foreign troops in the country; the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs; the preservation of the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan and of its territorial integrity and non-aligned character; the free and unfettered exercise of the Afghan people's right to self-determination and self-government; and the return, voluntarily, of the Afghan refugees to their homeland in safety and honour.

35. Since the consideration of the Afghan question at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly there have been certain initiatives of some significance towards finding a solution to the problem. None of those efforts has yet borne fruit, but we feel that all reasonable avenues should be kept open. In this context we should like to express our appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General and those of his Personal Representative, the appointment of whom was an important step. Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar's contacts with the parties have been encouraging. We do hope that the endeavours of the Secretary-General will proceed in a manner that is tangibly geared towards the implementation of those provisions stipulated in the United Nations resolutions for an Afghan settlement. We further welcome the expressed readiness of the parties concerned to continue this process under the aegis of the Secretary-General.

36. We should like also to acknowledge the importance of the initiatives of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and of similar efforts within other organizations. The ideas put forward by the European Community have, we feel, been constructive.

37. At the 68th meeting of the thirty-fifth session I said in the Assembly that the debate here and the resolution adopted should bring a negotiated political settlement for Afghanistan closer to realization. We continue to believe that in regard to Afghanistan, as in other conflict situations, it is more useful and purposeful for the United Nations to help pave the way towards a solution by being constructive and by creating linkages between the parties, rather than emphasizing blame and condemnation.

38. It is in that context and with that understanding that we view draft resolution A/36/L.15. Turkey is a sponsor of that draft resolution. Last year a similar text received the overwhelming support of the Assembly. We hope that the General Assembly will again demonstrate its resolve to make a positive and constructive contribution to the settlement of the Afghanistan problem by adopting draft resolution A/36/L.15.

39. The people and Government of Turkey strongly wish that the problem of Afghanistan will come to a rapid end with an honourable negotiated solution, for we know that the freedom-loving people of Afghanistan will accept nothing less.

40. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*translation from Chinese*): In January 1980, at the sixth emergency special session the General Assembly adopted, by 104 votes in favour, resolution ES-6/2 calling for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. In November of the same year, at the thirty-fifth session the Assembly adopted by the overwhelming majority of 111 votes in favour, resolution 35/37, calling for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops so as to settle the question of Afghanistan. This year, the Islamic Conference, the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries and a series of meetings of international organizations and specialized agencies have all condemned the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, demanded the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops, expressed firm support for the struggle of the Afghan people to regain their freedom and independence, reaffirmed their right to determine their own future and called for full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

41. The Soviet Union, however, has turned a deaf ear to the voice of the international community and world opin-

ion and refused, to this day, to withdraw its occupation forces, in defiance of the United Nations resolutions. If anything, it is stepping up its war of aggression against Afghanistan and the suppression of the Afghan people. The construction of fortifications and facilities of a permanent nature shows that it has no inclination to leave the country. In these circumstances, at the present session the General Assembly will have to give serious consideration once again to the question of Afghanistan.

42. Two years ago, on Christmas Eve, the Soviet Union suddenly unleashed close to 100,000 troops in an undeclared war against its small and weak neighbour, the non-aligned State of Afghanistan, in gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law. Within a period of two years, it has destroyed towns and villages and massacred the inhabitants by means of every type of modern arms short of nuclear weapons. Its repeated "mop-up" operations have created a vast no man's land and driven 3 million inhabitants, about one fifth of Afghanistan's total population, into neighbouring Pakistan and Iran as refugees. On the strength of their modern military apparatus and terrorist tactics, the hegemonists had expected a swift occupation of the entire country and complete subjugation of the inhabitants. However, the Afghan people, who have a glorious tradition of resisting foreign aggression, have put up a tenacious fight from the very beginning. For two years now, the entire nation has been engaged in guerrilla war throughout the provinces by fighting with weapons captured from the enemies. In spite of extremely difficult conditions, they are throwing themselves into the war of resistance with an indomitable spirit and are getting stronger with every battle. From the vast rural and mountainous areas now under their control, they mount frequent attacks on major roads and towns that are temporarily in the hands of the enemies. Desertions and defections are rife among the puppet troops as a result of low morale, and the puppet régime is torn by internal strife. The aggressor troops now find themselves deeply bogged down in Afghanistan. It should be obvious that the heroic resistance of the Afghan people over the last two years, aside from shattering the aggressors' dream of a quick conquest, has served to check their southward expansion. The resistance of the Afghan people is therefore more than a fight for their own national survival; it is a contribution to the safeguarding of peace and security in South Asia, the Gulf region and the world as a whole. The international community is duty bound to support in every way possible the just struggle of the Afghan people.

