



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 26: The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General (continued) .....	1031

*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 (continued)**

1. Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): For the third consecutive time the General Assembly is considering the situation in Afghanistan. This is no routine exercise; it indicates how concerned we are over a situation affecting international peace and security. This concern, which is felt also by my country, is based, furthermore, on reasons of principle, solidarity and the safeguarding of peace in the world. It should also be stressed that what has occurred in Afghanistan could extend to other countries which have very limited means of defence.

2. As I have just said, there is first the reason of principle: that the Charter of the United Nations, to which we have all solemnly adhered, prohibits interference in the internal affairs of other States, just as it prohibits the use of force for the settlement of disputes between States. Then there is the reason of solidarity: Afghanistan, a State Member of the United Nations and a member of the non-aligned movement, deserves all our support and assistance in its present difficulties. Finally, as to the reason pertaining to safeguarding peace in the world, if we are not careful, what is occurring in Afghanistan could become an international legal precedent capable of further jeopardizing international peace and security, which are already in a precarious state.

3. Senegal has on many occasions expressed its concern at the proliferation of acts of foreign armed intervention and has urged the international community to adopt effective measures to put an end to them, failing which we shall be distancing ourselves further with every passing day from the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter.

4. The international community, in many declarations and resolutions in various forums, has fortunately deplored and denounced such acts. First of all, the Assembly, in its resolution ES-6/2, of 14 January 1980, adopted at the sixth emergency special session on Afghanistan, reaffirmed "that respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State is a fundamental principle of the Charter . . ." and, further,

called "for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social systems free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever".

5. For its part, the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana, in September 1979, noted with concern that "interference in the internal affairs of States is becoming one of the chief forms of aggression against the non-aligned countries".<sup>1</sup> The situation in Afghanistan today justifies such disquiet, since it constitutes a direct threat to the very existence of the non-aligned movement, one of the main objectives of which is to remain outside the rival military blocs. It was precisely for that reason that the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at New Delhi in February, as well as the Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of Non-Aligned Countries, held here on 25 and 28 September last, did not fail to stress the need for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and respect for the non-aligned status of that country [*see A/36/116 and Corr.1 and A/36/566 respectively*].

6. Along the same lines, the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held at Islamabad, in May 1980,<sup>2</sup> created an *ad hoc* committee to contribute to the quest for a comprehensive settlement of the Afghan crisis, and the same concern was reaffirmed at the Third Islamic Conference, held at Mecca-Taif in January 1981 [*A/36/138*] and at the Twelfth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, at Baghdad in June of this year [*A/36/421 and Corr.1*].

7. The Secretary-General, to whom I pay a tribute for the report in document A/36/653 on the efforts undertaken pursuant to General Assembly resolution 35/37 of 20 November 1980, deserves to be encouraged in his initiatives.

8. Finally, the European Community has recently adopted a series of initiatives aimed at settling the Afghan crisis.

9. As will have been noted, there is no dearth of goodwill and relevant resolutions in the search for a just and comprehensive settlement of the Afghan question. The principles already set forth by the Assembly in its resolutions ES-6/2 and 35/37—that is: respect by all States for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Afghanistan and for its non-aligned status; non-interference in the internal affairs of that country; the withdrawal of foreign troops; and the voluntary return of the refugees—form a valid framework for the settlement of that conflict. The application of these principles, therefore, given the good intentions and the will to co-operate which have been expressed everywhere, should not give rise to any difficulties.

10. At this stage of our debate it is the duty and responsibility of the Organization to find ways and means of encouraging the efforts to reach a political settlement already set in train by several countries and groups of countries. This means that our objective at this session should be, above all, to determine procedures and machinery that will set in motion the process leading to negotiations on a just and comprehensive settlement of this problem.

11. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity to reaffirm its support for the peace efforts undertaken at various levels, convinced as it is that any persistence in trying to find a solution by other than the peaceful means prescribed in the Charter will only exacerbate the conflict and thus heighten tension in the region.

12. The Afghan conflict without doubt has regional and international dimensions, but that should not lead us to lose sight of its national dimension. Any peace effort should also take account of the national aspect of the problem—that is, the establishment of conditions that will enable the Afghan people in all its elements and groupings to choose freely its political and social system. That, of course, presupposes that all parties concerned will finally engage in a frank, sincere and constructive dialogue, free from passion and emotion, which will contribute to mutual understanding. It is our duty, indeed our responsibility, to assist them in this. We expect them finally to understand that this is the only way of safeguarding their dignity while serving their countries and the cause of peace.

13. For all those reasons my delegation fully supports draft resolution A/36/L.15, the adoption and strict implementation of which will contribute greatly to the search for an honourable solution to the Afghan problem.

14. Mr. SATHE (India): Few issues in recent years have given rise to as much public recrimination and divisive debate in the United Nations as that generated by the situation in and around Afghanistan. Yet, nowhere has the hiatus between ritualistic declarations and constructive action been more apparent than over this question. Successive efforts at defusing the situation there have been frustrated by the continued adoption of unrealistic attitudes, inflexible positions and legalistic disputations. Like some mediaeval passion play, we witness in the General Assembly once again arcane exercises in didactic formulations and criss-crossing allegations, with little hope of any outcome that can command all-round acceptability.

15. In the meantime, the reality of the situation in South-West Asia has however been made grimmer and more foreboding. With respect to Afghanistan, it is now distressingly evident that though this question has been at the forefront of international attention, intervention and interference, consistently but unconvincingly denied in the past, the internal affairs of Afghanistan have not ceased; the withdrawal of foreign troops remains yet to be accomplished and other outside Powers are using the situation to draw the nations of the region into larger strategic arrangements which could call seriously into question the commitment of those nations to the policy of non-alignment. Those outside Powers have become increasingly enmeshed in the affairs of the region, bringing into play their complex scenarios of diplomatic stratagems and political pressures all of which only serve to aggravate tension and instability over a wider area and engulf more and more countries of the Indian Ocean littoral.

16. These developments have caused deep concern and anxiety to India. We are particularly disturbed that the developments in Afghanistan have had the effect of reversing a trend of events in the subcontinent which had so far given us cause for a degree of optimism. The nations of the subcontinent had over the past few years begun to experience a period of relative relief from a climate of distrust and hostility and were embarking upon equitable relationships for our common benefit and a developing faith in bilateral negotiations as a means of settling outstanding problems. The fact that all the countries of the region had become members of the non-aligned movement had given us reason to hope that the entire area would be free from the competitive attention of outside Powers and that the people of those countries, insulated from the chilling winds of the cold war, could engage in the task of national reconstruction and socio-economic development without external interference or tutelage. It was our hope that the existence of a conflict-free area, such as we had hoped ours would be, would have contributed to an ever-widening atmosphere of peace in the world.

17. If this trend was interrupted by the cycle of events in Afghanistan, the normalization of relations in the region was rendered more difficult by the introduction of factors and issues not indigenous or germane to the immediate problems of the region. While the problems posed by the situation within Afghanistan were themselves causing concern, the adoption of front-line postures and the induction of sophisticated arms could only prove detrimental to any confidence building between States or to the evolution of stability through mutual accommodation and co-operation among the States of the region. Suspicions generated by the harbouring and encouragement of dissident elements and the consequent build up of tensions could only heighten the risk of a great-Power confrontation and its evil consequences leading to the attrition of the political and economic resources of the countries concerned. Further, such a situation would serve as a standing temptation to those who wish to create further instability in the region.

18. India has always had close and friendly relations with the Government and people of Afghanistan. We have been deeply concerned and vitally interested in the security, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that friendly, non-aligned neighbour and have continued our traditional ties of fruitful and productive co-operation despite the vicissitudes of history on both sides. Our concern with present developments affecting both Afghanistan and the region derives from the fact that our own security and national interests are also vitally affected by developments that impinge on the security of all our neighbours in the subcontinent.

19. The Foreign Minister of India said the following in the course of the general debate less than two months ago:

“India has consistently expressed its disapproval of all kinds of outside intervention and interference in any country. We have unequivocally opposed the presence of foreign troops in any country and all countries. For us this includes Afghanistan, whereas, presumably, to some other countries this should apply only to Afghanistan.” [15th meeting, para. 21.]

20. Throughout our own consultations with a large number of countries on this question we have consistently stressed the need to prevent the escalation of tension in South-West Asia, to take every action to defuse the situa-

tion and to set the stage for the evolution of a political solution based on a dialogue between the parties most involved and whose co-operation is most essential to prevent the situation from escalating. Such an approach, we feel, should look towards an eventual settlement taking into account all factors relevant to the present situation rather than apportion blame for the past. Above all, the contours of such a political solution should be based on certain commonly acceptable elements of which the most important are the complete cessation of all interference or intervention in the internal affairs of States, opposition to the presence of foreign troops in any country, and the furnishing of reliable and complete guarantees against all forms of interference.

21. Those elements are contained in formulations acceptable to all non-aligned countries in paragraphs 82 and 83 of the New Delhi Declaration adopted in February of this year by the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries [see A/36/116 and Corr.1]. It was also at the New Delhi meeting that the Secretary-General designated his Personal Representative to engage in efforts aimed at facilitating negotiations among the parties concerned so as to achieve a political solution. It was our hope that in the aftermath of the New Delhi Conference the parties concerned would take steps to unfreeze the situation and pave the way for substantive negotiations. While there has been a growing appreciation of the need for a political solution, it is equally clear that such a solution can emerge only out of an atmosphere of trust and confidence based on the realities of the situation and after a careful unravelling of the global, regional and national aspects of the situation and their interrelationships. In this connection, we take note of the 24 August proposals of the Afghan Government [see A/36/457] as yet another step in the direction of finding a solution to the problem. To date, however, we note with regret that there has not been any meaningful development which could give us reason to expect an early commencement of any substantive negotiations.

22. We believe that neither the debates in the United Nations nor the resolutions adopted by it so far have borne any meaningful relationship to the realities of the situation obtaining in the region. While the Secretary-General has admittedly made some earnest and constructive efforts to remove the hurdles standing in the way of a dialogue between the concerned countries, these efforts have for some time now been confronted with contrived and seemingly insuperable technicalities. In the meantime, the people of Afghanistan continue to suffer the effects of an unstable situation. We feel that the adoption of yet another draft resolution unacceptable to some of the countries directly involved would only be counter-productive. Our participation in the present debate is only meant to urge restraint on the part of those directly involved, as well as outside Powers, so as to avoid a further deterioration of the situation of its exploitation for ulterior ends. We sincerely hope that the Secretary-General's efforts will be successful in removing the procedural obstacles that have prevented a dialogue from commencing until now. The people of Afghanistan, and indeed, of our region, have a great stake in the success of the Secretary-General's efforts.

23. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): A year ago, the Assembly adopted, by a very large majority, resolution 35/37 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. Since then, the situation has hardly improved and there is no sign that we are moving towards any solution to the Afghan tragedy in accordance with the principles and de-

terminations of the Organization. Afghanistan is still occupied by foreign military forces, it is the scene of increasingly violent confrontations; its people, whose only wish is to live in peace, continues to be denied its inalienable right to self-determination and to pay a heavy price for the recognition of that right.

24. Furthermore, the conflict, with its serious implications for international peace and security, is liable at any moment to spill over the frontiers of Afghanistan itself and extend to other countries in the region. At the 69th meeting of the thirty-fifth session, my delegation expressed its concern and apprehensions at the deterioration of the situation; we pointed out at that time that we could not possibly accept or tolerate any violation of the territorial integrity of Afghanistan, nor could we countenance the presence of foreign troops in a sovereign State. We also expressed our opposition to the policy of hegemony in relations between States, our devotion to the principles contained in the Charter and our preference for settling disputes through dialogue and negotiations.

25. Apart from considerations based on solidarity with a Moslem country, a third world country and a country that is a Member of the Organization as well as a member of the non-aligned movement, Tunisia in this case, as in others, is motivated by its unswerving faith in the principles of the Charter. We therefore reject any infringement of the fundamental principles of sovereignty, independence and equality of States, whatever their political, economic, social or ideological system. We recognize the inalienable rights of peoples to self-determination and independence, as well as their right to work for the realization of their legitimate aspirations.

26. The events that have been taking place in Afghanistan since 1979 constitute a flagrant and intolerable violation of these principles, to which all Members of the Organization have, in exercise of their sovereign rights, subscribed and with which they are bound to comply. Non-interference in the affairs of States is in that regard one of the fundamental principles underlying international relations.

27. The repercussions of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan could be disastrous if that great Power does not fully shoulder its responsibilities by taking the necessary measures to permit the Afghan people to choose the Government and régime which it wishes to have and to select its own political, economic and social system. The attitude of certain Powers, which have claimed the right to modify by force the internal balance of their neighbour, can only give rise to general condemnation throughout the world.

28. Countries that love peace and justice, which firmly believe in the principles and objectives of authentic non-alignment, cannot but protest against the situation prevailing in Afghanistan. It is in the name of those principles that Tunisia associated itself resolutely with the general expression of disapproval.

29. The policy of *fait accompli*, the use of force and the division of the world into spheres of influence, failure to respect the provisions of the Charter or to apply the relevant resolutions of the United Nations constitute, unfortunately, acts which we witness every day and which dangerously jeopardize peace and stability in the world. Those acts in themselves are extremely detrimental to international détente—détente which had given rise to such hope and had made it possible to lay the foundations for

effective co-operation among countries with different political and economic systems. That détente now seems to be in serious jeopardy. The question which concerns us today because of its international implications has a great deal to do with this.

30. Our commitment to the Charter has caused us to redouble our efforts to maintain peace where it exists, to protect it where it is threatened, to restore it where it is breached. It has been breached in Afghanistan, where one of the fundamental principles of the Charter continues to be disregarded despite appeals from all quarters for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. Whatever explanations and considerations may be put forward, they cannot justify the intervention of foreign troops in an independent country, still less their direct participation in the internal affairs of the country. If we tolerate one single precedent, it may degenerate into a serious practice particularly threatening to small countries which, because of their vulnerability, are most exposed.

