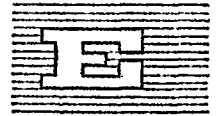


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Thirty-eighth session

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 27th MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on
Thursday, 18 February 1982, at 4.30 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria)

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The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.

THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND ITS APPLICATION TO PEOPLES UNDER COLONIAL OR ALIEN DOMINATION OR FOREIGN OCCUPATION (agenda item 9) (continued)
(E/CN.4/1477 and Add.1, 1487, 1491 and 1498; E/CN.4/1982/3, 6, 7 and 9-14;
E/CN.4/1982/L.2 and L.16; E/CN.4/1982/NGO/13)

1. Mrs. ODIO BENITO (Costa Rica) said that the right of peoples to self-determination was undoubtedly one of the most basic of human rights; it was as fundamental for nations as the right to life was for individuals, and any interference with it should be rejected by the international community. True international relations could be conducted only between sovereign States. The importance of the right of self-determination was reflected by its position in the forefront of the Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the International Covenants on human rights and numerous General Assembly and Commission resolutions.
2. Its significance became even more apparent in cases of its violation, which could take various forms, the grossest being military intervention. Another form, equally obnoxious, was political intervention, which turned States into pawns in a hegemonistic game. Economic intervention, too, could grossly violate the right of self-determination, as those who had endured it well knew; economic sanctions against a country struggling for independence and the fixing of arbitrary prices for a developing country's products were examples of such violations. Her Government strongly opposed all violations - through military, political, economic or other acts - of the right of peoples throughout the world to self-determination.
3. Miss ILIC (Yugoslavia) said that the right of self-determination was recognized as a fundamental right upon whose full realization the stability of international relations and world peace depended. The United Nations had achieved remarkable results in the recognition and assertion of that right, and it was natural that the Commission should continue that work but it should take account of the way in which the concept of self-determination had evolved. In general, the period when many peoples throughout the world had been struggling to attain that right was over, although there were still some regions where the struggle continued; in that connection, the situations in South Africa, Namibia and Palestine continued to cause the greatest concern. A feature of the present day was the number of threats to the right of self-determination already achieved - threats which were chiefly due to the Power blocs. Full realization of the right to self-determination of nations within a bloc depended heavily on group interests or on the interests of its leading Power, as had been demonstrated by attempts to impose political and economic restrictions on national development. Moreover, the need felt by each bloc to strengthen its international position vis-à-vis the other was a constant danger to the full realization of the right of self-determination.

4. In that context, Yugoslavia had expressed deep concern about the military intervention in Afghanistan and the occupation of Kampuchea. Further crises could be averted only through the withdrawal of foreign troops from those countries and the establishment of conditions in which the right of self-determination could be fully exercised. A serious situation also existed in El Salvador, where another major Power was providing military and other forms of assistance in pursuit of a solution which would not satisfy the genuine interests of the people of El Salvador.

5. The non-aligned movement had always stressed the crucial importance of the right of self-determination and reiterated that only strict observance of that right could create favourable conditions for fruitful co-operation and understanding among countries and peoples.

6. Mr. SCHIFTER (United States of America) said that for over two years the people of Afghanistan had been denied the right of self-determination because of the military occupation of their country by the Soviet Union - a situation whose examination shed light on threats to self-determination in other parts of the world. The Soviet Union was committed to a policy of hegemonism which had led, in the case of Afghanistan, to the largest refugee problem in the world. One out of every five Afghans had sought refuge abroad; there were over 2 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and almost 1 million in Iran. Within Afghanistan, the freedom movement was struggling effectively in its commitment to the principle of self-determination, thus keeping international attention focused on Afghanistan. But the struggle had cost Afghanistan dear. The growing evidence of the use of chemical and other lethal agents against Afghans must be examined by the international community, which must speak out on the subject and persuade the Soviet Union to respect the Afghan people's right of self-determination and withdraw the occupying forces. In that spirit, his delegation would vote in favour of draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.16.