43. In order to cover up this naked act of aggression, the hegemonists claim that their troops were sent upon the so-called "invitation of the Government of Afghanistan". I need not waste any time on such clumsy fabrications since they have long been exposed by others. What needs to be analysed here is the so-called "political solution" recently put forward by the hegemonists in an attempt to escape condemnation by world opinion. Let us see what it really consists of.

44. The so-called "new proposals" announced this August in the name of the Kabul régime are no different, in essence, from what has been advocated by the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The following are the key elements of the proposals.

45. First, they insist that the armed invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by a foreign Power are the "inter-

nal affairs of Afghanistan", and therefore not open for discussion. On the other hand, the struggle of the Afghan people against foreign aggression, the opposition to Soviet aggression on the part of other countries, including the Islamic and non-aligned countries, and their support for the struggle of the Afghan people are branded as "outside interference". They peremptorily demand an end to what they call "outside interference" before they will even contemplate a gradual withdrawal of troops. This is indeed a most remarkable feat of turning everything upside-down. Armed aggression and occupation of a neighbouring country by an army of 100,000 men would not count as "outside interference", but countries that uphold justice and do not have a single soldier inside Afghanistan would constitute "outside interference". Even the Afghan people themselves who are resisting foreign aggression would now become elements of "outside interference". Now what kind of logic is that? Does it then follow, that Israel's seizure of Palestine and other Arab territories would be the "internal affairs" of Israel, and that the demand of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples for the return of their homeland or lost territories would constitute "outside interference" against Israel? Obviously, this is an attempt to extort from the international community recognition that the armed invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union are both reasonable and legitimate. If such a tyrant's logic were to be accepted, one might as well tear up the Charter.

46. Secondly, another key element of the "new proposals" is the suggestion for a regional conference to be followed by a pledge of "guarantee" from a number of countries. Apparently, the aim, on the one hand, is to gain international recognition for the Kabul régime, which is propped up by foreign occupation forces, and to provide an excuse for the Soviet Union to refuse to withdraw its troops. The aim, on the other hand, is to reduce a global problem which endangers world peace and security—namely, the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union—to a local or regional matter. In this way, the question of Afghanistan would be steered away from the framework of the United Nations, and thus no longer be subject to the provisions of United Nations resolutions. This is of course impermissible.

47. Thirdly, the Soviet Union is not prepared to discuss its invasion of Afghanistan because it considers the question to be the "internal affairs" of that country. But then it suggests that the "international aspect" of the same question should be discussed "in connection with questions of Persian Gulf security". What it seeks here is the conclusion of an "international agreement" which would take into account "the legitimate interest of all parties", and that of course would include, first and foremost, the interest of the Soviet Union. This would enable "all the parties", again including the Soviet Union, "to participate in Gulf affairs" and thereby "guarantee the peace and security of the Gulf region". It should not be difficult to see that the real message here is simply that the *fait accompli* created by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is "irreversible" and beyond discussion; whereas the Gulf region, which is as yet beyond the reach of the Soviet Union, is to be open for Soviet "participation" and meddling. It is now crystal clear that the real intention of invading Afghanistan is precisely to use it as a springboard for further expansion into the Gulf region in executing the southward-drive strategy. The acceptance of this proposal would be tantamount to rewarding the Soviet Union for its acts of aggression and giving it the green light for aggression on an even larger scale in the Gulf region.

48. History has proved that the aggressors will never consider troop withdrawal unless they have been hit hard on the battlefield and isolated by the international community. When the aggressor in the present case is showing no sign of a change of heart, it is all the more necessary for the international community to uphold principles and persevere in its efforts, so as to create the necessary conditions for a genuine political solution in the end. All the previous General Assembly resolutions have stressed the necessity of withdrawing all foreign troops from Afghanistan, respecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that country, and allowing its people to decide their own future free from an outside interference. This is the political solution advocated by the States Members of the United Nations, and the basis for any political solution can only be the total withdrawal of foreign troops.