31. The determination of the Afghan people to resist foreign interference, its staunch resistance, as well as the considerable and growing number of refugees, are a fundamental reality which must be duly borne in mind if we are to restore peace and harmony in Afghanistan and throughout the region. The solution to the problem of Afghanistan can be brought about only by establishing a climate propitious for dialogue and negotiations among the parties to the conflict. Only a political settlement based on the withdrawal of foreign troops and the exercise of the right to self-determination of peoples is liable to provide a felicitous and final solution for this problem, a solution which would enjoy the necessary guarantees.

32. The efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, as well as those of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, deserve our praise. Those efforts must be continued with the same persistence and determination.

33. Draft resolution A/36/L.15 which is before us, of which Tunisia is a sponsor, defines the measures for bringing about a political solution to the problem of Afghanistan. It contains provisions which would make possible the establishment of a favourable climate for negotiations and refers to the fundamental principles of the Charter. Our support for it is an expression of our devotion to the provisions of the Charter and our determination to see that a peaceful, negotiated settlement is achieved. It is an indication of our constant concern for the preservation of peace and détente in the world and our determination to see justice and the rule of law prevail over the use of force.

34. Mr. ELSHEIKH (Sudan): The General Assembly is taking up an item of fundamental importance, with serious implications for international peace and security. It is indeed regrettable that the imperatives that necessitated the convening of the sixth emergency special session following the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan, are still present, thereby calling for a third consideration of the item by the General Assembly. Although almost two years have elapsed, foreign troops are still in Afghanistan, violating its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the cardinal principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of others and the inadmissibility of the use or threat of use of force.

35. In defiance of the Assembly's appeal for the restoration of the sovereignty and self-determination of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union retains its forces of occupation in that country. For us, as members of the international community, the issue at stake relates to an important principle in international relations, namely, intervention in internal affairs and the perpetuation of occupation.

36. In his statement before the Assembly on 1 October 1981, the Foreign Minister of the Sudan stated that:

“The States Members of the Organization . . . must realize that any . . . condoning of interference in the affairs of others is in fact the negation of all the victories that peoples have won during a long and arduous struggle against all forms of colonialism, oppression and repression.

“The principles of respect for the national independence, sovereignty and unity of all States and for the right of all peoples to freedom and self-determination become meaningless if any State . . . is allowed to impose its own system or ideology in other . . . States. . . .” [22nd meeting, paras. 239 and 240.]

37. The continued impasse in Afghanistan and the suffering of its peoples are indeed a cause for concern and anxiety to my country. The immediate consequences of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan are very clear to us. Millions of refugees were compelled to seek refuge in neighbouring Iran and Pakistan. As a country which itself faced the problem of an influx of refugees from neighbouring countries, the Sudan is fully aware of the heavy burden that the neighbours of Afghanistan are bearing in such circumstances.

38. The non-aligned movement, of which my country, that of the President of the Assembly, and a number of others are founding members, was created because of our concern for the right of all of our people to freedom and independence, their right to choose freely their own ways and forms of internal development, their right to sovereignty and territorial integrity and their refusal to mortgage their independence. These principles have been affirmed since the Bandung Conference of 1955. They have also marked our will to resist any attempts or designs to drag us into zones of influence and military alliances. At the New Delhi ministerial conference, the non-aligned countries urgently called for a political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops, full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference. The Organization of the Islamic Conference was equally able to demonstrate to the whole world the serious dimensions of the flagrant Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. It condemned it and called for a complete, unconditional withdrawal of military forces from Afghanistan. It has also appealed to the Soviet Union to respond to the legitimate demands of the Afghan people and its right to self-determination.

39. The people of the third world are aware of the assistance and support given them by the Soviet Union in their just struggle against colonialism, *apartheid* and Zionist hegemony and expansionism. However, such support does not justify its occupation of Afghanistan, nor does it justify the denial of the inalienable rights of the people of Afghanistan, who have been left with no choice but to struggle against a régime they have not freely chosen. We

believe that in giving rights to others, the Soviet Union will at the same time be granting rights to itself and to its own people.

40. In his report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General stated that the crisis in Afghanistan still presents a somewhat different challenge; many efforts have been made to facilitate negotiations among the parties concerned with a view to achieving a fair political solution which will ensure that the Afghan people will be able to determine its own destiny, free from foreign intervention and interference [see A/36/1, sect. IV]. In this connection, we welcome the appointment of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar and would like to express our appreciation for the efforts which the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative have made. We hope that the continuation of these efforts will help to overcome the present deadlock and promote progress towards the political solution for which the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the non-aligned movement and the General Assembly resolutions have called.

41. My delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/36/L.15, which was introduced yesterday by the representative of Pakistan. The central objectives of the draft resolution remain consistent with those of the previous relevant General Assembly resolutions of which my delegation was also a sponsor. The draft resolution also concurs with our conviction that any solution of the crisis in Afghanistan should include the following: first, immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; secondly, preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; thirdly, the right of the Afghan people to determine its own form of government and to choose its economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or any constraint; fourthly, the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the refugees to return voluntarily to their homes. The members of the General Assembly are therefore called upon to lend full support to this draft resolution. In doing so, they would once more demonstrate clearly their commitment to the fundamental principles of the Charter.

42. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): This session of the General Assembly has once again had imposed upon it a discussion of the so-called question of "the situation in Afghanistan". The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic has repeatedly explained its position of principle on this question. The consideration of this question, despite the clearly expressed protest of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, can only be viewed as a flagrant attempt to drag the United Nations within the orbit of the unsavoury actions of imperialist and hegemonist forces aimed at flagrant interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State, a full Member of the United Nations.

43. Indeed, the so-called "Afghan question" as such which it is alleged requires a solution simply does not exist. It was artificially created and has been inflated by those who still cling to their design to overthrow the people's democratic system and destroy the fruits of the April revolution of 1978. There is another irrefutable fact we cannot ignore, namely that this all-out campaign is also being used by the imperialists as a plausible pretext for the ever-growing build-up of its military presence in this important strategic and wealthy part of the world—wealthy in terms of natural resources, that is. It is precisely these aggressive ambitions which underlie the at-

tempts in imperialist and hegemonist circles to misrepresent the notorious "Afghan problem" as a source of not only a regional, but even an international crisis.

44. But the true state of affairs in Afghanistan itself has been convincingly demonstrated by the progressive social and economic reforms which have been carried out by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, reforms which became possible as a result of the People's Democratic Revolution, which opened up a new era in the life of the Afghan people. The goals of the April revolution are being successfully achieved in overcoming age-old backwardness. Effective measures have been taken to eliminate illiteracy, to ensure the equality of men and women and to improve the standard of living of all strata of the population, particularly the agricultural population, the landless peasants, by means of land distribution and the introduction of machinery and technology. An event of national significance was the creation of the National Fatherland Front, which brought together broad strata and groups of the population into one body for the purpose of joint creative endeavour in building a new society.

45. The Mongolian people, which in the past has itself felt the effects of the feudal yoke and foreign domination, is in full sympathy with the Afghan people and welcome all the successes it has achieved in its march towards social progress and the defence of the gains of its revolution.

46. In spite of the striking successes of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in developing the country towards social progress and prosperity, the situation around Afghanistan remains extremely complex and tense. There are incessant attempts at infiltration by armed gangs of counter-revolutionaries, which receive training in special camps in neighbouring territory. On coming to power the current United States Administration decided no longer to conceal the fact that it was equipping the enemies of the Afghan people with American weapons when, in the second month of his presidency, R. Reagan declared the intention to increase deliveries of American weapons to the so-called rebels in Afghanistan. There is no doubt that Washington's decision to give Pakistan military and economic "assistance" to the extent of \$3 billion has been dictated primarily by the ambition to convert that country into a stronghold of anti-Afghan actions, and in that matter the Beijing leadership is not lagging behind Washington. According to recent reports in the Western press it has provided Pakistan with armaments to a total value in excess of \$2 billion. The present visit by highly placed military persons from China to Islamabad also has very clear-cut goals; that is to say, its so-called "goodwill mission". A great deal is being done to draw other countries into the anti-Afghan adventure too. Attempts are being made to draw the question of refugees—a question which in the specific circumstances of that country has its own peculiar features—within the framework of a sort of unresolved problem. Here we should also add that this is something of which those in certain circles want to make as much use as they can in their attempts to convert this into their own weapon in the struggle against Afghanistan.

47. This is the picture of the events which are occurring around Afghanistan. As regards the situation around Afghanistan resulting from the undeclared war which has been launched against the Afghan people by outside forces hand in glove with internal reactionary forces, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic adheres to the view that the necessary conditions for bringing

about a political settlement of that problem exist. What is needed is the necessary political will on the part of all countries.

48. As is known, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is doing all it can to achieve the required agreements. It is constantly coming forward with constructive initiatives and proposals for the normalization of the situation. The proposals contained in the statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan dated 15 May 1980<sup>3</sup> in our view constitute a realistic programme for a political settlement concerning Afghanistan and the normalization of its relations with its neighbours. That programme was further amplified in the statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 24 August 1981 [A/36/457].

49. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, in a statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of 3 September, whole-heartedly supported that declaration of the Government of Afghanistan as an important document meeting the interests not only of the Afghan side but of other parties too. Mongolia views the new proposals of Afghanistan as a manifestation of the peace-loving foreign policy of Afghanistan and the sincere desire of the Afghan people to establish lasting peace in the region and to develop good-neighbourly relations with all neighbouring States. As is pointed out in the declaration, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly proposed and continues to propose the holding of bilateral negotiations with Pakistan and Iran. This is only natural. The problems affecting those countries are strictly bilateral in character and can be best resolved if talks are held on a bilateral basis. However, while expressing preference for bilateral talks, which would offer the best prospects for success, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan at the same time has declared its readiness, should it be the wish of Pakistan and Iran, to hold trilateral negotiations. The constructive and flexible spirit demonstrated by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan can be seen also in its not having objected to the presence of the Secretary-General or his Personal Representative at talks between the Government of Afghanistan and the Governments of Pakistan and Iran, regardless of whether they be bilateral or trilateral. We also express our satisfaction at the fact that dialogue between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan has already begun and we hope that it will be continued in a constructive spirit, due account being taken of the realities and positions of the parties. This would be greatly helped by associating Iran with the talks or by embarking on independent talks between Afghanistan and Iran.

50. The sincere wish of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to resolve outstanding problems is demonstrated by the concrete decisions of that country's Government. In the decree of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of 18 June this year and also in other official documents relating to general amnesty, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has stated that it will guarantee full freedom and immunity to all Afghans who, for certain reasons, at the present time are temporarily living in the territory of Pakistan and other neighbouring countries. On their return to their homeland, they are guaranteed by the Government their security, freedom of choice of where to live and an equal participation in resolving the land issue on the basis of agrarian reform. They will be provided with all the necessary conditions for a normal life, fruitful work and social activities. The tribes of nomads and cattle herders will be given the right not only to the use of pasture on a just basis, but also the

freedom of movement within the confines of the country. It is also understood that the traditional seasonal migration of nomads from Afghanistan to Pakistan and back again will be permitted without any hindrance whatever. The Government of Afghanistan expresses its readiness to discuss practical aspects of this problem with its neighbours. In this way, in our view, conditions do exist for the holding of concrete talks with a view of concluding relevant agreements.

51. An important constituent element in a political settlement should be reliable international guarantees with regard to the agreements reached. The countries that will provide such guarantees could be determined directly by the parties concerned. Undoubtedly those guarantor countries should include the Soviet Union and the United States of America, along with certain other countries. In order to promote the earliest possible achievement of agreements the Government of Afghanistan would not object to the discussion of questions connected with working out international guarantees simultaneously with and parallel to the holding of bilateral or trilateral talks. The possibility is also envisaged of a discussion of questions at a first stage in the form of unofficial multilateral consultations and, later on, at an appropriate international forum.

52. A question that is intimately linked to the reaching of agreements and the provision of appropriate guarantees is that of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan which is there at the request of the Afghan Government in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, of 5 December 1978. It is quite obvious that a timetable for the withdrawal of the Soviet contingent is directly linked to how soon a political settlement is reached and the cessation and non-resumption of armed or any other form of intervention in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is guaranteed.

53. In this regard, the Mongolian delegation wishes to stress the extreme significance of the proposals of the Soviet Union relating to the possibility, if this is the wish of the parties to the talks, of discussing questions relating to the situation around Afghanistan in connection with the question of the security of the Persian Gulf. In a word it can be stated that there has been no lack of initiatives on the part of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan or the Soviet Union. The important thing is that the other side should reciprocate in the same spirit.

54. On the basis of what I have stated, the Mongolian delegation believes that consideration of the so-called Afghan question in the United Nations will not only not promote a political settlement of the problem, but may only serve to make it more difficult. In so far as concerns draft resolution A/36/L.15, it is actually a replica of last year's resolution, to which our delegation vigorously objected as an impermissible attempt at intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign State.

55. Mr. SULAIMAN (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Oman's position on the question of the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, in general and for the Gulf region in particular, is well known. We have stated it clearly both at the 5th meeting of the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly and at the Islamic Conference that followed it. Oman took part in the debate on this item, which was on the agenda of the thirty-fifth session, and it

was one of the signatories of the letter addressed on 3 January 1980 to the President of the Security Council, requesting that an urgent meeting of the Council be held in order that it might discuss the question and exercise its responsibility to safeguard international peace and security.

56. We deplore the fact that armed aggression against the Afghan people is continuing with renewed vigour, despite the resolutions which have been adopted by the Assembly by overwhelming majorities, calling on the Soviet Union to withdraw its military forces from Afghanistan immediately and unconditionally, in order to allow the Afghan people to choose, without constraint or coercion, the Government and the régime it wants.