7. In Kampuchea, the bloody régime of Pol Pot had aroused the abhorrence of the United States and had demonstrated the international community's impotence in the face of mass murder - a matter which underlay his delegation's concern about the effectiveness of the Commission and similar international bodies. As a further indignity, the Khmer people was enduring the occupation of its country by some 180,000 Vietnamese soldiers and the consequent continued denial of its right of self-determination. Mr. Eide, in his report (E/CN.4/1491), had concluded that, so long as the right of self-determination was not respected, human rights violations such as arbitrary arrest, detention without trial or extra-judicial executions would continue. So, of course, would the vast refugee problem. The reports of chemical warfare in Kampuchea contained in the above-mentioned document called for scrutiny and action by the international community. The document also recommended the holding of free and fair elections, under United Nations auspices, and the withdrawal of all foreign forces. Those recommendations, which were embodied in previous General Assembly resolutions, were strongly supported by his delegation, which intended to vote in favour of draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.2.

8. Another way in which peoples were denied the right to choose their own destiny was the infiltration of personnel trained and equipped abroad with a view to political destabilization. Such infiltrations were increasing in the countries of the Western hemisphere. The country directly responsible was hegemonism's agent for that region - Cuba. The Commission, which in recent years had expressed concern about human rights violations in Latin America and condemned the repressive measures taken by some Governments, had seemingly avoided facing the fact that some of those measures had been taken in response to violent and disruptive measures directed in other countries. In Colombia, for example, a democratically elected Government had been endangered by the M-19 terrorist movement, which had been trained by Cuban army personnel. Evidence obtained following an unsuccessful infiltration into Colombia in 1981 had revealed the role played by Cuba with which Colombia had subsequently severed diplomatic relations.

9. Cuba sought to interfere in other countries of the region also. At camps in Cuba, training in weapons and tactics had been given to persons from many other Latin American countries. The headquarters of the Montoneros, the terrorist organization which for years had sought to provoke political and social upheaval in Argentina, were in Havana. Cuba's growing role in Nicaragua and Grenada, and its efforts to spread its policies throughout Latin America could no longer be ignored when human rights in that region were discussed.

10. The right of self-determination had also been violated in Europe. One example was the invasion by the Soviet Union of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 1940, in keeping with an arrangement between Stalin and Hitler. Those countries had been reoccupied by the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War, and they had been treated as part of the Soviet Union ever since. The United States had never recognized their illegal incorporation, by force of arms, into the Soviet Union. Despite the forced population transfers from those countries carried out by the Soviet Union, their peoples remained committed to self-determination, as was shown by the increasing number of arrests of those who demonstrated that commitment. The right of self-determination was an issue in another European country too; his delegation would speak on that subject later.

11. His country's approach to international relations was based on the position, clearly reflected in United States public opinion at the time of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, that, just as the United States respected the right of all countries to self-determination, it expected others to do likewise and could not ignore violations of that principle.

12. No doubt rights of reply to his statement would be exercised. To judge from past experience they would contain not a reasoned defence but a list of United States sins of omission and commission - some of which might be true. The points he had made, however, would not be rebutted. His brief reply to the lengthy statement made by the Soviet representative at the previous meeting concerning such topics as Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Micronesia and Puerto Rico was that, as most members of the Commission knew, the facts were otherwise.

13. Mr. THWAITES (Australia) said that, in his delegation's view, the item under consideration was one of the most important on the Commission's agenda. The right of peoples to self-determination was a central tenet of international law and was fundamental to friendly relations among States; the existence of that right had first been recognized by the General Assembly in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Since then it has been enshrined as a common article of the two International Covenants on human rights and might well have the status of a binding norm of international law.

14. Australia, having itself been a colony, understood the aspirations of all peoples to independent nationhood. It had also had the responsibility of an administering Power under the League of Nations and later the United Nations, and had recently had the satisfaction of seeing a number of neighbouring States attain independence. The right of other countries of the South Pacific to achieve self-determination free from coercion and pressure was unquestioned.