49. In our view, at the present session the General Assembly should continue to stand up for justice in accordance with the wishes of its membership. It must call on the Soviet Union to withdraw, immediately and unconditionally, all its occupation forces from Afghanistan, restore the independence and non-aligned status of that country and allow the Afghan people to choose freely their own social and political system. After the question of Afghanistan has been settled in accordance with the aforementioned principles, the countries concerned should join in an international guarantee against any form of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, the occupation of its territory, or the use of it to violate the independence and sovereignty of other countries in the region.

50. Not only does the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet troops threaten the peace and security of neighbouring Pakistan and Iran, but the influx of Afghan refugees also imposes a heavy economic burden on those neighbours, Pakistan in particular. The tremendous humanitarian efforts and contributions made by the countries concerned in the past year for the relief and resettlement of a huge number of Afghan refugees have been highly appreciated by people throughout the world. The exodus of Afghan refugees continues to increase as a result of brutal suppression by the foreign occupation forces. It is our hope that all the countries that uphold justice and cherish peace, and the international organizations, will continue or increase their material assistance to the Afghan refugees, so as to alleviate their hardship and lessen the burden of such host countries as Pakistan.

51. There is a long tradition of friendship between the Afghan and Chinese peoples. We have always supported and sympathized with each other. Naturally, we are extremely concerned about the serious situation arising from the armed occupation of that country by a foreign Power. China has consistently supported the people of Afghanistan in their struggle to safeguard national independence and to develop the national economy. China has never interfered in Afghanistan's internal affairs. We are in favour of a just and reasonable solution of the question of Afghanistan, but refuse to accept the *fait accompli* of the invasion as the basis of any political solution. We want to see the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly implemented, so that foreign forces will be withdrawn and the conditions created for the solution of this question. The Chinese delegation supports draft resolution A/36/L.15. We urge the General Assembly to adopt it and hope it will be earnestly and fully implemented.

52. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): My delegation wishes to take this opportunity to welcome the delegation of Antigua and Barbuda, whose country has become a Member of the United Nations. Its admission is a further step towards the goal of universality in the membership of the Organization.

53. It is now close to two years since the serious event in Afghanistan took place. That event, which was in contravention of the principle in the Charter against military interventions, has had a far-reaching negative impact on international relations. It has increased the sense of insecurity among smaller nations. The relations between the two major Powers have considerably deteriorated, and the process of détente has received a serious setback.

54. The position of Nepal on the situation in Afghanistan is clear. We have always held that a just world order is best guaranteed by the scrupulous observance of the principles of sovereign equality, non-interference, non-use of force, and peaceful coexistence. The inalienable right of every nation to choose its own political, social and economic system, free from interventions or imposition from outside, is sacred and inviolable. These principles are also the cardinal principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and the membership of the Organization commits each State to honour and uphold these principles.

55. The situation in Afghanistan cannot be an exception to the sets of values in international relations. We cannot accept any justification for military intervention, nor can we recognize a situation which is created by intervention. In Afghanistan, our concern has been increased by the human misery that the event has caused. Therefore, we once again reiterate our appeal for the withdrawal of the foreign forces, which alone can enable the people of Afghanistan to exercise freely their right to self-determination.

56. Over the past two years, the international community has deliberated the situation in various forums. The Security Council and the General Assembly, at its sixth emergency special session and subsequently at its thirty-fifth regular session, considered the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. Outside the United Nations, the movement of the non-aligned countries and the Islamic Conference have explored ways to find a solution to the problem. In this context, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his endeavours. He and his Personal Representative have been seriously engaged in finding a way to facilitate the search for a just political solution of the situation. We support the continuation of their mission.

57. It is a matter of deep regret that a political solution of the question continues to elude us. We firmly believe that only a just and comprehensive political solution can end the political and human aspects of the Afghan situation. With these considerations in view, Nepal is a sponsor of draft resolution A/36/L.15, which contains basic principles and elements essential to a final political settlement, and is a sincere effort on the part of the sponsors to break the present impasse.

58. Mr. van WELL (Federal Republic of Germany): The representative of the United Kingdom has given a comprehensive outline of the position of the 10 member States of the European Community on the question of Afghanistan. We fully support this position.