57. What is of greater concern is that a major Power refuses to observe the principles of the Charter and to respect the resolutions of the United Nations, as well as the binding fundamental principles committing all countries to reject, in their international relations, the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of any State or any other action contrary to the principles and purposes of the Organization.

58. There are more than 80,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan today to repress and fight against the Afghan people—a people which the forces of occupation claim to have come to defend. There are millions of refugees flocking to the borders of Afghanistan to escape destruction. What is taking place in Afghanistan is of concern to all countries, especially the small countries which are making every effort to develop their economies and their communities in an atmosphere of peace, security and tranquillity free from all foreign interference and threat of intervention. In addition to the violation of Afghanistan's sovereignty, the presence in that country of such a large number of foreign troops with sophisticated and lethal weapons has given an added dimension to the problems of peace and security in our region, because that foreign presence, so close to the main shipping lanes in the Indian Ocean, has given rise to a climate of great tension in our region which, were it to continue, would constitute a direct threat to international peace and security. Thus, all sincere and serious attempts made by the countries of the region to restore peace and security and to lay down the basis for co-operation, co-ordination and good-neighbourliness would be in vain; hence the importance of the initiatives taken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, in which we participated with a view to finding a solution to this crisis. All these initiatives are merely the fruit of the sincere efforts and the positive contributions made in order to establish peace in Afghanistan and in the entire region.

59. For all those reasons, my delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/36/L.15, in which the Assembly would call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, while affirming the right of the Afghan people to determine its own form of Government and its own political, economic and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever, and creating the necessary conditions for the Afghan refugees to be able to return to their homes in safety and with honour. Needless to say, these fundamental elements of the draft resolution are in keeping with the principles and purposes of the Charter.

60. My delegation would like here to pay a tribute to the great efforts which have been made by the Secretary-General's Personal Representative in entering into contact

with the interested parties with a view to implementing General Assembly resolution 35/37 of 20 November 1980 and finding a solution to the situation in Afghanistan.

61. The international community must today more than ever before increase its efforts to put an end to the occupation and to restore peace in Afghanistan, in accordance with the draft resolution before the Assembly.

62. Mr. MOUMIN (Comoros): Last year, when we were debating this same question, I said to myself that the Soviet Union was a great country and that its leaders were brave and proud and that, therefore, after all the condemnations they had received during the course of the debate, they could not but adhere to the very simple desire of the great majority of the members of this body for the withdrawal without delay of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. What a disappointment it is for my delegation to see the same question being debated again this year. We are very much disappointed to see that a super-Power, member of the Security Council, with veto power, is defying the resolutions of the General Assembly and putting itself on the same footing with régimes like those of racist South Africa and Zionist Israel, which are adamant in their obstinacy not to implement the resolutions of the United Nations.

63. If the delegation of the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros is speaking again on this question, it is not because we in the Comoros like to hear our voices or see ourselves as often as possible on the rostrum, but because we feel, as most members do, that we are again meeting here to discuss the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, after two previous debates on this same issue, out of our profound concern for two of the most fundamental purposes for which the United Nations was established, namely, the safeguarding of international peace and security and the upholding of the right of peoples to determine their own political, economic and social systems free from outside intervention or coercion. Today in Afghanistan, both these purposes of the United Nations continue to be frustrated.

64. This body, of which 157 countries are members, has considered the situation in Afghanistan for almost two full years, and the response of the international community to this challenge may well be of decisive significance for the future of the world order. It will be useful for all of us here to bear in mind that the Afghan crisis not only impinges on that country or on those in its immediate neighbourhood, but also threatens the very basis of the United Nations. The outcome of our deliberations will, therefore, be of the greatest importance not only for the people of Afghanistan and its immediate neighbours, but for a great many of the small States of the world, which constitute the overwhelming majority of the Members of the Organization.

65. On 20 November last year, the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority of 111 votes, resolution 35/37, in which it condemned in no uncertain terms the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and demanded the total and immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. However, that unequivocal call, representing the will of the majority of the people of the world has so far remained unheeded by the super-Power concerned. On the contrary, the situation in Afghanistan has been further aggravated. The world has witnessed an alarming intensification of the conflict within that country. The heroic people of Afghanistan have stepped up their resistance to the foreign military forces and to the régime that has been

imposed on them. The number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan has been heavily increased, repressive measures against the Afghan population continue unabated, and over 2 million refugees have been forced to seek shelter in Pakistan and in Iran, Afghanistan's two immediate neighbours.

66. Nevertheless, the broad masses of the Afghan people are offering fearless resistance, true to their age-old traditions of freedom and independence. That resistance, which is entirely indigenous and not abetted from outside, is not confined to any particular part of Afghanistan but extends throughout the entire country. The indomitable people of Afghanistan, who possess only primitive weapons, have to confront the awesome war machine of a military super-Power in defence of their inalienable national rights. Although their towns and villages are being ruthlessly bombed, their homes destroyed and their fields laid waste, their heroic struggle continues.

67. Last year and again this year, during the general debate and during the discussion of the situation in Afghanistan, the Soviet representatives maintained that the several thousand foreign troops that descended upon Afghanistan on Christmas Day of 1979 had been invited by the people of that country. The Afghan people, however, have demonstrated unequivocally to the whole world that those assertions by the Soviet Union are baseless. How did they do that? They did it by expressing their rejection of foreign armed intervention in their internal affairs, intervention that is intended to enable a certain political group to impose its control on that country. The consequences of the foreign intervention in Afghanistan are not limited to loss of life. Those consequences have extended to affecting the very bases of the economic structure of a poor developing country that needs to devote all its human and natural resources to the cause of economic and social development.

68. The situation in Afghanistan is a prelude indicating what the world should expect next. Afghanistan is a tinder-box that threatens the peace and security of the region. If no immediate solution is found, there is no guarantee that the crisis will not spread. We have noticed how in many instances a small fire, if not controlled and checked, spreads to engulf adjacent areas. The situation in Afghanistan is no different. Therefore we are justified in calling upon all States to contribute to the promotion of a peaceful settlement of the issue. As for those who would wish to make us believe that the situation in that country will return to normal once foreign hands cease their interference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan—and I refer to Pakistan and Iran—we should like to tell them that we know better; we know that the people of Afghanistan have no love for the present régime. There is no doubt that there is in Afghanistan a national uprising against the foreign troops, no matter how others may try to play it down and blame it on those outside. The truth is that there is widespread and vehement opposition to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan.

69. Any country that values its independence and the rights of its citizens must be gravely concerned by the implications of the events in Afghanistan. As the columns of Soviet tanks went in in December 1979, the independence and sovereignty of a State Member of the United Nations were simply ignored. As for the delegation of the Comoros, we cannot but take a very strong position with regard to the events in Afghanistan. Naked aggression cannot be permitted or condoned, for such a response would destroy the very fabric of peace and international

relations and calls into question the sanctity of our solemn obligations under the Charter, particularly with regard to the non-use of force and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

70. If the Soviet Union can with impunity invade an independent country at the invitation of a small minority for the benefit of leaders in exile and for purposes of advantage to the Soviet Union, no other country can be confident of its own independence and sovereignty. The implications of this event for world peace and stability and for international co-operation are every bit as grave now as they were in December. The passage of time in no way diminishes the need for the Members of the Organization to search for an acceptable and peaceful solution, a solution which reverses what has happened and seeks to ensure that it can never happen again.

71. So far the Soviet Union has shown no interest whatsoever in negotiations in terms that would be acceptable to the Afghan people and its neighbours. The policy-makers of the Kremlin state that there will not be a Soviet withdrawal unless a political solution is found in Afghanistan, but we of the delegation of the Comoros are convinced that there can never be a political solution of the Afghan problem as long as Soviet troops remain in that country. We therefore call upon the Soviet Union to take heed of international appeals and withdraw its forces from Afghanistan immediately.

72. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to begin its statement with the words of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Shah Mohammad Dost. Speaking in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly, he stated:

“Any unbiased observer visiting Afghanistan these days can see with his own eyes that despite the serious difficulties imposed on the Afghan people by the enemies of the Afghan revolution and an undeclared war waged against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by the imperialist and hegemonist forces and their mercenaries, the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan have, during a comparatively short period of time, scored great successes along the road of economic, political and social progress”.

“The Afghan army and people would have wiped out the counter-revolutionary bands long ago had they not been given support from imperialist and hegemonist quarters, as well as from some reactionary Islamic régimes.” [8th meeting, paras. 306 and 313.]

73. Convincing examples of the achievements of the Afghan people in the building of a new life were given in the statement at the 58th meeting, by the representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Zarif. Particularly noteworthy positive changes have occurred in 1981. The National Fatherland Front of Afghanistan was set up and began to spread its influence to all areas of public life. It represents practically all classes and social strata of the Afghan people and the main political and public organizations, from the People's Democratic Party up to the Supreme *Jirgah* of tribes and the High Council of scholars and clergy. Effective measures have been undertaken to develop the economy, to raise the standard of the industrial and agricultural production of the country and



to put into effect reforms in the area of education, science and culture. Successful work is going on in achieving the goals of the second stage of agrarian reform. A confirmation of the stabilization which has been brought about in the country is the mass return to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of people who had left it earlier in circumstances of force and fear. In response to the appeal of the Afghan Government to all nationals who were temporarily on foreign soil, tens of thousands of Afghans have recently returned to their homeland. The only thing that the Afghan people and its Government now need is that no obstacles be placed in their way to prevent them from building a new life in accordance with the ideals of the April national democratic revolution.

74. The sole reason for the existence of tension around Afghanistan is the incessant armed aggression from outside and other forms of intervention in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which have been undertaken by imperialist and hegemonist forces. It is precisely this kind of intervention which compelled the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to appeal to the Soviet Union for assistance to be extended to the Afghan army and people in repelling aggression from outside. Unfortunately, we cannot but note that the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is not only not slackening, but is actually being stepped up and is taking an ever more dangerous turn for the cause of peace. The organizers of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are sparing neither resources nor weapons. The clandestine operations of the United States in supporting the Afghan counter-revolutionaries, which began under Carter, have now acquired an open character and have in essence been transformed into the official policy of the United States Government, as was stated by President Reagan as early as the second month of his presidency. To equip and train bandits in camps on Pakistani territory, the United States, according to reports from the Western press, has allocated this year about \$100 million. Secretary of State Haig did not have to make any great effort in order to obtain the consent of Beijing to transform China into a staging base for equipping the Afghan counter-revolutionaries with weapons, and this includes weapons which are bought by the Americans in Egypt. The President of Egypt in an interview on 22 September this year stated that official authorities of the United States came to him with a proposal to buy weapons as far back as December 1979. "I opened my depots to them", he stated. We also find the United Kingdom actively associated in financing Afghan counter-revolution and arms deliveries to mutinous gangs in Afghanistan. According to Agence France Presse reports, citing Washington sources, the co-ordination of efforts of all participants in the anti-Afghan alliance was conducted by the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States.

75. It would appear that Washington cannot possibly resign itself to the fact that the birth of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has created a State whose main intentions are to live in peace and friendship with its neighbours, including the Soviet Union, and consistently to adhere to the principles of non-alignment in its foreign policy. For the United States, such an Afghanistan is a bone in its throat. For it, aggression against Afghanistan is only part of a broader plan to destabilize the situation throughout the region of South-West Asia and the Persian Gulf. Such a United States policy has the most serious consequences for international peace and security. Provocative United States actions threaten not only the

Afghan people, but also the peoples of other countries in the region.

76. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is firmly convinced that the major condition of settlement of the situation which has arisen around Afghanistan is the total and unconditional cessation and guaranteed non-resumption of armed or any other form of intervention in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

77. A constructive and realistic programme for a political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan exists. It was set forth in the declaration of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 24 August this year. A study of this programme makes it clear that there is a sincere desire on the part of the Afghan Government to bring about an early settlement. It has manifested goodwill, as well as readiness to take into account the wishes of its neighbours. With the flexibility necessary in order to solve complex political issues, this programme gives preference to the holding of bilateral Afghan-Iranian and Afghan-Pakistani talks. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan also agrees to trilateral talks if Pakistan and Iran so desire. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan does not object to the presence of the Secretary-General or his representative at such talks. Of course, the subject of the talks should be international aspects of the Afghanistan problem, not internal Afghan affairs.

78. The essential element of a political settlement in accordance with the Afghan proposals should be reliable international guarantees with regard to agreements achieved on putting an end to intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan. Such guarantor countries could include the Soviet Union, the United States and also certain other countries to which neither Afghanistan nor its neighbours objected. An agreement on a political settlement would make it possible to establish by agreement between the Soviet and Afghan sides the timetable and procedure for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

79. In the view of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, it would be entirely proper for the Afghan proposals to be linked with a general easing of tension in the region. The process of settlement should, of course, take into account the present situation in the Indian Ocean area and the Persian Gulf. In transforming that region into a zone of peace, the elimination of the foreign military bases there would help to ease tension and increase international security. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR supports the constructive approach of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the solution of the problems connected with the situation around Afghanistan and calls for the beginning of direct talks between Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran.

80. In the course of the general debate and in this debate certain delegations have given wide publicity to the proposal on the part of a number of Western European States with regard to a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. Without going into the details of that proposal, we should like to point out that it is not realistic, primarily because it disregards the lawful Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Of course, questions connected with the constitution of the Government of Afghanistan and other internal questions pertaining to that country cannot be discussed in any international forum: such questions must be resolved by the Afghan people, and the Afghan people alone. The Afghan people made its choice three years ago when it

supported the April revolution. In this regard, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR continues to oppose the discussion of the question of the situation in Afghanistan in the United Nations. The consideration of this question which has been imposed on the General Assembly despite the clearly-expressed will of the lawful Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan constitutes flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of that country and is contrary to the fundamental principles of the Charter.

