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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Renzaho (Rwanda), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 26**

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

1. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): One of the most basic principles of international law is respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations, regardless of their size, geographical location or social system. It is a sad commentary on present conditions in the world, however, that many States limit themselves to paying lip-service to this principle while actually engaging in espionage, destabilization or even armed intervention in other countries.

2. A case in point is the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, which has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for nearly two years now. The attempts by the Soviet Government to justify its flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations have been rejected by an overwhelming majority of the Member States. Last year at the sixth emergency special session and at the thirty-fifth session, the Assembly called for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine its own future [resolutions ES-6/2 and 35/37].

3. From the very outset the Swedish Government has categorically condemned the armed intervention by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Not only is the Soviet action a serious violation of fundamental rules for international relations, but it has also contributed to a deterioration of the international climate and brought untold suffering to the Afghan people.

4. It should be abundantly clear by now to the Soviet Government that the problems of Afghanistan cannot be solved by military means. To persist in efforts to subjugate a neighbouring nation by brute force betrays an arrogance and lack of political wisdom which cannot but cause great concern all over the world. Genuine security cannot be obtained, even by a super-Power, at the expense of the security interests of other States. This simple lesson must be learned by everybody if we are ever to make progress towards peace.

5. Draft resolution A/36/L.15 stresses the need for a political solution of the situation existing in Afghanistan. Such a solution requires the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and guarantees of the genuinely non-aligned character of Afghanistan. Several constructive proposals to this effect have been put forward. My Government urges the Soviet Union to abstain from further use of force in Afghanistan, withdraw its troops and engage in serious discussion of these or other proposals along the lines of the draft resolution before us.

6. Finally, I want to express my Government's support for the Secretary-General in his efforts to facilitate a solution of the problem. In this context the plight of the large numbers of Afghan refugees must be kept in mind. The need for humanitarian aid is urgent, and my Government fully supports the work being carried out by UNHCR and the World Food Programme.

7. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): The question of Afghanistan is once again before the General Assembly, as it has been for the past two years. The Government of Sierra Leone sincerely hopes that Afghanistan will not become one of the perennial items on the agenda of the Assembly—in any case, not in the form in which it is at present before us.

8. Today, just as in January 1980 when we participated in the consideration of this item, our motive is to uphold and defend the inalienable right of all peoples, of all nations everywhere—in this instance the historic and valiant people of Afghanistan—to determine their own destiny, their own future, and to choose the form of government under which they are to live freely and without outside interference.

9. Secondly, my country, as a Member of the Organization, considers it its duty to defend and uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter and, whenever and by whomsoever those principles are violated, to express its concern and call for their restoration and observance. It should therefore be obvious that Sierra Leone's position on this question is not animated by a desire to engage in recriminations against or futile condemnation of any Member of the Organization. We do not share a common truck or platform with those who would condemn the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan but would find the flimsiest of pretexts to excuse South Africa's armed aggression against Angola or its continued illegal occupation of Namibia.

10. As a Member of the Organization, faithful to its purposes and principles, we are imbued with a desire, and consider it our duty, to uphold and defend the principles of the Organization. One of those principles concerns the non-use of force in international relations, and in the case of Afghanistan it has manifestly been violated. The Charter unmistakably prohibits the use of force in international relations and enjoins respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States. All States, particularly the permanent members of the Se-

curity Council, have a duty to respect those principles and not to use force or interfere in the internal affairs of States.

11. We also consider it our duty to defend Afghanistan, a third-world country and a founding member of the non-aligned movement with which my country shares common ideals and aspirations, a country which for centuries has preserved its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity but which today faces a catastrophe because of internal vicissitudes, vicissitudes which visit all nations from time to time. We submit that that is not sufficient reason for independent Afghanistan to undergo a form of tutelage, be it benign or otherwise. We further submit that Afghanistan should never be allowed to go under.

12. My country has followed the developments in Afghanistan for the past two years. We have noted the fierce resistance against all odds by the people of that country, and we have observed the incessant flow of refugees into neighbouring countries. There is overwhelming evidence of resistance to those that continue to occupy that country. We also note with regret that General Assembly resolution ES-5/2, calling for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine their own form of government, has gone unheeded and has remained unimplemented.

13. But it is still not too late to make amends. It is still not too late to redeem the situation and alleviate the plight and misery of the Afghan people. It is still not too late to work for an urgent political solution to the grave situation in respect of Afghanistan. That situation confronts the Organization with an immediate challenge, a challenge to its claim to be a guarantor of the independence of all nations, large or small. Afghanistan today engages the principles of the Organization and throws them into sharp relief.

14. It is against this background that the situation must be viewed. My Government, in calling for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan, at the same time calls on all concerned to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of that country so as to allow the Afghans themselves to determine their own destiny and to choose their own political, economic and social system.

15. Our participation in the consideration of this item is prompted by no one and by no other motive than our fidelity and commitment to the Organization and its principles. And, yes, we are also prompted by the desire to see Afghanistan restored to its rightful place as an independent, sovereign, non-aligned nation.

16. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): Two years ago the Soviet Union's armed intervention in Afghanistan and its military occupation of the small non-aligned Moslem State rightly earned strong and universal condemnation by the international community. This flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter was deeply deplored by the General Assembly in its resolutions ES-6/2 of January 1980 and 35/37 of November 1980. The group of non-aligned States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have also joined the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations in calling for the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan.

17. Unfortunately, Soviet forces have not only remained in illegal occupation of Afghanistan but are engaged in a

brutal attempt to subjugate its proud and independent-spirited people. The human toll of the Soviet aggression, in terms not only of the tens of thousands of lives lost but also of the millions of refugees who have fled to Pakistan and Iran, is well understood in Somalia. In our country we are still attempting to deal with a refugee influx generated in large part by Soviet-backed policies and by Soviet intervention in the Horn of Africa.

18. The situation in Afghanistan is not only reprehensible in human and moral terms but also has dangerous implications for regional and international peace and security and for the rule of international law.

19. Mankind's best hope for peace, progress and indeed its very survival lies in the steady strengthening of the system of collective security established under the Charter. This system is seriously undermined when a super-Power repudiates its special responsibility for the sober and scrupulous conduct of world affairs. However, no one can have failed to note that in embarking on its Afghan adventure the Soviet Union cynically disregarded principles which are essential for the strengthening of international security and which, in other circumstances, it has vigorously claimed to support. Principles such as respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States and non-use of force in international relations immediately come to mind.

20. Without doubt the situation in Afghanistan has had extremely grave repercussions in South-West Asia and in the world at large. The dangerous trend towards foreign military intervention, apparent also in South-East Asia and other areas of the world, has been reinforced; the policy of détente has been damaged with a consequent weakening of international security; a new phase of the nuclear arms race has been set in motion, with incalculable consequences for world peace; there has been a heightening of tensions in the chronically unstable area of the Middle East and the super-Power presence and rivalry in the Indian Ocean has intensified, further impeding efforts to establish a zone of peace in the region.

21. Not the least of the effects of the Soviet aggression is the suffering of the refugees, who have fled to Pakistan and to Iran and who continue to flee in increasing numbers from persecution and bitter conflict. At the same time heavy economic and social burdens have been placed on those neighbouring States which are sheltering the refugees at great national cost. The Somali Government and people know from experience the absolute necessity for international assistance in such situations and we appeal to all States to extend humanitarian aid to relieve both the sufferings of the refugees and the difficulties of the host countries.