59. Two years ago the Soviet Union invaded a non-aligned developing country. The armed intervention caused death and incalculable misery to the Afghan people and deprived them of their freedom and self-determination.

60. When Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, the Federal Government expressed its shock and concern. The principle of the non-use of force was broken in one of the most sensitive areas of the world. This was done by a Power bearing special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The invasion was bound to have very serious effects on the international climate. It cast serious doubt on the political will of the Soviet Union to participate in the international efforts aimed at outlawing war as a means of politics. The action of the Soviet Army has definitely undermined the credibility of Soviet initiatives in this and other forums concerning respect for the principle of the non-use of force. Above all, the lack of restraint demonstrated by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan underscored the fears and suspicions of those who are concerned about expansionist Soviet designs. When the Soviet Union sent its armed forces into Afghanistan, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a small neighbouring country were violated. These principles are the very basis of the peaceful development and co-operation of the international community. This is why the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan is a challenge to the stability and integrity of the whole family of nations.

61. But there is no longer any future in hegemonic aspirations. Interventions in the internal affairs of other countries are no longer tolerated with silence and resignation. The international community, especially the Islamic States and the non-aligned movement, have clearly demonstrated that they will not accept the Soviet policy of creating *faits accomplis* in Afghanistan. My Government has supported the impressive initiative of these States to unite for peace. Together with our partners, we strongly supported their urgent appeal for a speedy political solution to the Afghan problem.

62. In General Assembly resolution ES-6/2 and 35/37 the United Nations called for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine their own form of government and their economic, political and social system, free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever. We have supported these efforts. Furthermore, we have, within the framework of the European Community, helped to elaborate a proposal for a two-phase conference aiming at a political solution of the conflict in Afghanistan which takes into account the legitimate interests of all concerned. It remains the genuine hope of my Government that this proposal, as well as the initiatives of the Islamic Conference and the efforts of the non-aligned movement, will help overcome the Afghan problem.

63. But up to now the situation in Afghanistan remains unchanged. The occupation continues. The Soviet Union has rejected the call of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations to withdraw its troops. The Soviet Union has not even agreed to negotiate on a comprehensive and just political solution in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Assembly. Under these circumstances, the persevering efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to ensure the implementation of resolution 35/37, which we appreciate,

have so far not been able to produce any substantial results.

64. The Soviet Union, for its part, has undertaken different diplomatic activities with regard to Afghanistan. A comprehensive propaganda campaign was organized in support of the proposals of the régime installed in Afghanistan. All these efforts served only to divert public opinion from the real issue, namely, the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops, and to consolidate Soviet military intervention. In persisting in its attempt to impose a military solution the Soviet Union is again showing a remarkable defiance of world opinion. But what is more important and much worse is that each day that passes increases the suffering of the Afghan people. The tragedy goes on; oppression and violence are causing new bloodshed and misery.

65. But the courageous resistance of the Afghan people has not been broken. In spite of the heavy casualties inflicted on them by Soviet forces equipped with modern and sophisticated weapons, the resistance is even growing. This clearly indicates the extent of the oppression to which the people in Afghanistan are subjected. It reveals in particular their total disapproval of the political system imposed on them. This is dramatically underlined by the fact that more than 2.5 million out of the 16 million Afghan people have chosen to leave their homes and their country. This tremendous outflow of refugees further impairs the social and political stability of the region. Pakistan and Iran have accepted the heavy burden of providing food, shelter and security to most of the Afghan refugees. The international community owes a great debt to these countries. Our thanks go also to the States and international organizations which are contributing, with us, to international relief and assistance.

66. The longer the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan lasts, the more serious its effect on international peace and security will be and the more intolerable it will become. Appeasement in cases of military intervention only encourages further use of military force. Therefore we strongly urge the General Assembly to reiterate the call for a comprehensive and equitable political solution. The Federal Republic of Germany will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Assembly.

67. Mr. THIOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): Two major events occurred one year apart, in 1978 and in 1979. Those events profoundly upset international relations because of the grave implications for the independence and freedom of peoples on the one hand and for international peace and security on the other. It is generally recognized now that the international situation is no longer what it was only a few years ago because of the invasion and occupation of Democratic Kampuchea by the Vietnamese army and because of the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. In both cases, an independent State member of the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement, fell victim to the expansionist policy pursued by the authorities both of Hanoi and of Moscow as part of their global strategy for regional and world domination.