81. Draft resolution A/36/L.15, submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly, does not contain a generally acceptable basis for a political settlement. Furthermore, its adoption and implementation would only make more difficult the search for ways and means of normalizing the situation in the region and would be detrimental to the proposed dialogue between the interested parties. The Ukrainian delegation will accordingly vote against it.

82. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary) (*interpretation from French*): The so-called question of Afghanistan continues to be exploited and used by those in certain political circles for the purpose of maintaining tension in the region, preventing an appropriate solution to existing problems and, in so doing, taking a new step towards the deterioration of the international climate. Those forces thought they could use the developments in Afghanistan to justify their actions, camouflage further their own designs and shift the attention of the world public from their true intentions in the region.

83. That attitude is demonstrated, *inter alia*, by their behaviour on the question of self-determination for the Afghan people, which they place at the centre of the debate on the "question of Afghanistan". While Afghanistan languished under the yoke of a medieval régime, no one among them concerned himself with the fate of the Afghan people, and the anguish which is expressed today with such eloquence was curiously not present at the time. But the moment the Afghan people decided to take its destiny into its own hands and installed a Government of Afghan patriots determined to implement a policy of reform to bring the country out of the shadows of the Middle Ages, voices were raised to question the wisdom of the path chosen by that country and to express "grave concern" about the fate of the Afghan people. That was the beginning of the operation designed to undermine at all costs the authority of the central Government, to foment unrest in the country, to abuse centuries-old traditions and customs and to exploit the prejudices of the tribal communities of the country and direct them against the Government.

84. Unfortunately, that enterprise has been supported by some countries of the region which, alarmed by the rapid development and the considerable turmoil in that area, were encouraged by the renewed interest in them on the part of certain major Powers. The question of the self-determination of the Afghan people is therefore a pseudo, non-existent problem. The affairs of its country are in the safe hands of the finest sons of the Afghan people, and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has the support of ever wider sectors of the population. The very important event which marked that development was the establishment last June of the National Fatherland Front, which groups together representatives of mass and professional organizations, the clergy, tribal chiefs, national minorities, businessmen and distinguished public figures of the country. At present a new society is emerging in the country which meets the de-

mands of modern times but which also takes into account the religious, national, historical and cultural traditions of the peoples that inhabit Afghanistan.

85. Those who make a big issue of the question of self-determination try to justify their position by referring to the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. However, it will be remembered that at the time of the 1978 revolution no Soviet soldiers were in the country. However, elements hostile to socio-economic changes in Afghanistan went to work immediately after the success of the revolution. Encouraged and supported by those in certain foreign circles, they were able to win to their cause certain groups of the population that did not immediately grasp the importance of the turn of events in the country. Had that campaign of intoxication been limited to deforming the intentions of the Government, distorting facts or manipulating popular beliefs, those efforts would have long ago been met with a stinging defeat. However, the feudal and reactionary elements in Afghan society were able to benefit not only from political support but also from military support by those who viewed with disfavour the development of the situation in Afghanistan. Arms supplies across the frontier between Pakistan and Afghanistan took on increasingly large and systematic dimensions and the establishment of training camps for Afghan counter-revolutionaries became a fact well known by anyone who reads the newspapers.

86. The purpose of that operation was obvious: to shift the attention and energy of the country's leadership away from the enormous tasks of economic and social development and, in the long run, to attempt to overthrow the Government which took over following the historic turning-point of 1978. The dispatch of Soviet contingents to Afghanistan at the request of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the firm action taken by the Afghan army considerably limited the possibilities of the anti-revolutionary forces. However, the struggle continues against acts of violence and sabotage, the acts of those who have become the instrument of a world-wide policy aimed at halting the process of the emancipation of peoples. The authors of that global policy do not spare any diplomatic, political, economic or military efforts to achieve their ends. They act in the same way as in the case of the Afghan insurgents.

87. In this connection, I should like to quote from our statement made at the very first discussion of the item on Afghanistan in the United Nations. In our statement of 6 January 1980 in the Security Council, speaking of the imperialist and hegemonist forces which, through overt or covert collusion try to prevent progressive evolution, we said the following:

"In the course of the history of the United Nations, more than once we have heard denials of such involvements and behind-the-scenes activities by obscure forces specializing in this type of action, in co-operation with fugitive elements nostalgic over their past positions. Later, however, when the passions triggered by these actions abated, there came confessions and acknowledgements from authoritative people and institutions admitting their role and involvement in those actions. Should we wait again for a couple of years until someone publishes his memoirs or publicly speaks out on these issues?"<sup>4</sup>

That was what we said at the beginning of 1980. And it so happens that we have not had to wait very long for sources that could not be more official to make known to

us that in fact countries of the region and beyond were implicated in the anti-government rebellion in Afghanistan and that important arms deliveries to the rebels were not at all the figment of the imagination of the Afghan Government to explain the continuation of anti-government armed actions, but that they clearly came from well-specified foreign sources.

88. We are thus faced with a vicious circle: supplies of weapons feed the rebellion which, in turn, is not likely to lead the Afghan Government to call for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. The continued presence of limited Soviet contingents provides the occasion for this hue and cry around the question of the self-determination of the Afghan people and thus gives "legitimacy" to the continuation of the policy of open interference in the affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

89. One cannot but think that certain States involved in this affair do not really have the intention of promoting a solution of the situation which exists along the Afghan borders and do not desire the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from that country. They have no doubt reached the conclusion that the military presence of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan serves as a pretext and an alibi for them to maintain a fierce policy of anti-Soviet confrontation and to involve the States of the region in it, so as to increase their influence in that part of the world, to counter-national liberation movements and socio-economic changes that are inescapable, and to nourish a cold-war climate.

90. Faced with such a situation, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan believes that it is its main duty to do everything possible to arrive at a political settlement of the questions which concern the situation in that part of the world. We support the efforts of the Afghan Government to find a solution mutually acceptable to the States of the region. It is in that spirit that we welcome the statement of 24 August 1981 by the Government of Afghanistan on the problem of a political settlement. In our view and in order to avoid any future misunderstanding, the importance of the first point of that declaration should not escape anyone. It states that the main objective and the basic content of the political settlement should be the cessation of armed and other intervention in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan. That declaration offers a reply to those who are concerned by the presence of Soviet troops in the country in emphasizing that a political settlement would provide an opportunity to determine the details of the withdrawal of the Soviet contingent. However, the declaration indicates unambiguously that questions concerning the present régime in Afghanistan are not subject to any discussion.

91. We have followed with attention the activities of the Secretary-General aimed at facilitating negotiations between the parties concerned. We welcome the wish of the Governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan to work towards a peaceful settlement, and we have noted with satisfaction that they continue to encourage efforts aimed at finding a mutually acceptable formula for negotiations. We welcomed as a positive sign the talks on this question which took place at United Nations Headquarters during this session of the General Assembly. However, we regret the fact that the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan and of Pakistan did not meet one another. We venture to hope also that the Government of Iran will in the future join in those consultations. However, the diplomatic process is now under way and we await with interest and hope the new steps to be taken in the near future within the framework of the diplomatic initiatives aimed

at a just and lasting solution to the problem recognizing the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan while setting forth the bases of good-neighbourly relations, co-operation and non-interference in the internal affairs among all countries of the region.

92. The United Nations has a major role to play to ensure that these objectives are realized. The inclusion of the so-called Afghan question in the agenda of this General Assembly, the debates which have taken place in the Organization and the resolutions adopted here by vote are, however, not likely to promote the atmosphere of trust which is essential to the attainment of those objectives. That was clearly shown by events last year. Efforts to bring about a *rapprochement* and regional co-operation among the countries directly concerned offer the only promising approach and the activities of the Secretary-General confirm the correctness of this political trend.

93. Draft resolution A/36/L.15 does not constitute any change in the attitude of some Governments to a sincere and realistic settlement of the problems of the region. For that reason, my delegation opposes its adoption.

94. Mr. ROA-KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): To reduce the hotbeds of tension which exist in various parts of the world and to seek a just solution to conflicts mean to contribute practically to the strengthening of peace. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity constitute the sole basis for dialogue and negotiation and consequently the means of reducing tension, preserving peace and promoting mutually beneficial co-operation among States.

95. As regards the so-called situation in Afghanistan, what is being proposed is precisely interference in the internal affairs of a Member State against the express will of its Government.

96. The draft resolution which has been submitted to the Assembly contains demands which disregard that country's sovereignty and seeks to impose conditions concerning matters which are within its competence alone. The draft resolution, furthermore, is not in keeping with the report presented by the Secretary-General and his negotiations and those of his Personal Representative with the parties concerned.

97. It is a well-known fact that the triumph of the April revolution in Afghanistan aroused the hostility of those in imperialist and reactionary circles and, internally, of the feudal overlords, and estate-owners, the exploiters and counter-revolutionaries of all kinds who in the years of their domination converted Afghanistan into one of the most backward countries of the world. The fight against the political, economic and social reforms which have been taking place in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan won the support of the imperialist and reactionary forces from the very beginning of the April revolution. Most recently, the press has endeavoured to show which countries are busily supplying arms to the counter-revolutionary gangs in Afghanistan.

98. The Afghan Government, while adopting the necessary measures for the defence of the revolution, has maintained a constructive international stand and has expressed its readiness to engage in dialogue so as to find ways and means that will lead to ending the tension in the region and normalizing completely its relations with its neigh-

bours. On 24 August of this year that Government declared its readiness to embark on bilateral or trilateral negotiations with its neighbours, and agreed to the presence of the Secretary-General or his Personal Representative, with a view to bringing about a political agreement with international guarantees which would ensure a cessation of armed and other interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. Once these agreements have been reached, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan would agree with the Government of the Soviet Union on matters related to the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

99. Through the decree of 18 June of this year the Government of Afghanistan promised to welcome back Afghan citizens who had left the country, guaranteeing them their freedom and immunity and the right to choose their domicile and to participate on a basis of equality in solving the land problem by means of agrarian reform. Nomad farmers were also guaranteed the right to use pasture areas and freedom of movement within the country, including traditional seasonal migrations from Afghanistan to Pakistan and back. Those proposals, in our view, represent a realistic and viable basis for solving the problems of the region and without any doubt should lead to the beginning of negotiations between Afghanistan and its neighbours, at which the Secretary-General or his Representative would be present.

100. Cuba, which has always denounced the manoeuvres of imperialism and reaction against the Afghan revolution and resolutely defends the principles of socialist internationalism, has declared on more than one occasion that there should be no more grist for the mill of imperialism; nevertheless, Cuba expresses its hope that a political settlement of the situation in South-West Asia in accordance with the principles of the Charter and those of the non-aligned movement can be brought about. We pledge our best efforts to that end.

101. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): One of the most significant achievements of the United Nations since its inception has been its active involvement in the decolonization process. We have witnessed a tripling in membership of the Organization almost from its birth, a country that with a few notable and important exceptions, the process is nearing completion. What we are considering in the item under discussion today represents, in effect, a reversal of the process. A country which has been a Member of the organization almost from its birth, a country that was free, independent and non-aligned, has lost its freedom and independence and is instead subject to foreign domination as a result of massive armed intervention by an outside Power, a fellow Member of the United Nations.

102. This item is of vital concern to all Members of the United Nations, and especially to small independent and non-aligned Members. The actions of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan have demonstrated that the Soviet Union, in pursuit of what it conceives to be its national interests, is prepared to sweep aside the independence and non-alignment of Member States and to violate the fundamental principles of the Charter.

103. What is of particular concern to the Australian Government is that the Soviet Union has persisted in its military occupation of Afghanistan despite unequivocal calls for withdrawal by the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations. Last year the Assembly

adopted resolution 35/37 by a vote of 111 in favour, 22 against and 12 abstentions. Resolution ES-6/2 was passed at the sixth emergency special session in January 1980 by a similar margin. Amongst other things, those resolutions call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. Yet Soviet troops remain in occupation of Afghanistan. What we are witnessing is the blatant refusal of a great Power to heed the terms of General Assembly resolutions.

104. Attempts have been made by apologists for the Soviet Union to justify the invasion by claiming that the Soviet presence is a direct result of an invitation from the authorities in Kabul. This assertion does not stand up to even the most superficial scrutiny. An examination of the chronology of events clearly shows that the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and installed the Babrak Karmal régime. That régime relies for its survival on the continued presence of Soviet troops. Any *ex post facto* invitation from that régime to the Soviet authorities is clearly not to be regarded, cannot be regarded as a credible justification.

105. The Afghan people have shown dramatically and conclusively their objection of the Babrak Karmal régime and their abhorrence of the Soviet presence. Since the foreign intervention in their country some 2.5 million Afghans have sought refuge within Pakistan and another 0.5 to 1.5 million within Iran. This represents some 20 per cent of the total population of Afghanistan. This enormous mass exodus of people from one country is one of the largest in recent world history. In alleviating the plight of these homeless people, the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is worthy of high praise. The Australian Government has supported and will continue to support the work of the High Commissioner in this area.

106. Commonwealth Heads of Government considered this question during their recent meeting in Melbourne. Members will know that the Commonwealth is an association of aligned and non-aligned States with a range of perspectives on international events. It is this diversity of opinion which gives the Commonwealth a unique status, and I therefore think it appropriate to read into the record what the Commonwealth Governments had to say on Afghanistan in their final communiqué:

“Heads of Government expressed grave concern at the situation in and around Afghanistan and its implications both for the region’s peace and stability and for international security. Although there were differing perceptions about the developments leading to the present situation, Heads of Government were united in calling urgently for a political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty, and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference. They reaffirmed the right of Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. They urged all concerned to work towards a negotiated settlement which would leave the Afghan people free to determine their own future.”  
[A/36/587, annex, para. 21.]