22. Of course, the best solution of the refugee problem would be the creation of conditions which would enable them to return voluntarily and safely to their homes. My delegation welcomes the fact that constructive efforts have been initiated by the group of non-aligned States and by the Islamic Conference with a view to finding a political solution. We also note with particular appreciation the use of the good offices of the Secretary-General and we trust that these efforts to promote a peaceful settlement will continue. In this context we strongly support the request made in operative paragraph 6 of draft resolution A/36/L.15 that the Secretary-General promote exploration of the question of securing appropriate guarantees of the non-use or threat of use of force against the political inde-

pendence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan's neighbours, on the basis of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

23. In conclusion, our interdependent world can ill afford the dangers inherent in a prolonged Afghanistan crisis and my delegation hopes that the parties directly concerned will be prepared to talk and to negotiate on substantive issues. Those issues must certainly include the total withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan and the restoration of its sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned status. A just and peaceful settlement can be achieved only when the people of Afghanistan are finally able to choose their own economic, political and social system, free from outside interference or coercion.

24. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, launched on Christmas Eve nearly two years ago, was a momentous event that altered the climate and indeed the course of world politics. The invasion was a grave violation of the Charter, which enjoins all Members to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State". As such, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan shook the very foundations of world order.

25. The far-reaching consequences of this event should by now be apparent to all of us. It had a shattering effect upon the prospects for the continued stability of South Asia and the Persian Gulf, deepening anxieties throughout this vital region and raising the spectre of a wider conflict. It also severely aggravated tensions between East and West. More than any single event in recent years, the Soviet invasion impelled a widespread reassessment of the world situation based upon a new and more sober appreciation of the danger that the policies the Soviet Union now pose to global stability and world peace. The invasion thus marked a watershed in the post-war era, bringing to a definitive conclusion a period of widespread optimism concerning the evolution of Soviet policy and intentions.

26. Nowhere, of course, have the consequences been more immediately or harshly felt than in Afghanistan itself. No sector of Afghan society has been spared the consequences of the Soviet occupation and the ruthless effort to impose upon the Afghan people a communist totalitarian system—an effort that began in 1978 with the initial communist *coup* overthrowing the Daoud Government. Almost 3 million people, about one fifth of the entire Afghan population, have been forced to flee their country and now constitute the largest single refugee group in the world. Tens of thousands of people have been killed. Afghanistan's educated class has been decimated. Whole villages have been destroyed, their inhabitants killed or forced to flee. Mosques have been desecrated and religious leaders gaoled or murdered. Schools have been turned into centres of political indoctrination. The country's economic and social infrastructure of roads, power and communication networks, hospitals and educational institutions has been badly damaged and in many instances completely destroyed.

27. It is rarely noted that Afghanistan made significant economic and social progress during the decade of democratic freedoms and representative government brought about by the 1964 Constitution. All this, and more, has now been undone.

28. There have been many attempts in the past to conquer Afghanistan. But nothing in the country's long history, with the possible exception of the devastating attacks more than 750 years ago by Genghis Khan, resembles the destruction wreaked in Afghanistan since 1978.

29. The Soviet Union and the Kabul régime have tried to conceal this destruction by sealing the country off from journalists and other foreign observers, and from humanitarian organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross. Nevertheless, the truth about the situation there and about the terrible human suffering is becoming known to the world.

30. How far the Soviets are willing to go in their war against Afghanistan is indicated by the kind of weapons they have used there, including little booby-trap mines, which the Soviets scatter by the thousands along the paths used by refugees and other civilians. Those mines are frequently disguised as ordinary household items or toys. Children, naturally the least wary, are the ones most likely to pick them up. If they do, they risk being killed or having their limbs blown off.

31. On 10 April this year the Soviet Union signed an international Convention prohibiting the use of such weapons.<sup>1</sup> At the time, its representative called the Convention "an illustrative example of the possibility of reaching agreements on measures aimed at curbing the arms race". The real "illustrative example", however, is contained in the Soviets' continued use in Afghanistan of the kind of anti-personnel weapons prohibited in that treaty. It is an example that illustrates both the character of the Soviet Union's involvement in Afghanistan and its attitude—in this instance at least—towards a treaty obligation. In this connection, there are many reports from refugees and other victims of the Soviet invasion that lethal and incapacitating chemical weapons are being used in Afghanistan, in violation of both the Geneva Protocol of 1925<sup>2</sup> and the Biological Weapons Convention of 1971.<sup>3</sup>

*Mr. Kittani (Iraq) took the Chair.*

32. It is not possible to justify the Soviet actions in Afghanistan according to any meaningful interpretation of international law. The sole exception to the proscription against the use of force in international relations is provided for in Article 51 of the Charter, which affirms "the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations". But not even the Soviet Union itself has suggested that it has been the victim of an armed attack.

33. Moreover, it is hard to imagine how Afghanistan might conceivably have posed a threat to the Soviet Union. For decades the Soviet Union had proclaimed to the whole world, repeatedly, that its relations with Afghanistan were a model of peaceful coexistence, a prime example of neighbourly relations between a small country and a big country, even with a different system of government and social structure, but living together in peace and without interference. Since 1921 the two countries had signed numerous treaties affirming and reaffirming Moscow's respect for Afghanistan's independence and territorial integrity and promising non-interference in Afghan affairs. It should not be forgotten, furthermore, that Afghanistan was a member of the non-aligned movement and was not involved in any relationship that Moscow might look upon with concern.

34. How, then, could it have posed a threat? The argument is advanced that the Soviet Union felt threatened by the turmoil inside Afghanistan. But aside from student riots fomented by Babrak Karmal and his followers in 1965 and a brief period of unrest following the bloodless Daoud *coup* in 1973 there was no turmoil at all in Afghanistan before 27 April 1978, before, that is to say, the Communists violently seized power in Kabul and, with the help of growing numbers of Soviet "advisers", began forcibly to impose upon the people of Afghanistan a foreign ideology and a totalitarian system.

35. It is also suggested by apologists for the invasion that the Soviet Union feared that a tide of Islamic fundamentalism might sweep from Afghanistan into its own central Asian provinces. But, even if this were true, it would hardly justify the Soviet invasion. In fact, the Afghans are a devout people, but they have not tried to impose their beliefs on others, and historically they have allowed minority faiths to live peacefully within their midst. This attitude of tolerance is characteristic of the Afghans except when their faith itself is attacked, as it is now attacked by the Soviet Union. They are not tolerant, nor should they be, of an attack upon their freedom, independence and identity, of which their religion is an important part. But there should be no doubt whatsoever that the threat in this instance is to, and not from, the people of Afghanistan.

36. The Soviet Union also claims, of course, that its forces were invited in by the Kabul régime, which invoked its right to self-defence under Article 51. But so far neither the Soviet Union nor the Kabul régime has produced a shred of evidence to prove that such an invitation was ever issued. It is hard to imagine what kind of evidence they could produce, since, as we know, the invasion preceded the installation of Babrak Karmal, who was not even in Afghanistan at the time his predecessor was overthrown and killed by invading Soviet troops. Of late, Babrak Karmal has taken the line that the invitation was issued by the Afghan Communist Party. This, of course, is actually an admission that the invitation was not issued by any Government.