68. In taking part in this debate in the General Assembly on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea wishes first of all to extend the fraternal greetings of the people of Kampuchea and the national army of Democratic Kampuchea to the valiant Afghan people and the heroic *Mujahideen*. Our people

and our national army assure those companions in arms of their unswerving solidarity with them in their struggle for the same cause of national independence and international peace and security. As the victim of similar attacks at the hands of the Vietnamese expansionists, the people of Kampuchea are in a better position than any others to appreciate the untold suffering of the Afghan people. More than any others also, my people welcomes the increasing success achieved by the Afghan people in their struggle against the Soviet invaders. Just as we are convinced of our own victory, so we are convinced of that of the Afghan people, despite the many obstacles and difficulties still blocking the long road to national liberation.

69. By invading and occupying Afghanistan with some 100,000 soldiers of the Red Army, the Soviet authorities hoped to conduct a swift war and gain a lightning victory. They thought thereby to confront the world with a second *fait accompli*, the first being the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by the Vietnamese army. But, contrary to their expectations, as in the case of Kampuchea, the valiant struggle of the people cancelled out the machinations of the invaders and brought to light the following facts.

70. First, all countries which cherish peace and justice are clearly aware today that détente, peaceful coexistence and disarmament, about which the Soviet authorities have been making so much fuss for decades, are nothing but slogans designed to mask and promote their global expansionist strategy. Today the whole world is aware that we have returned to the time of the cold war and that the danger of a third world war is constantly increasing as the expansionist super-Power continues to pursue its strategy of world domination and the Soviet and Vietnamese forces continue their invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and Democratic Kampuchea. Those invasions and occupations have not only destabilized the whole of Asia but have also had a serious impact on international peace and security. They are preventing the formation of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, and the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

71. Secondly, the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and Viet Nam in Kampuchea are not waging a traditional war of colonial conquest such as history has known in past centuries, but are engaged in a war of annexation and racial extermination. In order to achieve their aims the aggressors have not hesitated to use chemical weapons and famine, in addition to sophisticated conventional weapons. Afghanistan, like Kampuchea, has been put to fire and the sword. The country has been devastated. More than 500,000 Afghan people have been massacred. More than 3.5 million Afghan people, mainly women, children and the elderly, have become refugees in Iran and especially in Pakistan, where there are more than 2.5 million of them forming the largest concentration of persons uprooted by Soviet aggression and expansionism.

72. Thirdly, instead of a swift war and lightning victory, the Soviet invasion forces have revealed to the whole world that they, just like the Vietnamese invasion forces in Kampuchea, are hopelessly bogged down in Afghanistan. Numerous foreign correspondents disguised as *Mujahideen* have travelled throughout Afghanistan and have reported that the Soviet and Afghan communist forces control only the major cities and certain fortified positions. Those reporters have emphasized that they were able to move around in broad daylight without fear of aerial attack.

73. Fourthly, the condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is universal. The United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the movement of non-aligned countries, of which the Soviet Union still claims to be "the natural ally", have rejected the fallacious pretexts advanced to justify the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. They have all repeatedly demanded the cessation of that invasion and the total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan so as to allow the Afghan people to decide for itself its own fate and in order that the sovereignty, territorial integrity, national independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan may be preserved.

74. The Soviet people itself condemns that aggression and has rejected the fallacious pretexts of Moscow. On 3 November last, a Soviet diplomat and former official of UNESCO, Nikolai Polianski, declared to the press: "Nobody in the Soviet Union believes a word about the so-called fraternal aid extended at the request of the Afghans. Everyone knows that this is a lie but no one dares to say so."

75. Only recently, the Permanent People's Tribunal made up of eminent jurists with world-wide reputations met from 1 to 5 May 1981 in Stockholm and rendered an unequivocal four-point verdict, as follows:

"1. The penetration and stationing of Soviet troops in Afghan territory constitutes in international law an act of aggression prohibited by Articles 2 and 4 of the United Nations Charter, as stated in United Nations General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX).