107. It is incumbent upon the Organization to search for a solution to the problem which will allow Afghanistan to regain its sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status. In this connection we welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative. In his report [A/36/653] the Secre-

tary-General has outlined the persistent efforts that he and his Personal Representative have made since the last session of the General Assembly. We endorse these efforts, but we note with regret that only the intransigence of the great Power concerned has thwarted efforts aimed at a peaceful settlement. The Government of Pakistan, which is already bearing such an unacceptable burden because of the refugees on its territory, has made serious efforts to hold constructive discussions on this question, but little has been achieved in the face of the intransigence of the Soviets and the Babrak Karmal régime.

108. My Government has studied with interest the proposals made by the European Communities and takes the view that were all sides to show sufficient political goodwill those proposals could provide the genesis for a peaceful solution.

109. My delegation has also studied closely draft resolution A/36/L.15, and it fully supports the provisions contained therein. It is high time that the Soviet Union paid heed to the voice of international opinion as expressed by the overwhelming majority of the Assembly.

110. In the interests of international peace and security, we call upon the Soviet Union to comply forthwith with the provisions of the Charter and of the relevant United Nations resolutions. Failure to do so can only lead to increased regional instability, increased international tension and increased fears amongst all independent nations. As long as Soviet troops remain in Afghanistan the climate for the pursuit of processes aimed at reducing international tension cannot be realized. Only through the restoration of a spirit of international trust and co-operation can we begin again to move forward towards the establishment of a stable international environment.

*Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

111. Mr. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh): Once again we are debating the situation in Afghanistan, an issue of which the United Nations has been seized over the past two years. Despite the serious efforts of the international community the problem continues to pose a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security.

112. In our statement at the 68th meeting of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly we reaffirmed the obligation of all States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any State. At the meetings of the non-aligned countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Commonwealth heads of Government we restated our belief in the inalienable right of all peoples to determine their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social systems free from outside intervention or interference of any kind whatsoever. During the current session of the General Assembly the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh said "peace can be secured in Afghanistan and Kampuchea by the withdrawal of all foreign troops from those countries, leaving their peoples free to determine their own destiny without external intervention in any form" [13th meeting, para. 156].

113. The security problem in the region has been further aggravated by the exodus of over 2 million refugees, who had to flee their homeland for safety. The magnitude of this social and humanitarian problem is a cause for the legitimate concern of the international community. It is in

this context that adequate steps have to be taken by the parties concerned to create the necessary conditions which would enable the refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

114. Equality and social justice based on freedom cannot be denied any country. All States Members of the United Nations, big or small, weak or strong, have a responsibility to respect and uphold the sacrosanct principles of the Charter and the objectives of the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Those international instruments, which have been worked out with the utmost care, are essential elements for guiding inter-State relations and they can be disregarded only at the peril of creating disorder and instability in the world.

115. Bangladesh believes in peace and stability and has been working untiringly to promote peaceful solutions of disputes consistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter. In that context we note with satisfaction the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General to resolve the situation in Afghanistan. The discussions of his Personal Representative with the authorities in Afghanistan and Pakistan will, it is hoped, lead to the ultimate achievement of a political solution. In that connection, the delegation of Bangladesh has noted with satisfaction the report of the Secretary-General. We are particularly gratified that sustained efforts are under way for a political settlement of the problem. In paragraph 8 of his report the Secretary-General states:

"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".

116. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): As I am speaking for the first time during this session of the General Assembly, allow me to extend to the President my personal congratulations on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. My pleasure in doing so is even greater owing to our long friendship and my conviction that his personal qualities will enable the General Assembly to deal with the questions on its agenda from the right perspective.

117. We must note with regret that consideration of this item is today, after almost two years, still at the very beginning. General Assembly resolution 35/37, which contains all the essential principles for the solution of the crisis in and around Afghanistan, has not been implemented. Even the initial steps in that direction have not been taken because there still prevails the illusion that the problem can be solved by force. The report of the Secretary-General has also shown that his efforts to launch the process of a political solution could not move the issue from deadlock. The situation in Afghanistan remains unchanged. The basic causes for which the problem was included in the agenda of the General Assembly continue to remain fully present. The conditions provided for by United Nations decisions to allow the Afghan people freely to decide on its national and social development have not been created. The exodus of Afghan refugees continues, creating enormous humanitarian and political problems.

118. Such a situation demands that we all approach this problem with full urgency and responsibility, not only for relations in that part of the world which is already burdened with acute crises, but for broader international relations as well. Therefore we consider that the United Nations should maintain the initiative for the political solution of this international crisis on the basis of the principles of the Charter, since with respect to this hotbed of crisis as to others, the Organization plays an irreplaceable role. We see in the General Assembly debate the indispensable efforts of the international community in that direction.

119. In our approach and commitment to this as to other foci of crisis we are proceeding from the fact that the right of every people freely to decide on its destiny and its way of life is inalienable. There is no valid motive nor justified reason for contesting, let alone denying, that sovereign right. Therefore it is an imperative duty of all members of the international community, most importantly the big Powers which frequently attribute to themselves the right to intervene, to respect the freedom and independence of every people and of every State regardless of its dimensions, degree of development, socio-political system or geo-political position. Everyday practice testifies to the fact that there is no real prospect, nor can there be any establishing *détente*—even less peace—or a new system of international political and economic relations in the world without recognizing and fully respecting this unavoidable foundation of stable international relations.

120. Yugoslavia has always made great endeavours towards the achievement and defence of that right and it will do so in the future in all similar situations as well. We have never had any doubts as to the unacceptability of any encroachment on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of any independent State under whatever pretext. It is from that position that we view all problems caused or created by intervention, interference or pressure, either in South-West Asia, Africa, Central America or anywhere else and for whatever reason. In the future we shall consider every similar problem in the same way, regardless of the protagonists.

121. This is a matter of principle for us and at the same time a prerequisite for the maintenance of peace and equitable international co-operation. That principle constitutes the substance of the policy of non-alignment and it has been the stimulus for the unified efforts of the non-aligned countries towards the establishment of new international relations. Only by striving to implement that principle could non-alignment grow into a global political force, constantly influencing the evolution of the contemporary world, opening new horizons and paving new ways for the creation of more just international relations. That is the substance of the philosophy of non-alignment based on new values and on new ethics of international life which has enriched international politics as a result of its human dimensions emerging from the search for common aspirations in the ever more interdependent world.

122. We are deeply concerned over the ever intensifying endeavours to legalize military interventions and other forms of the use of force and to justify them by various "theories" constructed and adjusted in accordance with a State's geographical position, social system or "zone of security or interest". Such tendencies are being intensified throughout the world, in particular in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and are not unknown even to the European continent. They are the result of the system of

"balance of power", which produces constant imbalance, sanctions the privileged positions of the big Powers and tends to turn small countries into objects of the policy of spheres of interest. That practice is incorporated in the aggravated international situation, dominated by the unrestrained arms race and the strengthening of bloc rivalry, whose victims are primarily the independence and security of non-aligned and other developing countries.

123. There is no doubt that the launching of the process of a political solution of the crisis in Afghanistan would constitute a substantive contribution to the re-establishment of *détente* and its transformation into an indivisible universal process, which can be achieved only by opposing the use of force and by the political solution of international problems with the participation of all countries. Until the policy of the use of force is checked everywhere in the world, *détente* cannot become a component part of a genuine relaxation in the international situation or the establishment of mutually beneficial international co-operation, for at the very basis of the deterioration of the international situation lies the recourse of the use of force at the broadest level of international relations, expressed either by the imposition of various forms of dependency on countries and peoples by the policy of spheres of interest or the maintenance of an inequitable system of international relations. The reason for the unrestrained arms race is, in fact, not the search for security but the establishment of relations of domination in the world.

124. Yugoslavia, like other non-aligned countries, has on several occasions, both in the United Nations and outside it, acted in favour of a political solution of the crisis in Afghanistan. Of great significance is the fact that the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in February this year, reached a consensus that such a solution can be based on the withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, as well as on strict respect for the principles of non-interference and non-intervention. At that Conference, the non-aligned countries requested all interested parties to work for a solution that would enable the Afghan people to determine its own destiny free of outside interference. All States were called upon to refrain from jeopardizing peace and security in the region and to create conditions necessary for stable and harmonized relations among the countries in that region, whose legitimate interests for security and independence must be protected. Such relations, as stated in the Declaration adopted at New Delhi [*see A/36/116 and Corr.1*], can be achieved only on the principles of non-alignment.

125. The acute character of this crisis and its broad international repercussions require that the General Assembly renew its demand for the necessary political solution based on accepted principles, which must substantially include withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of that country, the termination of intervention and interference and respect for the non-aligned status of Afghanistan and for the right of its people freely to choose its way of life. Stable relations cannot be made possible without respect for that right in this case as in all others, since its violation brings into question the credibility of all endeavours exerted for the establishment of *détente*, disarmament and the resolution of any international problem.

126. Proceeding from Yugoslavia's known position of principle and its commitment to non-alignment, as well as

from the need for a political solution of this crisis, we support the stand expressed in the draft resolution before the Assembly and we shall vote for its adoption. The draft resolution contains elements necessary for the solution of the crisis; it is an expression of such endeavour and its implementation would contribute to arresting the negative developments in that region, which have grown into a crisis of global proportions.

127. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and the setting up of a puppet régime supported by Soviet military power was a grave violation of the principles of the Charter. It had an immediate impact not only on regional stability, but also on wider issues of international peace and security. That unwarranted act of intervention was an alarming example of a large and powerful nation using force to impose its will on a small and defenceless neighbour. It was all the more disturbing in view of the special responsibilities which the international community has entrusted to the permanent members of the Security Council that the act of aggression was committed by the Soviet Union.

128. The invasion and occupation of Afghanistan has been condemned by the international community. The General Assembly has twice called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan so that the people of Afghanistan can determine their own form of Government and choose their own economic, political and social system, free from outside interference. The Soviet Union nevertheless continues to defy the international community. Its troops remain in Afghanistan. The presence of those alien forces has become a daily reality for the people of Afghanistan. And yet surely the Soviet Union cannot believe that with the passage of time the international community will accept the situation in Afghanistan as being irreversible. Countries which value their independence and sovereignty, as we all do, are too acutely aware that it would be both wrong and short-sighted to forget the struggle of the people of Afghanistan. Small nations in particular are more conscious than ever that their safety and well-being can be assured only if they stand together determined to see that the principles of the Charter are observed by all countries. Their security depends on respect for international law. They cannot accept the continued denial to the people of Afghanistan of their right to choose their own future free from intimidation and coercion.

129. The Soviet Union claims that it was invited into Afghanistan in response to alleged external aggression against that country. The international community has already rejected such a fanciful and empty claim. So too have the people of Afghanistan. Today, nearly two years after the invasion, it is clear that the great majority of the people reject the Soviet-imposed Karmal régime. The brave resistance of the Afghan people against enormous odds shows how determined they are not to accept continued occupation of their country. The fact that 2.5 million refugees have fled into neighbouring Pakistan and Iran shows starkly and tragically how much the Soviet presence is feared and resented. Those people have fled in search of peace, shelter and food. Looking after them has placed an enormous burden on Afghanistan's neighbours. My Government has the greatest admiration for the way that the Government of Pakistan, under the most difficult circumstances, has provided humanitarian relief for the refugees.

130. Until the military occupation of Afghanistan is brought to an end, the General Assembly must continue

to consider the question. The draft resolution now before us sets out those principles which must guide negotiation of a comprehensive political settlement. Those principles are clear: there must be immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces; the Government of Afghanistan must be acceptable to the people themselves; conditions must be created which will encourage the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety; and the territorial integrity of all the States in the region must be assured.

131. My delegation has every confidence that the draft resolution will be adopted with the support of the overwhelming majority of the Assembly. The international community's responsibility, however, goes well beyond this debate and the adoption of this draft resolution. It extends to seeking actively a way to achieve a settlement based on the principles set out in the draft resolution. In this regard New Zealand welcomes the initiatives of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and of the European Council. We support the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to promote a settlement. But, determined and necessary as these efforts are, they cannot in themselves bring about a solution to the crisis. They must be matched by a willingness on the part of the Soviet Union to negotiate. The time has come for all parties to acknowledge that a political settlement can be achieved only on the basis of withdrawal of foreign forces, full respect for the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference.

132. Mr. PELLETIER (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): We are gathered here for the third time to discuss the presence in Afghanistan of Soviet troops which the USSR refuses to withdraw. This refusal constitutes a grave disregard of the fundamental principles of the Charter. Twice last year an overwhelming majority of the Assembly adopted resolutions which reaffirmed the fundamental principle of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of a Member of the Organization and called for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. It is a matter of profound regret to Canada that, almost one year after we joined for the second time in strongly condemning aggression against one of its members, the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan continues and the human tragedy it has brought with it deepens.

133. It would seem quite evident that the Soviet Union finds itself in an unanticipated situation. Its forces continue to face massive popular resistance and its advisers have failed to find a formula by means of which the people of Afghanistan would become reconciled to a fundamentally alien system of government. Whatever the original motives of the Soviet Union in intervening, it is apparent that the existing situation is a clear example of a massively powerful nation seeking, through direct military intervention, to terminate the freedom and effective independence of a small, non-aligned neighbour. The simple word for such a development is aggression. My Government profoundly hopes that the Soviet Union will recognize this reality and pay heed to the call for its withdrawal expressed in the Assembly by a broad spectrum of nations representing the overwhelming weight of international opinion.

134. Let us examine the facts. With each passing month the veneer of justification with which the Soviet Union has sought to excuse its intervention in Afghanistan be-

comes more transparent. Not only was the previous Government, which the Soviets allegedly intervened "to save", immediately overthrown, but it is starkly obvious that the current régime is maintained only through the pressure of an occupying Soviet army. The Babrak Karmal régime has no international credibility and no significant international support. The will and aspirations of the Afghan people for freedom are exemplified by the massive defiance of the authority of the Kabul régime and the widespread support accorded to resistance forces.