37. The Kabul régime, moreover, has no legitimacy whatsoever in the eyes of the Afghan people. It exists only by virtue of Soviet actions and is, in fact, a mere appendage of Moscow. Soviet personnel direct virtually all aspects of its administration, including the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Interior, Information and Culture, Justice, and Economic Planning. Since 1979 Soviet personnel have also commanded the Afghan army down to the brigade level, and sometimes down to the company level. The Soviets even control Afghanistan's natural resources, in particular natural gas, which are extracted in a one-sided barter arrangement in exchange for goods used to sustain the Kabul régime.

38. Suspicions have been raised that the Kabul régime may also have acceded, in a treaty signed earlier this year, to the annexation by the Soviet Union of at least a part of the Wakhan corridor, the narrow strip of land that joins Afghanistan with China. A *de facto* annexation has already taken place, since the area, from which the indigenous Kirghiz tribes have been forced to flee, is now under the control of the Soviet army.

39. Given the Kabul régime's utter subservience to Moscow, it is hardly surprising that it should have no base of support among the Afghan people. It is propped up instead by 35,000 Soviet troops. Yet the Afghan free-

dom fighters, poorly armed and trained, and virtually defenceless against some of the most sophisticated weapons in the Soviet arsenal, have been able to deny the Soviet Union control of perhaps 90 per cent of the countryside and have made them contest many of the most important cities. In a desperate attempt to stem the disintegration of the Afghan army, the régime offered many times normal pay to former enlisted men. Yet still they do not turn up, while draft-age men continue to slip out of the cities to join the resistance and whole units of the army desert *en masse*. The régime has repeatedly offered an amnesty to refugees who would return to Afghanistan from exile. Yet every week the refugee centres swell by the thousands.

40. What is clear today was clear in 1979. Then, as now, the Kabul régime was not threatened by an outside Power, justifying defence under Article 51, but was in fact threatened by a popular uprising, a spontaneous popular uprising, of the nation—of the people in whom nationhood inheres and solely inheres in the absence of a legitimate government. It was an uprising against a régime that had slaughtered its own people, destroyed their homes, sent almost half a million persons fleeing into exile, and delivered the country to an alien force—an uprising that continues to this very day against the present régime and its Soviet masters.

41. It is this uprising, and this uprising alone, that is justified to invoke the right of self-defence, for it is defending the independence and the very existence of the Afghan nation against a foreign and brutal domination.

42. Small wonder, then, that the Soviet Union is doing whatever it can to obscure the truth about Afghanistan. There is no other way to understand the charge—repeatedly by the Soviet Foreign Minister before this body in September—that the real source of the conflict in Afghanistan is foreign interference by the United States and China. This charge is ludicrous but also revealing, for it shows the lengths to which the Soviet Union is forced to go to conceal the nature of its policy.

43. There are only two realities in Afghanistan today: the Soviet occupation and the Afghan nation, and neither is compatible with the other. The Soviet Union can conquer Afghanistan only by extermination, the Afghan nation. This the world must not permit to happen, for if Afghanistan is vanquished, no independent nation will be safe.

44. The draft resolution now before us, like its predecessors, seeks an end to the occupation of Afghanistan. It calls for an immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops, restoration of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Afghanistan, restoration of the right of the Afghan people to choose their own form of government and economic and social system, free from outside intervention, coercion or restraint, and return of the refugees to their homeland. My Government is firmly committed to these terms.

45. The struggle of the Afghan nation for survival is consistent with the basic and most cherished purposes of the United Nations, which are to protect national independence and to maintain world peace.

46. It is only fitting, therefore, that the United Nations should affirm the basic and most cherished purpose of the Afghan nation, which is to regain its ancient homeland so that it may once again be independent and live at peace.

47. Mr. ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen): Speaking at this late stage in the debate on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, one cannot but include that Afghanistan has become the focal point of an evolving cold war ignited and sustained by United States imperialism and its reactionary allies in South-West Asia. As a consequence, the Afghan revolution has been the victim of interference regionally and internationally. On the ground it is being undermined and subverted by a war of attrition, and in the General Assembly it is being used to score points in a hapless game of words.

48. This item should not have been concocted in the first place. Should we forget that Afghanistan is a sovereign State and that it is free to conduct its foreign policy and safeguard its independence and territorial integrity? The problem is not in Afghanistan, but around it. Once its neighbour reconciles itself to the Afghan revolution and ceases to interfere in its internal affairs, there will be no cause for tension.

49. The recent proposals of the Government of Afghanistan to normalize its relations with its neighbours are the first steps towards establishing an era of peace and co-operation in South-West Asia.

50. Mr. KOH (Singapore): In his statement at the 58th meeting, the representative of the Soviet Union said that our discussion of this item is an interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. He also characterized the presence of approximately 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan as the provision of "friendly assistance" by the Soviet Union to Afghanistan. It is obvious that in Soviet nomenclature the term "friendly assistance" has a different meaning from its ordinary one. No wonder that, according to a story I have been told, many religious people in Eastern Europe go to bed at night praying that the Lord will spare their countries from the "friendly assistance" of the Soviet Union.

51. The facts concerning the introduction of Soviet troops into Afghanistan cannot be seriously disputed. On 23 December 1979 airborne Soviet troops started to disembark at Kabul airport. On the following day, 24 December, they took up positions in the city of Kabul. At the same time, large numbers of Soviet tanks crossed the Soviet-Afghanistan frontier into Afghanistan.

52. On 28 December, four days after the Soviet invasion began, a radio message announced that Babrak Karmal had been unanimously elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and that he had become President of the Revolutionary Committee. The same broadcast announced that Hafizullah Amin, the head of the legal Government of Afghanistan at the time of the Soviet invasion, had been sentenced to death by a revolutionary tribunal. The broadcast also stated that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, by virtue of its Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation with the Soviet Union, had made an urgent appeal to the Soviet Union for military, moral and economic support, including military aid. According to the same message, such a request had been addressed to the Soviet Union on several previous occasions by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

53. The critical question is whether the legal Government of Afghanistan at the time of the Soviet invasion, which was the Amin Government, had invited the entry

of Soviet troops prior to 24 December 1979. The Soviet Government has never succeeded in producing any convincing evidence that it had. The act by which a Government authorizes the army of another State to subject the whole of its territory to a military occupation is too grave for its date, its form and the authority to which it is ascribed not to be carefully noted. In the absence of such evidence we must conclude that the Amin Government had never invited or consented to the entry of Soviet troops. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan is therefore without legal justification. It is an act of aggression within the meaning of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter and within the definition of aggression contained in General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX). The Soviet Union has also committed a crime against international peace, according to the definition of a war of aggression contained in resolution 3314 (XXIX) and according to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations contained in General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV).