"2. The Soviet Government is guilty of a crime against international peace, in accordance with the definition of a war of aggression, contained in United Nations General Assembly resolutions 3314 (XXIX) and 2625 (XXV).

"3. In accordance with the first of those two resolutions, such an aggression gives rise to international responsibility.

"4. The Government of the Soviet Union is guilty of a violation of article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with respect to the right of the Afghan people to self-determination."

76. The Tribunal described the puppet régime of Kabul as "an illegal régime which has become a tool of aggression against its own people". Finally, the Tribunal set up a committee of inquiry on the crimes of the invaders who committed and continue to commit atrocities and massacres against the civilian population, to destroy villages by using napalm and to use toxic chemical weapons and numerous anti-personnel weapons.

77. In barely two years this is the third time that the General Assembly is considering the situation in Afghanistan, after the Security Council was prevented from acting by the invader's use of the veto. For the last two years, despite universal and unequivocal condemnation, the invaders have refused to withdraw their forces from Afghanistan and to allow the Afghan people to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination. By means of ploys which have been successively thwarted thanks to the vigilance of the international community, the invaders have stubbornly sought to achieve a *fait accompli* in Afghanistan. It is clear that given its common borders with an expansionist super-Power, the Afghan people is going to have to face a long uphill struggle.

78. History, however, has always shown that no aggression, however persistent, has ever been able to overcome the determination of peoples to achieve independence. History teaches us that Munich merely encouraged Hitler to press on with his wars of conquest and thus touched off the Second World War. The new Hitlers of the 1980s hope to overcome universal opposition to their strategy of world domination by obstinacy and force. But history shows us that only a resolute and stubborn struggle, a firm united and monolithic resistance can thwart that strategy for world domination and prevent the outbreak of a world conflagration. It is by refusing to yield to threats and force that peoples and nations will be able to preserve their dearly acquired freedom and independence and to reaffirm their determination to maintain their national identity. The General Assembly quite explicitly stated as much when it adopted resolution 35/37 by 111 votes to 22.

79. As the fighting continues in Afghanistan, the Afghan patriotic forces have shown the world their determination to carry out their war of national liberation to the end: Faced with a powerful, well-armed, stubborn and unscrupulous aggressor, the various Afghan resistance movements have strengthened their solidarity and unity. They have successively thwarted all the ploys to sow dissension in their ranks. They are fully aware of the difficulties which they have to face, just as they are aware of the strength which their unity and just cause represent. They are convinced that eventually they will triumph. They are fully aware that they can rely on international solidarity because their struggle is an integral part of the common struggle of all of us to defend international peace and security and to defend the Charter. That is why at a time when the Afghan people has to endure the most severe sacrifices as it presses on resolutely with its struggle on its soil, we should assure that people of our constant support and unswerving solidarity.

80. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.15, which has been submitted by more than 40 countries of the third world and which contains the elements of a just and lasting solution capable of restoring peace, independence and dignity to the Afghan people and nation, by bringing about the total withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and the restoration of the inalienable right of the Afghan people to self-determination. The adoption of that draft resolution by an even greater majority than that of previous years will not only be even more encouraging to the Afghan people in its struggle but will also promote the common struggle of all peoples and countries in defence of their own independence and national identity, and the safeguarding of international peace and security.

81. Mr. JOXE (France) (*interpretation from French*): On 14 January 1980 and again on 20 November, almost exactly a year ago, France spoke in favour of resolutions on the situation in Afghanistan that were adopted by the affirmative vote of more than two thirds of the States Members of the Organization. France did so because it considered that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan constituted an intolerable violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State.

82. What do we find, a year after the vote on General Assembly resolution 35/37, which, I would recall, was adopted by a vast majority and in paragraph 3 of which the Assembly called for the "immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops"? We note that there are still 85,000 foreign troops on the territory of a sovereign State and that

fighting is continuing between the foreign occupation troops and the forces of resistance. In the long term, there is the risk that such confrontations may overflow the borders of Afghanistan and engulf the entire region. However, for far too many months now, their immediate effect has been to force the civilian population to bear the burden of war and insecurity. How, other than by this situation, can one explain the fact that nearly 3 million Afghans have preferred to abandon their homeland and possessions to seek refuge in neighbouring countries?