135. It is ironic to recall that, at the time of the Soviet intervention, the invading forces were characterized as "limited military contingents" which would be in Afghanistan for a short time only. It is now patently clear that this intervention is neither "limited" nor "short term". The level of Soviet military involvement today—almost two years since the intervention—remains close to 100,000 troops. There are also huge numbers of Soviet "advisers" who have in fact taken over the administration of government. Not only have Soviet advisers been installed in key positions in all Afghan government departments but, even more ominously, the administration of the security apparatus of Afghanistan has largely been taken over by the Soviet Union and its agents.

136. All this has occurred under the guise of rescuing Afghanistan from what the Soviets define as "external aggression". It is, to put it mildly, an odd form of rescue. The essential, incontrovertible fact is the same as it was two years ago. The USSR is not defending Afghanistan against external aggressors or anything else. The reality is the opposite. Reality in Afghanistan is represented by the inspiring resistance of the Afghan people to a foreign army of occupation and to a régime that owes its existence to external interference. The heroic struggle of the Afghan people, a struggle sustained under extreme conditions of privation and danger, is one to regain the right to self-determination and independence. Armed opposition against the occupying forces and the régime in Kabul is taking place throughout the country; the resistance controls a large part of the countryside and commands the allegiance of most of its population. Even in the large cities, the occupying troops and dwindling forces of the Kabul régime cannot operate in security. There have been wide-scale defections from the Afghan armed forces and civil service to join the resistance.

137. The facts remain the same today as they have from the outset of the Soviet invasion: Soviet forces are not defending Afghanistan against anything; they are fighting Afghans who are steadfastly resisting an alien government imposed on them by force. The remarkable struggle of the Afghan resistance is a profound indication of the will of a free people to reject an imperial subjugation which they have never known.

138. Thousands of civilians have been killed, hundreds of villages destroyed and the economy has been severely disrupted. Schools are closed, businesses and factories destroyed or inoperative. Today, Afghanistan is a country torn by warfare—warfare brought about by the violation of its sovereignty and independence.

139. I wish to draw particular attention to the plight of the refugees, now estimated at perhaps 3 million, who have been forced to flee Afghanistan to find refuge in neighbouring countries. The Afghan refugee situation in Pakistan is now the worst single refugee situation in the world. Canada recognizes the severe burden this situation has placed on Pakistan, and we have been impressed by

the capacity of the Government and people of Pakistan to provide humanitarian assistance for those dispossessed people. The international community has already provided substantial assistance for relief for Afghan refugees. Canada supports the call of the draft resolution now before us for continued international support for the Afghan refugees and hopes to provide increased resources for humanitarian aid to those refugees. More international aid to the refugees is urgent and vital, but it is not a solution. The only acceptable outcome is the creation of a situation which, in the words of the draft resolution, will "enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and in honour". That return will not be possible until the Soviet troops are withdrawn and the Afghans are allowed to choose a government without outside interference.

140. The consequences of the Soviet intervention for the people of Afghanistan and the inherent threat posed to other countries of the region must be of grave and continuing concern to the world community. The promotion of international peace and stability, which is at the centre of the Organization's endeavours, has been dealt a severe blow by Soviet actions in Afghanistan. In his address on foreign policy to the House of Commons in June of this year, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs drew attention to the negative impact of the Afghanistan situation on regional stability in South and South-West Asia and on the interests of the world community. He asserted that "The peace and stability of that area, and of the community of nations, will be endangered for as long as Afghanistan has not regained its sovereignty, its independence and its status as a non-aligned nation". That remains the position of the Canadian Government.

141. Canada is particularly concerned about the unresponsiveness of the Soviet Union towards international efforts directed at achieving a just solution to the situation in Afghanistan. Not only have the two resolutions adopted by the Assembly been ignored; the voices of the Islamic community and of the non-aligned movement have been ignored as well. Other initiatives aimed at providing an opportunity for a just settlement, including European Community proposals for a conference, have so far failed to gain a satisfactory Soviet response. There remains the effort launched by the Secretary-General pursuant to Assembly resolution 35/37 of last November. Canada has welcomed and supported the initiative of the Secretary-General's Personal Representative in seeking progress towards a solution of this crisis. We trust that in time this initiative will lead to a recognition that Afghanistan's sovereignty and independence must be restored and that the withdrawal of Soviet troops is a prerequisite for such an achievement.

142. Canada fully supports the draft resolution now before the Assembly and hopes that it will receive massive endorsement. We take particular note of its reference to the need to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

143. In closing, I wish to express the profound hope that the Soviet Union will at last recognize that its own interests lie, as much as do the interests of the international community, in the achievement of an equitable solution of the Afghanistan crisis. The damage done to the fabric of international relations by the Soviet intervention has been immense. That damage can be repaired, however, if the Soviet Union will pay heed to the voices of world opinion and respond to the resolution of the As-



sembly calling for a solution that will permit the Afghan people to make their own choice as to how they live and by whom they should be governed.

144. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): In dealing with the question of Afghanistan and with other matters before it, the United Nations should not become an arena for the settling of accounts, for sterile polemics, or for invective and counter-invective based largely on political considerations, to the detriment of the lofty ideals of the Organization and to the detriment of the problem itself and of the clear interest of nations and peoples who believe in the United Nations. The delegation of Zaire, therefore, is now speaking solely on matters of principle.

145. I should like first to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the clarity of his report on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, as well as for his efforts to implement General Assembly resolution 35/37 which was, I would recall, adopted by a majority vote of 111 States Members of the Organization. That majority shows the great importance that the international community attaches to this question and to the consequences and principles involved.

146. It is precisely because the situation that has been created in Afghanistan by foreign intervention and occupation challenges the fundamental principles of the United Nations that it has aroused all the Members of the Organization, and in particular the small and medium-sized countries throughout the world who are, like Afghanistan, members of the movement of non-aligned countries. The serious consequences for international peace and security created by the challenge to—if not the violation of—the fundamental principles of the Charter and international law, principles which have been set forth with utter clarity in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, demand that the international community take urgent and effective action worthy of the United Nations.

147. It was that concern that the General Assembly expressed in resolution 35/37 of 20 November 1980 when it reiterated that “the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan is essential for a peaceful solution of the problem” and reaffirmed “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”. That was also the concern it expressed when it called for, first, “the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan” and, secondly, upon “all parties concerned to work for the urgent achievement of a political solution and the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour”.

148. A year has elapsed since resolution 35/37 was adopted and two years will soon have passed since the adoption of resolution ES-6/2 without the first requirement, the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, having been met; as for the appeal to all parties concerned to work for a political settlement and for the creation of the conditions necessary for the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in security and honour, it is meeting with dilatory attitudes and of an in-

terpretation which is shocking, considering the untold suffering of the Afghan refugees.

149. Thanks to the efforts of the Secretary-General, we can now certainly welcome the fact that the dialogue has been maintained among the parties concerned, albeit through intermediaries, and that in the framework of that dialogue, the parties have sought a peaceful settlement and have welcomed the visit and the efforts of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, seeing in it a positive stage in the diplomatic process which could lead to negotiations. But, while we may welcome the fact that agreement has been reached on substantive matters which could be the subject of future negotiations, we must on the other hand deplore the differences which still exist as regards the terms of those negotiations and statements aimed at avoiding the substance of the problem, although the parties wish to reduce tension in the area and pursue efforts which could lead to a peaceful solution.

150. The approach adopted by and advocated in resolution 35/37 could well, in the opinion of the delegation of Zaire, facilitate the search for an equitable political settlement, one which would allow the Afghan people to settle its own future free from any intervention and foreign interference.

151. In this affair, it is important to recall that no political peaceful settlement in keeping with the Charter and the principles of international law is possible without settling the problem caused by the continuing flow of Afghan refugees and that a solution not accepted by the Afghan people. It is certainly difficult, if not out of the in that ravaged region. We should therefore like to reaffirm our support for the continuation of the efforts described by the Secretary-General in his report, while hoping that he will help us out of the impasse and to make progress towards a peaceful settlement in accordance with the provisions of resolution 35/37.

152. Any settlement or position straying from that approach can only increase tension in the area and make an appropriate settlement of the problem more remote. Member States must display restraint and moderation as they put forward new proposals if they are not to distort the substance of the problem or prolong the sufferings of the Afghan people. It is certainly difficult, if not out of the question, for the vast majority of the international community to support proposals whose ultimate objective, albeit implicit, would be to recognize a *fait accompli*, one which is categorically rejected by the people primarily concerned, that is, the Afghan people. No proposal to recognize the legitimacy of invasion or to secure recognition for that invasion and flagrant foreign occupation can in the present circumstances be accepted by the international community. For what is really involved is the protection of our sovereignty, our independence, our social and political options which we have freely adopted and the very survival of our political institutions. The dangers to international peace and security through the challenge to the sovereign rights of States and peoples as a result of this kind of aggression and its consequences, should not be underestimated.

153. It is certainly with satisfaction that we have noted, as the Secretary-General's report reminds us, that the Soviet Government has stressed that it was in favour of a political settlement and that it was giving its support to continued efforts to bring about a peaceful solution to this problem. We would hope that all sides, in the interests of

peace, international security and trusting co-operation among all the States of the world, will be able to go beyond the constraints of their political and historical circumstances or even their selfish interests, and help the United Nations carry out in Afghanistan and elsewhere its primary mission of maintaining international peace and security. But in order not to jeopardize the development of harmonious international relations and co-operation among all States of the world, we would hope that all parties will not challenge the fundamental principles on which the United Nations is founded.

154. Draft resolution A/36/L.15 is from every point of view in keeping with our approach to the problem. That is why the delegation of Zaïre, which is a sponsor of the draft resolution, will vote in favour.

155. For our part, this is not a question of invective. Nor is it a question of placing the blame on anyone. It is simply a question of restoring, in these turbulent times of distrust, concern and widespread insecurity, full meaning to the principles of the Charter and reaffirming the fact that these principles can make possible the settlement of all the problems with which all of us together or separately might be confronted at any given time in our history.

156. The future of the United Nations and of the world would be seriously jeopardized if the major Powers were to demonstrate that they could do without the principles of the Charter or international law or freeze them whenever it is in their best interests to do so. It is, to say the least, curious, perhaps even paradoxical, that those who joined the march of history—United Nations history—and who were neither at Yalta nor San Francisco—should today have to bear the burden of defending the United Nations and appear to be the true champions, the true defenders of the primary mission of the United Nations, of its principles, its aims and objectives and should have to remind those who actually created the United Nations of the need to safeguard these principles.

157. Also, in order to end this century on a happy note and to begin the twenty-first century with a new vision of the world in keeping with the hopes placed by all mankind in the United Nations, we must reaffirm, through the question of Afghanistan, which has gravely impaired them, that we unswervingly support the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

158. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): Almost two years have passed since Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan. In this period the invasion has been on the agenda of various conferences and forums both inside and outside the United Nations. There is broad international agreement that the armed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan constitutes a clear violation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of that country in contravention of established principles of international law, including the Charter.

159. The foreign intervention in Afghanistan has violated fundamental principles and norms on which relations between States must be based. It damaged the relationship between the two super-Powers and undermined the political process towards improved East-West relations in general. No country can acquiesce in a situation established through the use of force in breach of recognized principles of international law. In particular, small countries, like my own, must uphold, as a matter of necessity, those principles of inter-State relations.

160. In the view of the Norwegian Government, a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan is urgently required. Such a settlement would have a positive effect not only on East-West relations but on the whole climate of international relations. In the present era such a lessening of tensions is more important than ever before.

161. In this connection, I wish to express my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, for their efforts aimed at finding a basis for a comprehensive political solution of the conflict in Afghanistan.

162. My delegation has noted that the Secretary-General states in his report that the steps taken in the course of the recent consultations have shown that the approach adopted can 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. The Secretary-General and his Personal Representative have the full support of the Norwegian Government in their important and difficult task.

163. In the search for a political solution of the conflict in Afghanistan the humanitarian aspect is of utmost importance. The numbers of Afghan refugees in the neighbouring countries, Pakistan and Iran, are increasing, with all the implications of human suffering for the refugees themselves and problems of great magnitude in the social and economic fields in the countries concerned.

164. The Norwegian Government, in a desire to meet the challenge created by the increasing number of Afghan refugees, has for 1981 so far granted 25 million Norwegian kroner in order to support the work among the refugees. Of this grant 10 million kroner has been channelled through UNHCR. The Norwegian Government is considering further support.

165. The suffering resulting from the constant fighting inside Afghanistan is also of continuing concern to the Norwegian Government. It is all the more urgent that no effort be spared in the search for a comprehensive political settlement, which must encompass the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan and the exercise by the Afghan people of the right to determine their own future. The refugees must be able to return to their homeland and build a new future, free from subjugation and foreign interference.

166. Draft resolution A/36/L.15 contains those basic principles and essential elements for any political solution. Therefore Norway will vote in favour of it.

167. Mr. SCURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): This is the third time in succession that the General Assembly, despite the firm opposition of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, has taken up the item on the so-called situation in Afghanistan and its consequences for international peace and security. This deplorable undertaking seriously violates the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which clearly stipulates that the United Nations shall not intervene in affairs which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a sovereign State.

168. We stand solidly behind the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which has always expressed the view that the domestic affairs of Afghanistan are the concern of the Afghan people and Government alone, and that no one has the right, under whatever pretext, to interfere in them.

Consequently, the General Assembly's present consideration of the so-called situation in Afghanistan is indeed ill-omened, because it may well rebound against one or more other independent sovereign States, including, and above all, small and medium-sized developing countries that have associated themselves, perhaps in all good faith and for reasons best known to themselves, with the request for the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the present session.