54. The representative of the Soviet Union has described the Afghans who are resisting the Soviet occupation of their country as terrorists and bandits. No amount of slander by representatives of the Soviet Union will alter the fact that the Afghan *Mujahideen*, who are resisting the Soviet occupation of their country and the Soviet puppet régime in Kabul, are freedom fighters. The Afghan *Mujahideen* are waging an unequal struggle against the sophisticated army of a super-Power. In spite of this we are confident that in the end the Afghan *Mujahideen* will prevail over the Red Army. They will prevail because they are fighting for the freedom of their fatherland. They will prevail because the brave people of Afghanistan have never succumbed to foreign domination.

55. One of the grave human consequences of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is the refugee problem. Today there are more than 2 million Afghans who have sought shelter and refuge in neighbouring Iran and Pakistan. I wish to take this opportunity to thank the Government of Pakistan for the generous way in which it has looked after the refugees. I must also express my appreciation to UNHCR and to the other governmental and non-governmental humanitarian organizations for their assistance to the refugees. Let us hope that a just political solution to the conflict in Afghanistan will be found in the not-too-distant future, so that those millions of Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran can return to their homeland in safety and in honour.

56. The Soviet puppet régime in Kabul put forward certain proposals on 24 August this year [see A/36/457]. The Soviet representative has given his Government's endorsement to these proposals. What are the salient elements of those proposals? The Kabul régime has expressed its willingness to conduct either bilateral or trilateral negotiations with Pakistan and Iran. The Kabul régime insists, however, that the talks should deal with the international aspects of the Afghan problem and not with the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The political solution envisaged by the Soviet Union and its puppet régime is for the neighbours of Afghanistan to recognize the régime of Babrak Karmal, to stop helping the Afghan *Mujahideen* and, in short, to accept the results of the Soviet armed intervention. The Governments of Pakistan and Iran are quite right to reject those proposals. The true solution to the conflict in Afghanistan lies in a different direction.

57. The solution requires: first, the total withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan; secondly, the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan; thirdly, the restoration of the right of the Afghan people to choose their economic, political and social system and their own form of government free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraints of any kind; and, fourthly, the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

58. Draft resolution A/36/L.15 contains such an approach. This is why my delegation is among its sponsors.

59. The issue in Afghanistan can be put simply. The question is: does a militarily powerful country, such as the Soviet Union, have the right to send its armed forces into a neighbouring country, to overthrow its Government and to impose a puppet régime on its people? The answer is no. What the Soviet Union has done in Afghanistan is clearly contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, contrary to the principles of international law and contrary to the principles of peaceful coexistence. It is also contrary to the principles of the non-aligned movement. The issue is important to all of us. It is particularly important to the small countries. If we the small countries acquiesce in the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, if we do not have the courage to stand up to the Soviet Union and tell it that what it has done in Afghanistan is unacceptable, then we are undermining the United Nations system of collective security. If the system of collective security is weakened, this will expose us, the small countries to even greater peril in our dangerous world.

60. It is for those reasons that I urge all my colleagues to vote in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.15. Let us give this draft resolution a resounding majority. Let us hope that it will give strength and courage to the people of Afghanistan in their heroic struggle against the Soviet aggressor. Let us hope, too, that a resounding majority for that draft resolution will cause the leaders in the Kremlin to reconsider a course of action that has led the Soviet Union, the self-proclaimed friend and natural ally of the third world, into confrontation with the third world.

61. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, Mr. Martorell of Peru, to present orally the report of the Committee on the administrative and financial implications of draft resolution A/36/L.15.

62. Mr. MARTORELL (Peru), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour of presenting to the General Assembly the report of the Fifth Committee [A/36/695] on the administrative and financial implications of draft resolution A/36/L.15, which has just been considered by the Fifth Committee. As indicated in paragraph 3 of the report, the Fifth Committee decided, without objection, to inform the General Assembly that if it adopts the draft resolution, an additional appropriation of \$92,200 would be required under section 1 of the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1982-1983.

63. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their vote before the voting.

64. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Almost two years have elapsed since events occurred which made of Afghanistan one of the most complex

problems that the Organization and the international community have had to face. The circumstances in December 1979 are familiar to us all and therefore I need not go over them again. Their consequences remain: Soviet soldiers are still in Afghanistan; the régime that they imposed still prevails; the reaction of the people and the flood of refugees to neighbouring countries has been constantly increasing.

65. Both in the meetings of the Security Council in January 1980 and at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly held that same month, as well as at the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly, my delegation clearly expressed my Government's concern over the events in Afghanistan which have jeopardized international peace and security and shattered détente among States.

66. I wish to repeat now our appeal to the Soviet Union to reconsider its actions in the light of the international implications of the Afghan problem.

67. My Government is sure that a resolution of this issue will have sufficient force to turn around the present world crisis. My delegation supports the initiatives taken by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. The Organization, to our minds, must continue its efforts, which once again this year are taking the form of a draft resolution that sets forth the four elements essential for the solution of the Afghan problem: first, the preservation of the sovereignty, integrity and political independence of Afghanistan; secondly, the right of the Afghan people to choose their own economic, political and social system; thirdly, the withdrawal of foreign troops; fourthly, the return of the Afghan refugees, who have created serious disturbances of every kind in the neighbouring countries, in particular in Pakistan, whose people has had to endeavour to feed another 2.5 million people.

68. My country shares the ideas put forward in the plan of the European Community, transmitted through the European Council in June this year.<sup>4</sup>

69. For all those reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution, which, once adopted, will make possible a speedy political solution of the problem.

70. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): As we did last year, almost to the day, my delegation has preferred to refrain from participating in the main debate on the draft resolution on this item. I wish to emphasize that this was not determined by any lack of resolve or by apathy on our part or by a reluctance to speak in support of the principles which every speaker in this debate has reaffirmed. However incongruous it may seem, the defence of these self-same principles has been the frame of reference of the protagonists on all sides in this debate.

71. The draft resolution before us is almost identical to the resolution adopted last year and the principles which it commends have been restated in operative paragraphs 3 and 4 of the draft resolution. The principles of the Charter on the non-use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States, as well as the right of all peoples to determine their own form of government, are what everyone believes should be the norms regarding inter-State conduct. Unfortunately, in connection not only with this draft resolution but also with others which come before the Assembly and its political committees, one is often left wondering whether

the Charter principles are for veneration rather than for observance.

72. Since the adoption of resolution 35/37, in which the Assembly called for a political solution and for the appointment of a special representative of the Secretary-General in order to promote this political solution, we have had the report of the Secretary-General, which is understandably brief. While conceding that the talks were not conclusive, he states that understanding was reached on substantive issues, while differences remained on the format of the future negotiations. My delegation expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative for the persistent efforts they have made in the pursuit of a political solution. That role has been accepted in the letter of the Permanent Mission of Afghanistan to the United Nations [A/36/457]. The draft resolution before us calls for the continuation of that work.

73. We had hoped that in the time that has elapsed—nearly two years since the sixth emergency special session and one year since the adoption of resolution 35/37—the Assembly's pronouncement on Afghanistan and the far-reaching consequences of those events would have had, even in some small measure, a worthier response. Unfortunately, that has not been the case. We have in mind the foreign troops that intervened in Afghanistan and remain there unreduced in number. We are again told that they entered Afghanistan at the behest of that country's Government to repulse external interference and to sustain that Government. After nearly two years, they seem unable to accomplish that task.