15. As a member of the Special Committee on the subject, Australia had long been involved in the decolonization process. Despite the encouraging progress made in achieving independence, there were still situations in which the right of self-determination was being threatened and denied, even where it had hitherto been exercised. In Namibia, the right was being denied through the illegal occupation of that country by South African forces. Australia, as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, felt that the plan embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) offered the best prospect for a speedy solution and deplored the action of the South African Government which had delayed its implementation. With regard to the situation in Western Sahara, his delegation welcomed the progress made under the auspices of OAU; it hoped that those efforts would soon be successful and that the conflict between the parties concerned would be ended, thus enabling the people of Western Sahara to determine their future fully and freely.

16. It had been recognized that the right of self-determination could and should be exercised continuously, without deliberate intervention from outside. That the right was vulnerable to massive intervention by foreign armed forces had been shown by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea - acts which contravened the Charter and revealed the contempt in which certain States held the right of self-determination. Despite repeated condemnation, both in General Assembly resolutions and in decisions of other international and regional groupings, the offending States seemingly had little intention of responding positively to the international community's appeals. The resultant large-scale refugee problems and the information emerging from the occupied States attested to the violations of human rights there. The humanitarian attitude of the countries giving asylum to the refugees contrasted starkly with the deeds of those responsible for the situation. But many Afghans, instead of fleeing, had remained to struggle against the Soviet Union's armed might; that struggle represented a deeply moving defence of the right of self-determination. Australia was committed to international efforts aimed at speedily ending the gross violations of that right. It had supported the initiatives of the ASEAN countries aimed at restoring to the Kampuchean people the full exercise of its right of genuine self-determination, and it fully supported the resolution and declaration adopted at the first session of the international conference on Kampuchea. The ad hoc committee established by that conference could make an important contribution towards a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea.

17. Australia fully endorsed Commission resolution 11 (XXXVII) concerning Kampuchea, Commission resolution 13 (XXXVII) concerning Afghanistan, and General Assembly resolution 36/10 concerning universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination. It called upon the invading States to withdraw their forces without delay in order that the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea might exercise their right of self-determination. The United Nations must continue to do its utmost to ensure that conditions were created in which the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea could be assured of the exercise of their rights. His delegation accordingly urged all delegations to vote in favour of draft resolutions E/CN.4/1982/L2 - which it had co-sponsored - and E/CN.4/1982/L.16.

18. There was a consensus in the Commission concerning respect for the right of all peoples to self-determination, but on cases of violation there were conflicting views, most of which had been expressed in the General Assembly. His delegation wondered whether the Commission was being fully responsive to its duties with regard to human rights. Perhaps there were some human rights questions which could be more clearly enunciated and dealt with by consensus. Such a course would establish the Commission's concern for the enjoyment by all peoples of the right of self-determination, with due regard for the need for regular plebiscites to ensure domestic political accountability and safeguards against external interference.

19. Ms. DERMENDJIEVA (Bulgaria) said that the enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms was largely dependent upon the realization of the most fundamental human right, namely, the right to self-determination and independence, as enshrined in the Charter, the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the International Covenants on human rights. The recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence had come about as a result of the long, hard-fought struggle of the peoples in various parts of the world against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The contribution of the United Nations to the realization of the right to self-determination of colonial countries and peoples had been one of its noblest achievements.

20. Objectively speaking, the process of national liberation of peoples had begun with the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 and had acquired new dimensions in the period following the end of the Second World War, at which time the collapse of the colonial system had begun. The United Nations had been courageous enough to recognize, even while the colonial empires still existed, the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for self-determination, independence, territorial integrity, national unity, and liberation from foreign domination and occupation by all available means, including armed struggle. There was hardly a more serious violation of the norms of contemporary international law and the Charter than the denial of the right of colonial countries and peoples to self-determination and independence.