169. It has been stated that there has been a resort to force or armed intervention in Afghanistan. That, in fact, is true, and this is something that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has never sought to deny. It has even given a very clear and detailed account of this armed intervention and other forms of interference in its internal affairs in a book entitled *The Undeclared War* which has been published by the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The actual undeniable facts described in part II, particularly sections 1, 2 and 3, of that book, as well as those which were exhaustively described yesterday morning before the Assembly by the representative of Afghanistan clearly give the true dimensions of the acts of armed intervention and foreign interference in the affairs of Afghanistan which justified the request by the militant people of that country for a limited degree of military assistance from a friendly country, the Soviet Union, which is linked with Afghanistan not only by age-old ties but also by a long common boundary.

170. That request is in perfect conformity with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter, which reads as follows:

"Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, . . . ."

171. In the same context, the Security Council in resolution 387 (1976) of 31 March 1976 clearly acknowledges "the inherent and lawful right of every State, in the exercise of its sovereignty, to request assistance from any other State or group of States".

172. Furthermore, the Soviet Union's positive response to Afghanistan's request falls clearly within the context of article 4 of the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, which stipulates that:

"The High Contracting Parties, acting in the spirit of traditions of friendship and good-neighbourliness, as well as the United Nations Charter, shall consult each other and take by agreement appropriate measures to ensure the security, independence and territorial integrity of the two countries."\*

173. Relying on these legal foundations, we find it difficult, if not impossible, to understand what has motivated some among us, mostly non-aligned countries, to make so much commotion about the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which, it should be recalled, is also a non-aligned country and, moreover, one of the founding members of the non-aligned movement. This, far from enhancing the prestige, unity and solidarity of the members of that movement, simply exposes the movement to all sorts of intrigues and interference on the

part of its enemies, those who seek only to slander and destroy it.

174. In this connection, it is particularly ironic to note that all the sworn enemies of that movement—the imperialists, hegemonists and reactionaries of every kind in this unhappy affair surrounding Afghanistan—have shamelessly transformed themselves into major defenders of the non-aligned countries and the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, including the principles of the non-use of force in international relations and the self-determination of peoples.

175. Hence, it is quite proper to ask them what they have done about those principles in the Middle East, in southern Africa and elsewhere, particularly in poor Lebanon and other Arab countries which have fallen victim to repeated acts of aggression perpetrated by Israel, which they support, and in Angola and the other front-line countries which have suffered from the barbaric acts of aggression committed by the racist minority régime of South Africa, which is their protégé. We may wonder further what those circles intend to do to ensure the realization of and respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian and Namibian peoples to self-determination and national independence. For how long have the sacred rights of those peoples been flouted and for how long will they continue to be so flouted?

176. The debates in the General Assembly which will shortly take place on those two matters will provide us with a further opportunity, if we need it, to identify the true and the false defenders of the principles to which I have referred and, in brief, the major violators these days of the right of peoples to self-determination and national independence.

177. In the meantime, my delegation would like to address an urgent appeal to the countries members of the non-aligned movement not to encourage, directly or indirectly, or to play into the hands of, those who are organizing the imperialist and hegemonist interference in the internal affairs of one of their own members, which needs our assistance in consolidating peace and independence in that country and in the region.

178. It is no secret to anyone that for some time now those in imperialist circles and their new hegemonist allies, while plunging headlong into a spiralling arms race, particularly in the nuclear field, are frenziedly engaged in creating chaos among the developing countries in order to maintain their influence and domination. Those self-same colonialist and imperialist forces, which amassed their wealth and built up their power through the brutal exploitation of peoples and which continue to do so today through their transnational corporations and their stubborn attempts to maintain the present iniquitous international economic order, now put forward the pretext of the alleged defence of those major principles which they have themselves not hesitated to violate, and have even created new ones, such as the so-called right to teach lessons to sovereign States—which has been totally discredited since the time of Grotius—in order to cause and maintain tensions that constitute a serious obstacle to the development efforts of all the developing countries.

179. It is in this context that we should view the present deliberations of the General Assembly on the so-called situation in Afghanistan. In other words, those in imperialist and hegemonist circles, hiding behind the skirts of non-aligned countries, are making capital out of the sin-

\* Quoted in English by the speaker.

cerity, not to say the naivety, of certain non-aligned countries and are indulging in diversionary tactics in order to distract the attention of the international community from the true problems, which are indeed the burning issues of the world today, particularly in South-West Asia.

180. We are certain that the non-aligned countries, despite the temporary position taken by certain of their Governments on this question, will fully realize the pernicious nature of this exercise. We are also quite certain that, whatever the circumstances and alliances of the present time, justice and truth will finally triumph. Furthermore, history has amply demonstrated that no force, however powerful, can stifle or thwart the deep-rooted aspirations and determination of each and every people to self-determination, freedom, dignity and true independence.

181. In order that those aspirations may be achieved surely the time has come for us all, particularly the non-aligned countries and countries which cherish peace and justice, to leave it to the Afghan people itself, a people with an ancient culture and civilization, to take charge of its own affairs, in harmony with all its neighbours and vice versa.

182. In any event, the right to self-determination of the Afghan people should be enjoyed by that people and for it without any interference from outside, particularly by the United Nations, whose Charter expressly prohibits this kind of activity. In this context, the people of Afghanistan are not just a handful of counter-revolutionary terrorists who, with the help of imperialist and reactionary forces, as well as with the aid of the Beijing hegemonists, are engaged in undermining and destroying their own country. Rather, the militant Afghan people are made up of the 13 million or 14 million Afghans who are in the country struggling valiantly against the interference and acts of aggression that have resulted from the undeclared war provoked and maintained by those in the circles to which I have referred, with the complicity of certain countries neighbours of Afghanistan.

183. In order to put an end to this state of affairs, which constitutes a serious threat to peace and stability in the region, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan put forward on 24 August realistic, coherent and constructive proposals, which my country wholeheartedly supports. It is our belief that bilateral negotiations between Afghanistan and each of its neighbours or, if that is as yet not feasible, trilateral negotiations, at which the Secretary-General or his representative would be present, would provide the most appropriate way to reach the political settlement that we all desire in connection with the situation around Afghanistan. Those negotiations, as defined in document A/36/457, should not be put off any longer if we truly desire to work for peace and stability in South-West Asia.

184. Continuance of this acrimonious debate in the General Assembly, as was quite properly pointed out by the representative of the Soviet Union, one of the main parties concerned, in his statement at the 58th meeting, will not advance us one iota towards the solution for which we are looking but will increase the risk of aggravating the tension that has been caused by the mass concentration of foreign troops in the area. It is certain that this kind of situation will not benefit any country in the region but, on the contrary, will make them all vulnerable to the serious consequences that might result from it.

185. A positive result of the planned negotiations, with the necessary international guarantee, would make it possible for both Afghanistan and the Soviet Union to determine by common agreement the order and the timetable for the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Thus, as clearly indicated in paragraph 6 of the annex to document A/36/457, to which I referred earlier, "... the speedier the achievement and realization of these agreements making impossible the interference into Afghanistan's affairs, the earlier would be the beginning and completion of the pull-out of Soviet troops...". Thus, to use a phrase that has frequently been authoritatively pronounced in the Assembly, surely the time has come to get down to work, that is to say, to persuade the parties involved to sit down at the negotiating table without any pre-conditions on either side.

186. The present deliberations of the General Assembly, in spite of their manifestly illegal character, should, in order not to be completely unproductive, take into consideration the enormous progress achieved by the people of Afghanistan in normalizing the situation around their country and the efforts which have been made by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative since the last session of the Assembly and during the first half of this session in order to reach an acceptable political settlement.

187. In this connection, the Secretary-General has taken a number of steps, particularly by organizing consultations, which lead us to believe that, to use the language of the Secretary-General "the approach adopted can indeed facilitate the search for a fair political solution" [A/36/653, para. 8].

188. Would it not be wiser then to encourage and speed up the process of consultations and negotiations thus started instead of indulging in rhetoric or an exercise which cannot lead to any progress? My delegation therefore calls upon the members of the Assembly to proceed on those lines.

189. Regarding draft resolution A/36/L.15, since in particular it does not reflect the entire truth about the situation prevailing around Afghanistan, arrogates to itself the right to deal with the domestic affairs of Afghanistan as if that country were under the trusteeship of the United Nations and deliberately ignores the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its people, my delegation will oppose its adoption.

190. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): This is not the first time that the General Assembly has considered the situation in Afghanistan. However, the significance of this discussion bypasses any short-term political objectives. In fact, among other important things, it means that the international community no longer considers that the adoption of a resolution on an issue that threatens international peace and security is in itself the end of international diplomatic action as long as that threat continues to exist. To do otherwise would be implicitly to deprive such action of its positive and effective elements and to be resigned to the idea that the United Nations has failed as an instrument whose basic responsibility is resolving international conflicts and problems which threaten international peace and security. Therefore, the continued discussion of this and other important international issues which have become almost permanent items on the agenda of the General Assembly indicates that a gap still exists between words and deeds on the international diplomatic level.

191. The international community has already expressed its opinion on this particular issue in resolutions ES-6/2 and 35/37, in which the Assembly requests the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and to seek a peaceful diplomatic solution to the problem in accordance with the principles of international law and, in particular, the principles of the Charter, which calls upon States to renounce the use of force in international relations and not to interfere in the internal affairs of other States.

192. However, foreign troops remain in Afghanistan. In fact, the continuous deterioration of the political situation in that country shows that the presence of such troops is the main cause of the deterioration of the internal political situation and prevents a settlement, whether internally or through a neutral third party, such as the Secretary-General. In spite of the fact that we express our appreciation of the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General to pave the way for negotiations between the parties concerned in order to arrive at a political solution of this problem, we still hope, in view of the gravity of the situation in Afghanistan and the danger it poses to the stability and security of the entire region, that such efforts will increase.

193. Our delegation welcomes the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General and Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, as well as the international efforts made to find a diplomatic and just solution to the problem. We also express our support for the proposal put forward by the European Council last June for an international conference to consider the situation in Afghanistan. We believe that the convening of such a conference would be in line with the diplomatic efforts made, notably those of the Islamic States.

194. The problem of Afghanistan, like other major political issues, has two aspects. The first, which is strictly political, is essentially related to the right of the Afghan people to self-determination, that is, to choose a political system which expresses their social and political traditions and their intellectual Islamic heritage without the imposition of any foreign trusteeship, whether this be direct or in the guise of support by force of arms for a political régime without regard for the will of the majority.

195. With regard to Afghanistan, we do not think that there is the least evidence that the political situation in that country, which draws its ability to survive from the force of a foreign army, expresses the real will of the Afghan people. The opposite is quite evident and needs no further elaboration. It is seen in the positive expression of rejection of *fait accompli* and the will to reverse the situation, even suicidally. No unprejudiced observer can fail to express appreciation and admiration for the heroism of the Afghan *Mujahideen*, who are fighting against the most sophisticated electronic war technology with antiquated, obsolete weapons.

196. The other aspect of the problem is its human dimension. There is no doubt that the refusal of the Afghan people to accept *fait accompli* and the logic of force has cost and is costing them suffering beyond endurance. In addition to the thousands of people killed by the weapons and equipment of a sophisticated regular army of a more developed country, there are almost 2.5 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan alone, while the total number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran is estimated to be one fifth of the Afghan population.

197. No international efforts however great can alleviate such a tragedy in terms of bringing relief to those victims. We know from experience that international aid to refugees will always be insufficient because it is limited in volume and by time, particularly with regard to the victims of political situations and conflicts, as in the case of the Afghan refugees.

198. We therefore believe that the political and humanitarian aspects of the problem are inseparable. Consequently, it is urgently necessary for the parties concerned to begin negotiations with a view to solving the problem by peaceful means. My delegation hopes that the international community, in order to achieve that aim, will reaffirm its unwavering support for the legitimate right of the Afghan people to self-determination and to choose their political system freely and in accordance with their own wish.

199. We would also reaffirm the principle of the non-use of force or the threat of force against the political independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of all neighbouring countries on the basis of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, in accordance with the Charter. Accordingly, we recommend adoption of draft resolution A/36/L.15, which is sponsored by some 45 States, including Qatar, by the largest possible number of votes.

200. Mr. CHAVANAVIRAJ (Thailand): The Thai delegation attaches great importance to the item before us. After the draft resolution sponsored by the non-aligned members of the Security Council<sup>5</sup> failed to be adopted as a result of the lack of unanimity among the permanent members of the Council, my delegation supported the move to convene an emergency special session of the General Assembly to consider the Afghan question and voted in favour of resolution ES-6/2. It also voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 35/37.

201. The situation in Afghanistan, not unlike that in Kampuchea, resulted from the violation of universally recognized norms of inter-State relations, the principles of the Charter and fundamental rules of international law. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was in clear violation of the territorial integrity and political independence of a non-aligned sovereign nation and constitutes a serious threat to the peace and stability of the region and beyond. More important, the situation in these two small non-aligned countries has caused grave concern among the international community, particularly the smaller nations of the world. In both instances more militarily powerful nations sent their troops into the territory of their weaker neighbours to establish and shore up new Governments by force of arms in those countries. If this trend were permitted to continue, weaker nations would find it difficult to live in peace or preserve their territorial integrity and sovereignty.

202. The Thai delegation has followed the situation in Afghanistan with grave concern and has repeatedly called for the total withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan so that the Afghan people may be able to decide their own future and choose their own form of government according to their own wish. My Government is deeply gratified that the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned countries have taken various constructive initiatives in this regard, which have enabled the Secretary-General through his Personal Representative, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, to pursue his efforts to find a satisfactory solution. Thailand, along

with the other members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, has also supported the proposal made by the European Council<sup>6</sup> to convene an international conference on Afghanistan in order to find a comprehensive political solution to the problem. Regrettably, none of these efforts has thus far yielded any specific results.