83. France shares the concerns that have been expressed from this rostrum by the majority of speakers who have addressed the Assembly today. The situation that now prevails in Afghanistan is fraught with serious threats to international peace and security, and it cannot therefore fail to affect the atmosphere of relations among States. France continues to consider that the Soviet intervention and occupation of Afghanistan remain unacceptable, as was stated here by our Minister for Foreign Affairs on 23 September this year, and as the President of the Republic, Mr. François Mitterrand, had stated earlier. French public opinion is disturbed. The French are unable to understand why an eminent Member of the Organization, one that is, moreover, endowed with special responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council, is setting itself apart to such a degree from the Charter of the United Nations.

84. Nor does the French public understand why the 10 principles set forth in the Helsinki Final Act are applicable to the States of Europe, Canada and the United States, but are ignored when a non-European, non-aligned and developing State is concerned. I would add that the Franco-Soviet Declaration signed at Rambouillet on 22 June 1977 expressly stated that France and the USSR consider it essential to continue and to intensify efforts towards détente on the part of all States, and to adapt "their action *vis-à-vis* all States and in all parts of the world to the needs of détente".⁵ We are bound to note that the Soviet action in Afghanistan departs from that Declaration, thereby rendering more difficult the development of our bilateral relations.

85. Nor has there been any change in the prospects for a political settlement of this question. Yet the international community has spared no efforts to seek a solution, whether in this forum through the good offices of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, or in the framework of meetings of the non-aligned countries and countries members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference or at the initiative of the European Council. We, for our part, consider that the statement on Afghanistan which was issued on 30 June of this year by the European Council, and which the representative of the United Kingdom mentioned here today, remains valid. It provides a set of principles and guide-lines that could lead to a genuine solution.

86. The Assembly must therefore through its vote demonstrate its will to reach a genuine political settlement. The Afghanistan crisis is serious, and it will not end unless that settlement ensures the withdrawal of foreign troops, restores a free and non-aligned Afghanistan and returns to the Afghan people their right to determine their own destiny free from any outside interference of whatever kind. That is the only way that the unrest and suspicion that have become prevalent in that region will be dissipated and that international peace and security will be preserved. The delegation of France will therefore vote in

favour of draft resolution A/36/L.15, which is now before the Assembly.

87. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Despite the emphatically expressed disagreement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the United Nations is once again being drawn into discussion of an item whose title, not to mention its substance, constitutes a routine attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign State Member of the Organization. We fully associate ourselves with those delegations that resolutely reject discussion of the agenda item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security," and the abuse of the authority and prestige of the United Nations to that end—a clear violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter. In this forum, in particular, the Afghan Government has repeatedly stated its willingness to engage in a constructive dialogue as the only effective way of achieving a political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan.

88. Any fair-minded person with a sense of realism, in describing the internal development of that country situated on the slopes of the Hindu Kutch would have to take note of the indisputable progress achieved by the Afghan people in the consolidation of their society under the leadership of the Revolutionary Council, headed by Babrak Karmal. That has been achieved in spite of the unceasing intervention of reactionary forces supported by world imperialism and hegemonism. There can be no doubt that among those achievements is the progress in implementing the programme of radical social changes, the development of the economy, the implementation of agrarian reform and the efforts to raise the living standards of the Afghan people. Truly impressive progress has been made towards the elimination of illiteracy in the country. Before the revolution, approximately 90 per cent of the population had no access even to basic education. There is wide support and agreement on the part of the broadest segments of the population of Afghanistan in regard to measures for social welfare and an increase in earnings, as well as in regard to the adoption of measures to maintain the prices for consumer goods at existing levels.

89. This progress is all the more evident in that the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, have had to devote considerable human, financial, military and other resources to fight the undeclared war which has been waged against the people of that country by the forces of international reaction. Bandits armed with every kind of modern weapon have been infiltrating Afghan territory, killing the peaceful population and carrying out acts of terrorism. During last year's visit of the Foreign Minister of my country, Bohuslav Chřnoupek, to Afghanistan we had a chance to see for ourselves the tremendous efforts and great determination of the Afghan people to rid themselves, in an historically brief period, of the centuries-old legacy of backwardness which it inherited and to heal the grievous consequences of previous régimes whose policies were alien to the real needs and interests of the Afghan people.