74. As so many delegations have repeated in the Assembly, the entry of foreign troops does constitute a watershed which we cannot treat lightly. And when they are the troops of a great Power the responsibility to pronounce and the obligation to respond are all the greater. During the Conference in February this year the non-aligned countries reaffirmed the call for the withdrawal of foreign troops. For those same reasons, Sri Lanka has, as recently as September this year and at the highest political level, reiterated the call for the withdrawal of foreign troops in Afghanistan in order to enable the people of Afghanistan to determine their own destiny free from any foreign intervention.

75. Here and elsewhere we have been reassured that the intervention became necessary at the request of the Government of Afghanistan to defend that country against continuing and threatening interference by States near and beyond. That, as well as the charge that events in Afghanistan are being exploited, can be repeated *ad infinitum* and, may I say, *ad nauseum*. Does this alleviate the reality that there has been an intervention which has not been terminated? As we did at the 70th meeting of the thirty-fifth session, we again urge the Soviet Union to respond at least with a gesture of withdrawal to the resolutions of the Assembly and the representative organizations which have spoken out in the same manner. We believe that a gesture of this kind would contribute significantly to the political solution which has eluded us these past two years.

76. These remarks would be incomplete without a reassurance to the Secretary-General that the efforts he has made as a consequence of last year's resolution are worth pursuing, notwithstanding the limited results achieved so far. My delegation is encouraged by the response shown by the parties immediately concerned. If, together with

the Secretary-General's efforts, there is a gesture with regard to the withdrawal of troops, it is our hope that the Assembly may not have to contend at another session with a draft resolution such as the one now before us.

77. I commenced this explanation with the remark that this draft resolution is almost identical with the one adopted by the Assembly last year. That resolution has yielded some result, small though it be. My delegation must continue to sustain that initiative and it will vote for the draft resolution.

78. Mr. KAPLLANI (Albania): The Albanian delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution, just as it voted in favour of the previous resolutions relating to Afghanistan. By casting a positive vote, the Albanian delegation wishes to reaffirm its support for the struggle of the Afghan people against Soviet aggression and to condemn that aggression.

79. In conformity with the views which we already expressed in our statement at the 60th meeting in the debate on this question, we wish to point out that we should have liked the draft resolution to contain a stronger condemnation in more explicit terms of the Soviet aggression and to lay special emphasis upon the support for, and solidarity with, the liberation struggle of the Afghan people. The Albanian delegation does support the greater part of the provisions of the draft resolution and, in particular, its objective to draw the attention of the world public and of States to the necessity of respecting and restoring the national sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Afghanistan.

80. However, our support for the draft resolution on which we are about to vote does not mean that we are fully satisfied with the entire text. There are certain shortcomings and loop-holes in it which we would have preferred to see eliminated. We also have reservations about the wording of some provisions. We consider it sufficient simply to reiterate our reservations with regard to the idea contained in operative paragraph 4. In our judgement, we proceed from the fact that the Soviet social-imperialists, like other imperialist Powers, speak about a political solution to the Afghan question and, by so doing, they mean those solutions running counter to the interests of the Afghan people. It should be borne in mind that all the imperialist super-Powers will not fail to speculate with a political solution of the Afghan question to attain their ends.

81. In the case of Afghanistan we have to deal with the flagrant imperialist aggression against a people which is fighting this aggression by an imperialist super-Power. It is not a question of an ordinary conflict between States which could be settled through negotiations. That is why we are of the opinion that when we speak of a solution of the Afghan question mention should be made—and in strong terms—of a very essential and decisive factor, that is, the struggle of the Afghan people for liberation.

82. Mr. ADAM (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya supports the neutrality, independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan and believes that its Islamic identity must be safeguarded. We have stated our position on several occasions and in all international bodies, and I can confine myself now to what the head of the Libyan delegation said in his speech on 7 October 1981:

"We see that on the Asian continent the situation in Afghanistan is a source of worry. It has become ob-

vious that the imperialist camp, under the leadership of the United States, is trying to exploit this situation in its struggle against the Soviet Union. This emphasizes the fact that the United States has no intention of accepting a peaceful solution of this issue. We in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya reiterate our insistence that Afghanistan remain neutral, and we express our opinion that the international repercussions of the Afghan issue should be remedied and that the acts of aggression against Afghanistan should cease, so as to enable the friendly Government of Afghanistan, acting on its own, to re-establish peace and security in the country." [29th meeting, para. 97.]

83. The problem has been exploited by American imperialism, which claims to be defending Islam and the Moslems in Afghanistan, whereas that imperialism supports the Zionist entity in its aggression against the Islamic nation, its violations of Islamic Holy Places, including Jerusalem, and its strikes against innocent Moslems in the countries bordering Palestine. That imperialism exploits all these circumstances to establish bases and send its fleet to the region. The delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will vote against the draft resolution since it constitutes propaganda in favour of the American imperialist camp.

84. Mr. Van LIEROP (Vanuatu): On instructions of the Government of Vanuatu, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us, however, we feel that its language and scope could be improved. In particular, we feel that the fifth and sixth preambular paragraphs, as well as operative paragraph 3, are far too limited in that regard. As a whole, the draft resolution fails to set forth the context and provocations from which the present situation has evolved. Furthermore, we dissociate ourselves from any artificial distinction between covert and overt interference in the internal affairs of any State. More than one country has intervened in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and to us the introduction of covert operatives is comparable to the introduction of foreign troops.

85. Despite our view on the deficiencies in the language and scope of the draft resolution, we shall cast our vote for what we believe to be the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Vanuatu does not derive pleasure from casting its vote in favour of this draft resolution, nor does it derive pleasure from the social and political dilemma which has brought this matter to the General Assembly. However, as long as it is a Member of this body Vanuatu will strive consistently to live up to the Charter, which should govern the actions of each and every Member State. In this case, our primary concern is that a dangerous precedent should not be established which will make smaller States even more vulnerable than they at present are.

86. As we have done in the past, and as we shall in the future, we call upon every member of the Assembly, particularly those members that have sponsored the draft resolution and will vote in favour of it, scrupulously to apply the same standard, whether the question before us be that of East Timor, Western Sahara, Palestine, Namibia, or any other occupied land and subjected people. In all sincerity, my delegation hopes that the day is not too far off when all of us in the Assembly can say "Do as we do and not only as we sometimes say".

87. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): In explaining its vote on the draft resolution, the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan would like from the very outset

to point out that it considers the submission of any draft resolution on the so-called Afghanistan question to be a gross violation of the Charter and outright and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Therefore, it rejects the draft resolution as a whole and will vote against it.

88. Even if adopted, the draft resolution will be illegal and will in no way be binding on the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The sponsors of the text have arrogated to themselves the right to tell the Afghan people, under the leadership of the People's Demand what kind of domestic and foreign policy they should pursue, but this is ridiculous. The present national democratic political system and the Government of Afghanistan evolved as a result of the heroic 15-year struggle of the Afghan people, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, against the despotic feudal régime. The party is headed by an outstanding politician of international repute, Babrak Karmal, who has a brilliant record of struggle for the interests of the Afghan people. He was twice elected to the National Assembly, and he was imprisoned on several occasions for the cause of his people and persecuted by the despotic régime. He was appointed Vice-President of the Revolutionary Council and Deputy Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan directly after the April revolution.