21. Despite the progress achieved in decolonization the world continued to witness in southern Africa, the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine, and the remaining colonial territories instances of the brazen suppression of the inalienable

right to self-determination and independence by imperialist and colonialist States. That constituted a flagrant violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and was a major cause of increased tension in international relations. Israel's denial of the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people created a hotbed of tension, not only in the Middle East but also at the global level, with dangerous implication for international peace and security. The South African racist régime illegally occupying Namibia was waging a colonial war against the heroic people of Namibia under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO. South Africa could display such intransigence only because it was sure of receiving assistance from certain NATO countries. The arguments advanced by some delegations that "patient negotiations" were required in order to find a solution to the Namibian problem were unconvincing. The activities of foreign economic and other interests impeding the Namibian people's right of self-determination constituted further evidence of the violation of the right to self-determination of peoples under colonial domination.

22. Although there had been tangible achievements in the field of decolonization, it should not be forgotten that there were still 20 or more colonial territories situated in various parts of the world, namely, in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans and the Caribbean region. Irrespective of the size, population or geographical situation of those territories, the 1960 Declaration made it quite clear that they were entitled to the same degree of self-determination and independence as had been accorded to other former colonial countries. Those colonial Powers that were impeding the implementation of the Declaration were accountable to the United Nations and the international community. Efforts to grant those so-called small territories "quasi self-determination" deceived no one.

23. With regard to the so-called Afghan question, it should be pointed out that some speakers had again tried to present to the Commission a distorted picture of the situation concerning that sovereign State. Furthermore, the question was being discussed despite the categorical objections of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a fact which transformed the debate into an attempt to raise additional obstacles to a political settlement. The revolution of April 1978 had represented an expression of the will of the Afghan people to do away with feudalism, poverty and underdevelopment, and yet that revolution was now being slandered as a threat to peace. The hostile campaign being waged against Afghanistan by the forces of imperialism, hegemonism and world reaction was also accompanied by incessant acts of armed intervention by mercenaries organized, trained and armed abroad and sent into the country to perpetrate acts of violence against the civilian population and to undermine the national economy, thus causing supply difficulties and massive displacements of the population.

24. Despite the subversive political activities being directed against independent Afghanistan, the Afghan Government had been successful in remedying the complex political and social economic problems it faced. The changes carried out by the Government were irreversible because they were an expression of the will of the vast majority of the people. A political settlement of the disputes and the normalization

of relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours could best be achieved on the basis of the proposals made by the Afghan Government itself on 15 May 1980, and reaffirmed and further developed on 24 August 1981. The key to a just and lasting settlement of the problems lay in the cessation of all outside interference by imperialist, hegemonistic and reactionary forces in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the adoption and application of guarantees to prevent such outside interference in the future. The conditions would then be created for the withdrawal of the limited Soviet military contingent.

25. With regard to the so-called question of Kampuchea, her delegation drew attention to the contentious nature of the debate, which was clearly demonstrated by the absence of the legitimate representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Her delegation categorically opposed attempts by some delegations to present a distorted picture of the true situation in that country. In speaking about the situation in Kampuchea, those delegations remained silent about the achievements of the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the National Revolutionary Council. Free and democratic elections to local bodies and the National Assembly had been held, a fact confirmed by impartial observers from 20 countries. The first truly democratic Constitution had been adopted and the fourth congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea had outlined prospects for the country's future development. Large-scale measures to overcome famine, increase agriculture production, reunite families, and provide medical care and educational facilities had been taken.

26. The People's Republic of Kampuchea, together with Viet Nam and Laos, were seeking ways to normalize relations with all countries in the region. In that connection, she noted that a conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three countries had made constructive proposals designed to resolve problems concerning the countries in Indo-China.

27. Her Government would therefore continue to render positive support to the people of Kampuchea in their efforts to rebuild the country. Those efforts would not be disrupted by the armed terrorists who made incursions into Kampuchea from neighbouring States with the active assistance of imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary circles. The Kampuchean people required peace, stability and normal relations with its neighbours in order to pursue peaceful and creative activities. As was clear from her statement, her delegation categorically rejected draft resolutions E/CN.4/1982/L.2 and L.16 and would vote against them.