90. With our own eyes we had a chance to see this happening in the capital and hundreds of kilometres away in the provinces. Our visit took place at a time, moreover, when, according to reports in certain Western news media, it was precisely in the Baghlan Province, which we visited, that there was supposed to have been fierce fighting going on, and the Governor of the Province, with

whom we had an extremely useful and friendly talk, was supposed to have died several days before our visit.

91. Czechoslovakia is one of those countries which for many years have had traditional relations of friendship and co-operation with Afghanistan, and this has been reflected in the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries as a result of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship of 13 October 1937. In recent years our mutual relations have grown even closer in all spheres and this process was given a new impetus by the visit in June this year of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan, President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Babrak Karmal, to Czechoslovakia. A firm foundation for the further development and continuing qualitative improvement of Czech-Afghan relations in all spheres of political, economic and cultural affairs was laid by the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation signed during that visit. As stated in the Czech-Afghan joint communiqué on the high-level negotiations, in the discussion of the situation surrounding Afghanistan the two countries affirmed full unanimity of views on securing the independence, national sovereignty and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. Our relations are successfully developing in all spheres and at all levels. There has been a distinct increase in the volume and diversification of trade and in economic, scientific and technological co-operation, a proper basis for which was provided by the agreement on economic co-operation of March 1980.

92. It is true that the opponents of the progress and well-being of the Afghan people have been trying hard to disrupt the normal course of work on the construction of facilities within the framework of that agreement and, as a result, that work has not been able to proceed at a proper pace. During the high-level visit to Czechoslovakia last June, the Afghan leaders confirmed their willingness to embark without delay and without any prior conditions on negotiations with neighbouring countries on a political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan, and to do so on the basis of the proposals advanced by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 14 May 1980. Thereafter the Afghan Government, yet again showing maximum flexibility, elaborated further on those proposals in its statement of 24 August 1981, which reflected its sincere and highly constructive desire and willingness to settle the situation around the negotiating table.

93. Actually, the Afghan Government has held out its hand to its neighbours—held it out quite far, in fact—in the sense that it has agreed to the proposal of Pakistan in respect of the holding of trilateral negotiations. Therefore, it is now for those countries to which the Afghan Government has addressed this concrete and constructive appeal to respond positively to it and to make sure that subsequent events proceed in the desired direction—in other words, towards negotiations on a peaceful political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan, which would undoubtedly promote a relaxation of tension in the region and have a beneficial effect on the international climate as a whole.

94. In this very Assembly the competent Afghan and Soviet representatives have repeatedly and unambiguously declared that as soon as an end is put to armed intervention and the other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and as soon as appropriate international guarantees in that respect are secured, the reasons for the Afghan appeal to the Soviet Union for the dis-

patch of a limited contingent of troops to that country will no longer apply. Similarly, they stated that as a result of a political settlement, including the elaboration of appropriate international guarantees, it would be possible, on the basis of agreement between the Soviet and Afghan sides, to draw up a schedule for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

95. The present situation makes it necessary for a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan to be achieved at the earliest possible date; the saying "the sooner the better" applies very much to this situation. Those who are sincerely and truly interested in a prompt solution of this problem cannot impede the attainment of that political settlement and obstruct or block it. We are convinced that the adoption of the draft resolution before us is precisely one of those acts that not only would not be conducive to the attainment of a political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan but, on the contrary, would put serious obstacles and difficulties in the path of such a solution. That is why my delegation will vote against the draft resolution.

96. We wish at the same time to give credit where credit is due by pointing out that the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, have already held several meetings here in New York with the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, Shah Mohammad

Dost, and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Agha Shahi. We hope that these useful contacts not only will continue but will be expanded to provide a platform for a fruitful and constructive dialogue in keeping with the interests of the peoples of Afghanistan and Pakistan and in the interest of peace not only in that region but throughout the world.

97. We are quite convinced that the time has now come when precisely such a dialogue between the interested countries of the region is very necessary. Czechoslovakia, for its part, will do its utmost to support any step towards such a constructive solution of the problem.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, 2188th meeting.*

² Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

³ See *Bulletin of the European Communities*, No. 6, 1981, vol. 14, para. 1.1.13.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12362, annex II.