89. There is a reference in the draft resolution to the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan. I should like in this connection to emphasize that the Soviet troops will be withdrawn only—I emphasize "only"—when the armed aggression and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan have been stopped and their non-resumption has been guaranteed.

90. The draft resolution also contains a reference to the refugees. It should be emphasized that the refugee figures referred to in the course of this debate are highly inflated. They include nomads who seasonally migrate from Afghanistan to Pakistan and then return; they also include counter-revolutionaries who have taken refuge in Pakistan and are hardly likely to come back, as they are fugitives from justice. The number of bona fide refugees is rather limited, and those refugees constitute no problem; they can freely return home any time they wish.

91. We must point out that no resolutions, conferences or committees will help to settle the situation around Afghanistan. Only direct negotiations, on a basis of equality between the Governments concerned—those of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran—can help normalize the situation around Afghanistan. No exercises like those undertaken in the Assembly will help. They will only be a waste of time; they will result in delaying a political settlement, raising false hopes and prolonging the bloodshed.

92. One can see from the draft resolution that its sponsors are not interested in a political settlement. The fact that they wish to include the so-called Afghan question on the agenda of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly shows that they are not the least bit interested in a political solution, but are interested rather in a demagogic and propagandist exercise.

93. It is evident that the imperialist forces are trying to use every possible occasion to work up hostile hysteria about the situation around Afghanistan.



94. In conclusion, we must emphasize once again that the Afghan people have already chosen their way. Nothing will deter them from following it. Despite all the difficulties posed by the armed aggression from outside, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, firmly supported by its people is carrying out a comprehensive programme of economic and social development. The only way to expedite the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan is to stop all kinds of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the resulting bloodshed and crimes committed by these mercenaries and terrorists against the Afghan people.

95. Those who instigate discussions like the present one will bear full responsibility for the continued tension around Afghanistan. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan sincerely hopes that the Governments concerned will respond positively to its proposals of 15 May 1980,<sup>5</sup> elaborated by the proposals of 24 August 1981 [see A/36/457], and will come to the negotiating table.

96. Mr. SABZALIAN (Iran): My delegation would like to remark, especially with regard to operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, that the solution of the Afghanistan issue is the task only of the Afghanistan *Mujahideen* and by immediately neighbouring countries, which are directly affected by the situation in Afghanistan. We thus state our reservations with regard to our vote.

97. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution A/36/L.15. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Albania, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

*Abstaining:* Algeria, Benin, Cape Verde, Chad, Congo, Cyprus, Finland, Guinea-Bissau, India, Mali, Nicaragua, Uganda.

*Draft resolution A/36/L.15 was adopted by 116 votes to 23, with 12 abstentions (resolution 36/34).*

98. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

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

99. Mr. PELÁEZ (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution in reaffirmation of its respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter as well as those which underlie the philosophy and actions of the non-aligned movement.

100. Our view must be considered to be a position of principle of a country which thereby wishes to contribute to the search for a negotiated political settlement of a question, the protagonists of which have close links with us.

101. In the light of the report of the Secretary-General, we would have preferred the resolution to be drafted in more comprehensive and up-to-date terms and a more conciliatory tone, in view of the complexity of the negotiations which must be entered into in order to reach an agreed solution.

102. We consider that any initiative undertaken by the international community or any of the parties concerned in the search for viable alternatives should receive the prompt attention of the Assembly. In this regard, my delegation places the highest importance upon the steps taken by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, whose efforts have been acknowledged by the majority of the participants in the debate on this item, because they are designed to reach a settlement which would ensure the peaceful coexistence of the countries of the region.

103. Mr. GEORGES (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The international community has just expressed its position on the Afghan problem by the adoption of the draft resolution by an overwhelming majority.

104. This is a tribute to and a gesture of solidarity with the millions of Afghans who, in spite of the precarious means of struggle available to them, continue to defy death, to sacrifice themselves and to struggle valiantly to regain the freedom and independence of their country free from all foreign intervention.

105. The Afghan problem requires an especially urgent solution because in addition to the numbers of dead and wounded, which increase daily, entire populations are being displaced, leaving women and children without shelter and racked by famine, with all the psychological and cultural consequences. It is our responsibility to strive to put an end to this situation, the solution of which resides in the attainment of the inalienable right of the people of Afghanistan alone to choose their political system in accordance with their culture and their aspirations. That is why we call once again for the genuine determination of the States directly concerned to rise above their selfish schemes and political tactics and give priority to the firm desire of the Afghan people to regain their dignity and freedom. That is also the desire of the majority of the States Members of the Organization.

106. Mr. DORN (Suriname): The delegation of Suriname has voted in favour of the draft resolution, expressing in this way its grave concern with regard to the con-

tinued presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan, which constitutes a violation of the principles of non-intervention, non-interference and the right to self-determination, which are embodied in the Charter.

107. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Several representatives have asked to speak in exercise of their right to reply. May I remind them that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, such statements should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by representatives from their seats.

108. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): In view of the heavy agenda of the General Assembly, it is with reluctance that I speak in exercise of my right of reply against the Iranian fantasies.

109. In his statement at that meeting, the representative of Iran again alluded—and he was out of order—to the so-called war of aggression imposed on his country as a result of efforts by American imperialism to entrench itself in the region. He alleged that the so-called Islamic Republic of Iran is in principle opposed to any act of aggression and supported the cause of the Palestinians against the Zionist régime of Israel, which is the biggest bastion of American imperialism in the region.

110. It has been clearly proved to all during the current session of the General Assembly that the Iranian representatives have been determined to take every opportunity regardless of the rules of procedure or the item under discussion, to cast aspersions and hurl abusive remarks at my country. They think that with this attitude they can gain sympathy from the international community for what they claim to be a lofty cause. Far from it, they should wake up and face the realities of their pathetic isolation.

111. The so-called imposed aggression is a make-believe notion and an attempt to cover up the Iranian evil deeds, the first, prime target of which has been Iraq. Iraq has presented its full case on many occasions before United Nations organs since Iran launched its aggression against us on 4 September 1980. It is well known to all how Iraq has responded positively to the efforts aiming at a peaceful settlement. It is also well known to all how Iraq has co-operated constructively in all these efforts. It was Iran which frustrated all these efforts. This is because the Khomeini-ites want to continue their aggression in order to establish themselves as the overlords of the region. They are still bent on the notion of exporting their so-called revolution. Like the Shah before them, they are doomed to fail, for their retrogressive régime does not differ in nature from that of the Shah. Theirs is just as oppressive, aggressive, destructive, bloodthirsty, sectarian and racist. The Khomeini-ites should leave Islam in peace. The injury they have done that noble religion is beyond measure, for Islam, to take just one example, is not a religion which approves of the evil deed of putting women and children to death by firing-squad.

112. As for the rights of the Palestinians and the Khomeini-ites' alleged support for those rights, that is indeed a farce. Supporters of those rights do not collaborate with Zionist Israel. The incontrovertible facts relating to that collaboration are before the General Assembly in document A/36/518 and accordingly it is evident who is supporting the biggest bastion of American imperialism in the region.

113. Mr. MAHALLATI SHIRAZI (Iran): We have two replies to make: one to Iraq and one to the representative

of the Kabul régime. First my colleague will refer to the allegations made against us yesterday by the representative of the Kabul régime.