28. Mr. KHERAD (Observer for Afghanistan) said that the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, as embodied in the Charter, the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the International Covenants on human rights, was a fundamental right which could not be denied to any people and constituted one of the democratic principles of contemporary international law. That right implied the right of peoples to fight by every available means for freedom from colonial, imperialist and racist oppression and

exploitation, and to choose freely their own political, economic, social and cultural structure. Peace, détente and the progress of mankind could be guaranteed and safeguarded only if the peoples still suffering from colonial and racial oppression were able to exercise their right of self-determination and independence. Since the adoption of the 1960 Declaration, which had proved to be a powerful instrument in the cause of decolonization, radical changes had occurred in the world. The national liberation movement and the struggle of peoples for freedom and fundamental social change had achieved outstanding successes.

29. As a result of the heroic struggle of the peoples of the enslaved countries, a great number of colonial peoples and territories had attained freedom. More than 100 countries had achieved independence in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration and become Members of the United Nations, where they were making an active contribution to the political life of the international community. Many of them had embarked on the path of independent development.

30. The general support and assistance given by peace-loving countries and forces to the legitimate struggle of the colonial peoples and their liberation movement had played a decisive role in the victory of the oppressed and colonial peoples and had speeded up the process of national and social liberation.

31. The last bastions of colonialism, racism and apartheid were collapsing, the liberation of oppressed peoples was continuing and the colonialists were losing their capacity to impose their will on the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in matters of political and economic development.

32. Although the colonial system was virtually dead, neo-colonialism still existed, since the imperialist powers had not yet abandoned their efforts to repress the national liberation struggle, and millions of human beings continued to suffer under colonial and racist oppression in various parts of the world, including southern Africa, Palestine and various island territories.

33. In southern Africa, the system of apartheid, the illegal occupation of Namibia and the manoeuvres of the South African régime were delaying the exercise by the Namibian people of its right of self-determination. The support given by the imperialist Powers to the racist South African régime had encouraged it to such an extent that it was violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring States and committing cynical attacks against Angola with a view to occupying part of that country's territory and making it a sanctuary for the mercenaries who are fighting against the Angolan revolution and the liberation movement of the Namibian people. The collusion between the imperialist and racist forces was a clear danger to the peace and stability of the region and to the national independence of the peoples of southern Africa.

34. In the Middle East, the Zionist entity, aided and abetted by its protector across the Atlantic, continued to deny the Palestinian people the exercise of its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. In the name of a racist and expansionist ideology, it pursued its policy of aggression against the people of the region and its illegal occupation of Arab territories, in defiance of the declared will of the international community. The expansionist activities of the Zionist entity in the Middle East, including the refusal to grant the Palestinian people its inalienable rights, the occupation of Arab territories, the constant bombardment of Arab civilians, the attacks on, and massacres of, innocent civilians in Lebanon, the bombing of the Iraqi centre for nuclear research for peaceful purposes, and the illegal annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, were flagrant violations of the principles generally recognized in international law. Attention should also be drawn to the fact that the peoples of small island territories continued to suffer under the yoke of colonialism and had not yet been able to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. Western States maintained in those territories military bases and a number of facilities which constituted additional obstacles to independence.

35. All those facts proved that the colonialists had in no way resigned themselves to accept total defeat. By strengthening their collusion in heightening tension and recommencing the cold war, in order to create favourable conditions for pursuing their aggression and intervention in the internal affairs of independent States, they used all means to repress and halt the advance of the national liberation movement. Since they were unable to impose colonialism in its old form, they resorted to a new form, neo-colonialism, in order to counteract the offensive of the revolutionary forces in the world and to seize the markets and raw materials of countries which were politically but not yet economically independent.