203. The situation in Afghanistan has remained an important cause of international tension and has given rise to a considerable degree of destabilization in South Asia, with the continuing fighting in Afghanistan and the exodus of millions of Afghan refugees to neighbouring countries, particularly Pakistan.

204. As a country which has faced a refugee problem and will have to continue to shoulder the burden of refugees for quite some time, Thailand fully appreciates the strain and burden felt by those countries in similar situations. The Afghan refugee problem, as in the case of the Kampuchean refugees, has its root cause in the political problem, and unless a comprehensive political settlement is found, there can be no lasting solution to this humanitarian problem, nor can there be any durable peace and stability in that important region of the world.

205. Draft resolution A/36/L.15, of which Thailand is one of a number of sponsors, should be seen as another constructive effort to find a peaceful solution in the interest of world peace and stability. My delegation fully supports the four fundamental principles regarding the situation in Afghanistan which have already been enunciated in various international forums, including at sessions of the General Assembly, meetings of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and conferences of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries: the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops; respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned Islamic character of Afghanistan; the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government free from outside intervention and interference; and the creation of the necessary conditions for the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees in safety and honour. All these principles are contained in the draft resolution. My delegation therefore earnestly hopes that that draft resolution will receive the full support of the members of the Assembly.

206. Mr. MAHALLATI SHIRAZI (Iran): I shall begin my statement with a quotation from the Prophet Mohammed, Peace be upon Him, who said "He who hears a call for help by Moslems and does not respond is not a Moslem". One of the key issues that the Islamic world is facing today is the problem of aggression. Moslems have become victims of rivalries among the major Powers, who impose themselves on the pretext of providing security or promoting development. When such pretexts fail these Powers resort to aggression, either directly or through their client régimes in the region.

207. A vivid example of such acts is the war of aggression imposed upon Iran, in which hundreds of thousands of Iranians have lost their close relatives or their property as a result of efforts by American imperialism to entrench itself in the Persian Gulf.

208. Another example is the establishment of rapid deployment forces for the region. We are witnessing their exercises at this very moment. From now on the Islamic countries will constantly face the danger of military occupation by such forces, aided by the round-the-clock spying activities of American AWACS planes. In fact the

most sacred possessions of Islam have never been so dangerously placed at the mercy of forces hostile to Islam.

209. Al Quds is also occupied by the Zionist régime of Israel and the rights of the Palestinians have been disregarded for decades while the occupier régime of Al Quds—Israel—has turned into the biggest bastion of American imperialism in the region.

210. On the other hand, another Islamic country, Afghanistan, has been occupied for almost two years by Soviet military forces in collaboration with an installed régime. The outcome of that occupation has been thousands of victims in Afghanistan's villages and close to 4 million Afghan refugees who found life in their own country unbearable and fled to seek shelter and protection among their brothers in faith in Pakistan and Iran. That occupation has also provided the United States with the greatest alibi for expanding its massive presence in the region and for its suppression of the Islamic movements there.

211. The Islamic Republic of Iran, which in principle opposes any act of aggression by any country, especially now that it is itself a victim of aggression, cannot be indifferent to acts of aggression by the major Powers on Islamic countries, examples of which I have just mentioned.

212. There has been a proposal by the West to solve the question of Afghanistan. We believe it is inadequate because it takes into account primarily the interests of the West and at the same time is inconsistent with the social and religious realities in Afghanistan. On the other hand, how can the West, which is condoning other acts of aggression in other parts of the Islamic world honestly be concerned about the act of aggression against the Moslem people of Afghanistan?

213. The full sovereignty of the Afghan people over their country is a principle which we shall always stress. Only an Islamic system of government based on the consent of the people can restore peace in Afghanistan, as it is the Moslem people of that country who can best distinguish what is right or wrong for them.

214. Based on such a view, we consider the question of Afghanistan to be an Islamic question which can best be solved by those who understand Islam the best, namely, Moslem jurists, *ulamas*. Accordingly, we present a proposal to restore sovereignty and peace to Afghanistan.

215. The details of the method of implementation of the following proposal can be negotiated among the concerned parties, namely, the Afghan *Mujahideen*, Pakistan, Iran and the Soviet Union as soon as the Soviet Union accepts to recognize the sovereign rights of the Afghan people and to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan.

216. We propose that a thirty-member council of committed Moslem *ulamas* of the Islamic world should be set up by the representatives of the Afghan *Mujahideen*, Pakistan, Iran and another Moslem country which has demonstrated its commitment against United States imperialism and against zionism. That council would supervise the setting up of a founding council of the committed *ulamas* and notables of Afghanistan which would assume responsibility on a provisional basis for: first, the setting up of a revolutionary council with an executive mandate; secondly, the creation of a command council with security responsibilities, including the formation of an Islamic

peace-keeping force made up of forces from Pakistan, Iran and a third Moslem country under the general supervision of the thirty-member Islamic council; thirdly, the carrying out of legislative duties in the transitional period; fourthly, the holding of national elections to establish a *Majlis*, or parliament, which would undertake the responsibility of writing an Islamic constitution for Afghanistan according to which the system of government would be established.

217. It is our firm belief that if the Soviet Union does not recognize the Islamic dimension of the struggle of the Afghan people, it will encounter a degrading defeat in Afghanistan, just as the United States encountered a humiliating defeat in South-East Asia.

218. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on those delegations who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

219. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): During the course of the debate of the last two days in the General Assembly certain baseless allegations have been made against my country by some delegations which have obliged me to exercise our right of reply.

220. In his statement at the 58th meeting, the representative of the Kabul régime reiterated allegations against Pakistan which are totally unfounded and have been repeatedly exposed and rejected by us in the past.

221. The entire statement of the representative of the Kabul régime was an exercise in propaganda designed to camouflage the real situation within Afghanistan and the continued dependence of the Kabul régime on foreign support for its sustenance. It is a matter of regret that in pursuing that objective the representative of the Kabul régime has not refrained from maligning Pakistan and its leadership. His statement is full of distortions and gross misrepresentations. Refugee camps on the soil of Pakistan have been deliberately referred to as training camps. The visits paid to those refugee camps by the President of Pakistan, officials of the Government of Pakistan and foreign dignitaries, including heads of Government, have been maliciously projected as proof of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. No one is likely to be misled by such transparent propaganda tactics.

222. The régime at present installed in Kabul is at a loss to explain its failure, despite massive foreign military support, to crush the spirit of the resistance and to secure legitimacy and acceptance. The presence of nearly 2.5 million refugees in Pakistan is an embarrassing reality and a standing rebuke to the régime.

223. As repeatedly affirmed at the highest level, it is the steadfast policy of the Government of Pakistan that will not allow our territory to be used for any hostile act against Afghanistan. The allegation that the Pakistani authorities and armed forces are in any way involved in the struggle of the Afghan people against the present régime in Kabul is preposterous and we reject it categorically. If Pakistan had ever allowed its territory to be used as a conduit of arms, the Afghan resistance would not be using primitive weapons. It is a well-known fact that the relatively more sophisticated weapons in the hands of the Afghan freedom fighters have either been captured in the course of the fighting or supplied to them by elements of the regular Afghan troops who continue to defect and to join the national struggle.

224. There is heavy reliance in the statement of the representative of the Kabul régime on published material of dubious authenticity. Nearly one third of his statement is devoted to the contents of a single speculative press report which is devoid of substance. The imperative use of such material underlines the bankruptcy of the case made by the representative of the Kabul régime. Indeed, voluminous evidence exists to prove conclusively the reality of the popular resistance inside Afghanistan and its ability to sustain itself.

225. I should like to reaffirm that the Government of Pakistan remains committed to a search for a peaceful political solution of the Afghanistan crisis and will not be deflected from this high purpose by the provocation and irresponsible statement of the representative of the Kabul régime.

226. The statement made by the representative of India this afternoon also contained certain observations affecting Pakistan which need to be commented on. It was suggested that by adopting a front-line posture, Pakistan had occasioned the induction of sophisticated arms into the region, thereby arresting the process of détente there. More surprisingly, in an indirect reference to the presence of nearly 2.5 million refugees in Pakistan, it was suggested that the harbouring and encouragement of dissident elements had generated suspicion.

227. Pakistan is a front-line State in the sense that, following the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and the eruption of a national resistance against the foreign-installed régime in Kabul, Pakistan has become a victim of circumstances that are not of its creation. Neither the Soviet authorities in Afghanistan nor the régime sustained by them have been able to prevent millions of Afghan citizens from crossing the borders seeking shelter, thus imposing on Pakistan the inescapable humanitarian responsibility of providing refuge to them. This responsibility entails political and security consequences for us. Only today I received from my Government an account of two serious violations committed against the territory of Pakistan on two successive days. Four Afghan helicopter gunships fired rockets close to two refugee camps in northern Pakistan on 17 November and dropped anti-personnel mines near them in the second such attack in the past 24 hours. Yesterday's attack followed an earlier attack on the previous day by the same number of helicopter gunships against a refugee camp. Two Pakistani soldiers were wounded as a result of anti-personnel mines dropped near the refugee camps. It would be invidious to describe the situation as the harbouring and encouragement of dissidents.

228. There has been no induction of any sophisticated arms in the region so far, with the exception of the sophisticated weaponry that India has acquired on a large scale from the Soviet Union and elsewhere. In the course of the next five years, Pakistan intends to purchase a limited quantity of modern equipment from the United States, satisfying its minimum essential defense needs. This will in no circumstances disturb India's capability, which is already four or five times that of Pakistan.

229. Finally, Pakistan has not allowed any of the recent developments in the region to retard its efforts towards developing good neighbourly relations with India. Indeed, we see in these developments, which can threaten the security of both countries, a unique opportunity to respond to the new realities and join in an effort to enlarge the areas of mutual understanding and co-operation. Most re-

cently we have made a genuine offer of entering into an agreement with India in regard to the renunciation of force as a confidence-building measure between our two countries. We maintain the hope that our goodwill and sincere offers will be reciprocated by India.

230. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran in his statement this evening made some substantive remarks to which I should like briefly to respond.

231. First of all, the people of Afghanistan fully reciprocate the fraternal feelings expressed by the representative of Iran. In conformity with those feelings, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan extended full support to the Islamic revolution of the people of Iran against the oppressive régime of the well-known agents of the United States. From the very early days of Iran's revolutionary victory, and especially after the victory of the new phase of the *Saur* revolution in Afghanistan, we expressed our sincere desire to develop friendly relations based on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country, good neighbourliness and co-operation. This desire is naturally supported by the fact that the Afghan and Iranian revolutions share some common beliefs. With regard to the proposals just read out, it must be emphasized from the very beginning that those who presented those proposals either did not grasp the origin and nature of the April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan or refused to understand that phenomena and deliberately distorted the events in our country.

232. Secondly, in view of the nature of that so-called plan, they arrogate to themselves the right to speak for and on behalf of the people of Afghanistan. But the pious, Moslem and free-born Afghan people have never asked them to do so. They have their own legitimate Government, which can speak on their behalf, express their will and exercise their sovereign rights.

233. Thirdly, the so-called proposals advanced by the Iranian Minister for Foreign Affairs and just repeated by the representative of Iran are an outright and flagrant interference in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Irrespective of what their sponsors had in mind, the proposals objectively reflect the most sinister and perfidious schemes of the world imperialist and hegemonist forces, which are striving to strangle the Afghan national democratic revolution and to throw the proud Afghan people back into the darkness of the medieval ages.

234. Fourthly, the authors of the plan in their outrageous arrogance think that they can dictate to the Afghan people the kind of political system they should have. They are trying to impose on the Afghan people a government composed of representatives of foreign reactionary clergy. They are trying to subjugate the Afghan people to foreign occupation by the so-called Islamic peace-keeping force comprised of Pakistani and Iranian

troops. Only people completely ignorant of the history of Afghanistan with its long-standing tradition of struggle against all kinds of foreign invaders could contemplate such a crazy idea. There is no doubt whatsoever that the aforementioned plan is an abortive attempt of the arch-reactionary Islamic forces in Iran, which have completely lost touch with reality, to remodel Afghan society in accordance with their own outmoded ideas. Apparently they want to impose on the rest of the world their own version of the role of the sacred religion of Islam. Such an approach is definitely doomed to complete failure.

235. In the light of what I have just stated, it goes without saying that the so-called Iranian proposals cannot be the basis for any fruitful discussion and are totally and categorically rejected. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan sincerely appeals to responsible parties in Iran to be realistic and to accept the Afghan revolution for what it is, to abandon the attempts to impose outmoded political and religious concepts on the Afghan people and to get down to negotiations with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan so as to normalize relations between the two countries, which are tied by bonds of history, culture, tradition and language.

236. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in its statement of 24 August, offered to the Islamic Republic of Iran the holding of negotiations with the aim of working out an agreement on the development of friendly relations and multifaceted, mutually beneficial co-operation between the two countries, including questions of trade, economic co-operation, transit and cultural ties. These proposals still stand, and the Afghan Government is ready to talk on their basis. We are open-minded and ready to consider any realistic ideas which may be put forward by the Iranian side. Since the very beginning of the anti-imperialist revolution in Iran, the Afghan people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have consistently expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the brotherly people of Iran. Shoulder-to-shoulder with the people of Iran, the Afghan people are ready to continue the struggle for the liberation of our region from the last vestiges of imperialism, imperialist diktat and domination and for the creation of the conditions for lasting peace and for the free and unimpeded development of the peoples of South-West Asia.

*The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See A/34/542, annex.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14129.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Year*, 2187th meeting.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1980*, document S/13729.

<sup>6</sup> See *Bulletin of the European Communities*, No. 6, 1981, vol. 14, para. 1.1.13.