114. Mr. SABZALIAN (Iran): For the sake of clarification of a few issues raised yesterday after the statement of the Iranian representative and certainly not for the sake of recrimination and in response to the rhetoric aimed at the proposal of the Islamic Republic of Iran, we should like to make the following comments.

115. First, it has been suggested that the Islamic Republic of Iran should ignore the violation of the complete and undeniable basic human rights of the Moslem Afghan people through imposition of a puppet régime by an outside force simply because of the verbal support and lip-service of the illegal régime of Kabul given to the just struggle of the Iranian people in the last few weeks of the reign of the criminal Shah's régime.

116. I should make it perfectly clear that one of the most important characteristics of the nature of the Islamic revolution in Iran has been its total commitment to its just Islamic values and principles and its consistent refusal to compromise with any super-Power and its client régime. It is precisely on the basis on those Islamic principles that we unequivocally condemn any aggression, without consideration of who the aggressor is. Our principles cannot and will not be bought by the lip-service support of a government and at the expense of the mass murder and mutilation of our Moslem Afghan brothers.

117. Secondly, it has been stated that we ignored the so-called April revolution in Afghanistan. If the representative of the illegal Kabul régime calls those tragic and well-orchestrated *coups d'états* in 1978 a true revolution, then it is indeed a kind of revolution unique in the history of mankind, one in which three consecutive revolutions occurred in a matter of a few months, during which the leader of each revolution murdered and then denounced the leader of the previous one.

118. Thirdly, we have repeatedly heard allegations from the Kabul régime and its backers that the brave and heroic Afghan *Mujahideen* are reactionary and that their ideals belong to the Middle Ages and somehow they are all the agents of American imperialists. We do not deny for a moment that the United States imperialists not only conspire against the interests of the Afghan people but are also involved in conspiring against the interests of all third-world countries. But how can this so-called progressive and popular régime of Kabul justify and rationalize the murder and annihilation of hundreds of thousands of Moslem Afghan people, thus creating at least 4 million refugees, who have apparently found life in their own homeland unbearable and have fled to neighbouring Pakistan and Iran and who, without any doubt, are facing very difficult conditions? We are certain that had the United States imperialists installed their kind of puppet régime in Afghanistan, they would have been confronted with the same resistance and determination, if not more, by Moslem *Mujahideen* who are seeking an independent Afghanistan. This is not the first time—and it will not be the last—that a genuine Islamic movement has been faced with such baseless accusations, such labels. We remember the bitter experience of the struggle of our own people against the United States puppet régime of the deposed Shah, when they also were labelled in such a way.

119. Fourthly, it has been claimed that Iran, by its proposals, is interfering in the internal affairs of

Afghanistan. Let me make it clear again that one of the corner-stones of the foreign policy of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has consistently been disapproval of all kinds of outside intervention and interference in any country, hence we strongly condemn the presence of any foreign troops in any country at all times. Once again we assert that the high value which we place on our relationship with our Afghan brothers is much too strong to be endangered by the decrees of super-Powers.

120. Mr. MAHALLATI SHIRAZI (Iran): I shall now ask another colleague to reply to Iraq's allegations.

121. Mr. HEIAT (Iran): The Fascist Government of Iraq, by resorting to baseless excuses, intends to accuse the Islamic Republic of Iran of ignoring the 1975 treaty in order to justify its brutal aggression against the Moslems of Iran. However, the plain truth is that the Ba'athist régime of Iraq and its accomplices in the region, as well as their oppressive supporters, vainly claimed that the Islamic Republic of Iran would be brought to its knees in a matter of three days. They failed to do that, however, and the Moslem people of Iran have put up an heroic resistance against the invading Iraqi forces, a resistance which has astonished the outside world and upset all imperialist calculations.

122. It is a sad truth that the Iraqi-imposed war of aggression against Iran has not been confined to a mere act of military intervention across the Iranian frontier. The Iraqi aggressors have ignored every international humanitarian principle governing the treatment of civilians in time of war and prohibiting the destruction of civilian institutions and economic resources. Iraq's inhuman bombardment of and savage attacks on villages and cities have caused massive destruction, resulting in thousands of casualties among the civilian population. The refugees, whose homes and communities have been ruined, number over 2 million. Many economic centres, such as refineries, petro-chemical complexes, power stations and bridges, have been either destroyed or severely damaged. Most of the residential areas, public and private offices and port facilities situated in the occupied territories, as well as commodities aboard commercial vessels, have been plundered and taken over to be used for military purposes.

123. The Iraqi aggressors have also engaged in criminal acts, such as raping young girls and women in the occupied villages and towns. The aggressors, contrary to the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, treat the members of the Revolutionary Guard and military units created after the revolution as war criminals, and punish them severely, often beheading them after they are captured by Iraqi troops.

124. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I advise the delegation of Iran that its 10 minutes are up.

125. Mr. MAHALLATI SHIRAZI (Iran): I was under the impression that we had 20 minutes, 10 minutes in which to reply to the representative of Afghanistan and 10 minutes in which to reply to the representative of Iraq.

126. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Each delegation has 10 minutes in which to speak in exercise of its right of reply.

127. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The Afghan delegation would like to make some brief remarks in reply to those

representatives who have spoken in connection with the agenda item under discussion.

128. No one can meaningfully dispute the facts of the cruel aggression against and interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan cited by the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and contained in the "Green Book" about the undeclared war and the maps attached to it. No slander or lies will help the United States imperialists and Chinese hegemonists to wash the blood of the Afghan people off their hands.

129. With regard to the idea advanced by the representative of Pakistan to verify the situation in the so-called refugee camps, we must state that it is not the camps where the families of the bandits and terrorists live that ought to be verified, but rather the frontier bases and training camps of the counter-revolutionary bands, which are located on Pakistani territory. They are clearly indicated in the map attached to the "Green Book", and there is ample, well-documented, irrefutable and thoroughly verified evidence that such bases exist.

130. We noted that the representative of Pakistan referred to the legitimate and legal Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as the Kabul régime, demonstrating thereby the stubborn unwillingness of Islamabad to recognize the realities of the April revolution and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The representative of the military régime of Pakistan has the least valid credentials for lecturing on legitimacy and democracy. We should only say that the representative of Pakistan reminds us of a person who lives in a glass house and throws stones carelessly all around. That is a very dangerous exercise.

131. We categorically reject the allegations of the representative of Pakistan regarding so-called violations of Pakistani territory and air space by units of the Afghan army and air force, but we must also point out that, unless the Pakistani authorities stop providing sanctuary and other facilities to the counter-revolutionaries and terrorist bands, the Afghan armed forces will be compelled to take further necessary measures to defend the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

132. On the matter of refugees, the figures quoted by some delegations are inflated out of all proportion; they even contradict the data produced by UNHCR. The discrepancy is at least 1 million. These figures do not take into account two realities in Afghanistan: the problem of nomads seasonally migrating from Afghanistan to Pakistan, and the problem of Afghan migrant workers in Iran. The only new phenomenon in this respect is that, among the so-called refugees, there are a few tens of thousands of hard-core counter-revolutionary terrorists and bandits, who by no standards could be classified as refugees.

133. With regard to bona fide refugees—the Afghans who, for one reason or another, are in Pakistan and Iran—the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has on various occasions made it perfectly clear in its statements on a general amnesty that they are welcome back home and are guaranteed safe conditions for their resettlement. As a matter of fact, thousands of Afghans and their families have been returning to the motherland recently.

134. We noted with satisfaction that the representative of Pakistan reiterated the willingness of the Pakistani side to continue exchanges with Afghanistan through the Secretary-General so as to prepare the ground for a meaningful dialogue between the parties concerned. The Afghan side is ready and willing to continue constructive talks with the Pakistani side on the basis of complete equality.

135. But words are not enough: deeds are needed. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Shah Mohammad Dost, arrived in New York having received indications from the Secretary-General that he might continue his good offices. We are aware that Pakistan's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Agha Shahi, was also available, but to our surprise he left the United States shortly after Mr. Dost arrived. It is indeed surprising to note that the Pakistani side is not prepared to talk through the Secretary-General, while they were one of the initiators of that idea.

136. With regard to the comments just made by the representative of Iran, I can but express the sorrow of our delegation that the good feelings expressed to the Iranian delegation are not reciprocated by them. But we are sure that time will take care of the problems that may exist between us, and that some day the participants in the two revolutions will advance hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder in the struggle against imperialism and for the elimination of the last vestiges of it from the region.

137. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Iraq is now about to make his second statement in exercise of the right of reply, and I remind representatives that such second statements are limited to five minutes.

138. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): An orchestra that plays without a score is a bad orchestra. It would become a worse orchestra if it played without a score and without a conductor. This is what we have witnessed this morning. Obviously, what the Iranian representative said was extracted from past Iranian hogwash, but with one difference—he did not do his homework well. Let him go and check what he said this morning with what his delegation said on past occasions to see whether he has copied correctly from those past statements. Whatever was said by Iran this morning does not change the fact that it was Iran which committed aggression first.

139. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): The representative of the Kabul régime has again made a highly provocative and irresponsible statement, which obliges my delegation to exercise its right of reply. He has talked about the realities of the situation in Afghanistan, and these realities have been highlighted and brought out very clearly by the massive support of the General Assembly for the resolution that we have just adopted. Perhaps the affirmative votes of 116 Member States speak more eloquently about the realities of the situation in Afghanistan than I could in such a short time. But what does concern my delegation is his blatant declaration that the Kabul authorities are determined to continue to violate the territorial integrity and air space of Pakistan. Let me be very clear on that point. So far the Government of Pakistan has exercised maximum restraint against such serious violations of our territory and air space. But the patience of the Government of Pakistan is being exhausted. Let me convey through you, sir, to the representative of the Kabul régime the message that any further violations of our air space and territory will bring consequences for which the entire responsibility will lie with those in Kabul.

140. He also talked about the number of refugees. As we have repeatedly stated, the refugee camps in Pakistan are open to anyone who wishes to visit them. The officials of UNHCR and other international organizations regularly and frequently visit these refugee camps. In our statement made at the 58th meeting, in the debate on this item, our Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs also indicated that the Government of Pakistan would welcome any visits by neutral United Nations observers or Islamic observers to such areas. We have often been told that the number is exaggerated. Let the independent observers go and ascertain the exact number of refugees. The nomadic people to which the representative of the Kabul régime is always referring are easily distinguished from the bona fide refugees in Pakistan.

141. Lastly, nothing could be more perverse than to put an interpretation on the movements of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. He has been here since the beginning of the General Assembly, but every Foreign Minister has very pressing engagements, not only at home but elsewhere, and it was because of a very pressing engagement that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan had to return to Islamabad, because some distinguished heads of State from very friendly countries are paying official visits to Pakistan. To interpret this and to insinuate that his departure indicates a lack of willingness on the part of Pakistan to enter into dialogue under the auspices of the Secretary-General is so perverse that I need hardly reject it categorically.

142. As I indicated at the 61st meeting, the Government of Pakistan and the Pakistani delegation remain ready and willing to enter into any kind of consultations under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Our very senior official, the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who also has the rank of Vice Foreign Minister, is here and available to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for any contact he may wish to make with our delegation.

143. Mr. SABZALIAN (Iran): I do not know whether the Iraqi representative is really serious or is simply trying to be ridiculously humorous. I suggest that the next time he talks about the tragic war he would do better not to talk in such humorous terms.

144. The Iraqi representative is desperately trying to cover up the shameless aggression of his country against the Iranian people by a series of baseless and meaningless allegations, which I would not dignify by an answer. I shall simply make a brief comment regarding a very small yet tragically sad part of this war that has been imposed on Iran.

145. Many Iraqi citizens are asked to leave their homeland to go to Iran and join the tens of thousands of other refugees who are forced into those camps simply because of their sympathy towards the Islamic revolution and their denunciation of the Fascist régime of Saddam Hussein. Those people are asked to walk over the roads leading to Iran that are infested with mines and are thus mutilated. That is supposed to teach them not to oppose the barbaric régime of Saddam Hussein, in the vain hope that he can add another few days to his shameless reign.

146. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The reason I have asked to be allowed to speak for the second time is that I want to bring two points to the Assembly's attention.

147. The Afghan delegation is extremely surprised to see that the United Nations Press Section is very biased in the quotations it makes from statements in the General Assembly. I have before me press release Number GA/6492 in which Iran's statement is given a whole page and the statement in exercise of the right of reply of the delegation of Pakistan is given more than a page, but the Afghan delegation's reply is given only five or six lines.

148. First, I request you, Mr. President, to intervene in this matter and find out why those working in the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat are so biased when it comes to quotations from statements made in the Assembly.

149. Secondly, the representative of Pakistan in exercising his right of reply to the reply of my delegation used the word "violations" and said that they were a fact. Only a few minutes ago my delegation very clearly stated that such violations did not exist at all and that we therefore categorically and emphatically rejected those allegations. But we also pointed out that if the Pakistani Government did not take the necessary measures to prevent violation of Afghan territory by bandits and counter-revolutionary groups, the Afghan Government would be compelled to take unilateral measures to defend its territorial integrity.

150. The representative of Pakistan also referred to the subject of refugees. I think that on this matter also the position of the Afghan delegation is quite clear. There are ample documents of the Afghan Government—and they have been distributed as United Nations documents also—in which we have clearly stated how we look at that question. For us, the refugee problem is a minor one; the numbers claimed by the Pakistani delegation and others

do not accord with the facts. Afghanistan's amnesty declaration provides every facility and full guarantees for the safe and honourable return of all refugees and Afghans living outside Afghanistan.

151. Another subject raised by the representative of Pakistan was the return of Mr. Agha Shahi, Minister for Foreign Affairs. As I said a few minutes ago, the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan had received indications that while the two Ministers were present there was a possibility of conducting proximity talks through the Secretary-General of the United Nations. That was perhaps the reason for the presence of my Minister in New York. But, again to our surprise, only shortly after the arrival of the Afghan Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, who had been here for a long time, preferred to be absent. We could only take that as a mark of unwillingness to provide the chance for the Secretary-General to continue his good offices.

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.

<sup>2</sup> Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.

<sup>3</sup> Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction.

<sup>4</sup> See *Bulletin of the European Communities*, No. 6, 1981, vol. 14, para. 1.1.13.

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951.