36. The national democratic revolution of April 1978, which had marked a decisive turning-point in the history of his country and enabled the Afghan people to free itself from social exploitation, had been welcomed with unconcealed annoyance by the imperialist Powers. Since the Afghan revolution, the imperialists, hegemonists and their accomplices, concerned for their interests in Afghanistan and throughout the Middle East, had fomented plots against the revolutionary people of Afghanistan, letting loose on the country well-equipped bands trained by Chinese and United States military instructors. With the support of the allies of the United States in the region they had launched an undeclared war and economic blockade from certain neighbouring countries. Armed aggression and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan had reached such a pitch that that country, in conformity with article 4 of the 1978 Afghan-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, had had to ask the Soviet Union to send a small military contingent to help the Afghan army repel aggression.

37. Although the facts had been generally known, the Carter administration had denied participation in the terrorist activities in Afghanistan, but the new leaders in the United States had dropped the mask and openly recognized their assistance to the counter-revolutionaries. The policy of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan thus constituted the official policy of the United States and its accomplices.

38. The arms provided to counter-revolutionary elements included chemical grenades manufactured by the Federal Laboratory in Pennsylvania and the over-all operation was currently costing, according to the United States press, over \$100 million. Pakistan served, through a network of camps, as a base to train and equip mercenaries and other counter-revolutionary elements; centres also existed in certain reactionary countries in the region and in the West. From such centres, bands infiltrated into Afghanistan, killing and looting. The Afghan army, police and security forces, assisted by the people, had inflicted severe defeats on the mercenaries, capturing and disarming them. Repentant mercenary prisoners had appeared before foreign journalists at press conferences in Kabul. The undeclared war launched by United States imperialism was a clear example of international terrorism, which violated the Charter and the generally-accepted standards of international law.

39. Despite those hostile acts, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a firm upholder of peace and friendship among States, wished to reduce the tension in the region and restore normal relations with its neighbours. It had therefore prepared a detailed and realistic programme for the political settlement of the situation which had arisen concerning Afghanistan and which had been created solely by imperialist and hegemonist interference and aggression. The Afghan proposals (dated 15 May 1980) had been published as an official document of the General Assembly and Security Council under the symbols A/35/238 and S/13591. Subsequently, in August 1981, the Afghan Government, in the light of its contacts with the parties concerned since 1980, had published further detailed proposals (dated 24 August 1981) which had been issued as an official United Nations document under the symbols A/36/457 and S/14649. It reaffirmed that it was ready to undertake direct negotiations with the Governments of Pakistan and Iran, on a bilateral or trilateral basis, and agreed to the participation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representatives. It further considered that sound guarantees under-writing this agreement to cease armed and other forms of intervention should constitute an integral part of the political settlement, and that discussions regarding the guarantees and the designation of the guarantor countries should begin at the same time as the negotiations. Such a political settlement, including international guarantees, would make it possible to draw up a time-table for the phased withdrawal of Soviet troops in accordance with the progress made in the implementation of the agreements.

40. There had been no response to the realistic and flexible Afghan proposals which took account of the interests of all the parties concerned. Furthermore, efforts were still being made to wrest from the Afghan people the democratic rights they had won in the national uprising.

41. Imperialistic, hegemonistic and reactionary propaganda was spreading malicious lies about the assistance of the Soviet Union to the Muslim and freedom-loving Afghan people, alleging that what was happening in the country was a threat to peace and security. Any impartial observer visiting Afghanistan could clearly see for himself that, in spite of the difficulties imposed on them by their enemies, the Afghan people had made great strides in economic, political and social development in a relatively short period. The general situation had been stabilized and the organs of popular power had been consolidated. One sign had been the establishment in June 1981 of the National Patriotic Front, which united practically all the social classes and the tribal and religious authorities in support of the objectives of the national revolution. The people and Government had taken effective measures to develop the economy, increase agricultural and industrial productivity, and improve the living standards of the workers. They had embarked on the second phase of the economic and social development plans, and agrarian reform had been successfully carried out. Their achievements would naturally have been even more impressive but for the continuing armed aggression, particularly from Pakistan, and other types of interference.

42. Afghanistan posed no threat to peace and security: its people were interested only in consolidating the gains of the revolution and building a better society in the way they had freely chosen. If need be, they would defend their independence and honour with the last drop of their blood. The threat and tension inherent in the situation emanated from the warlike policies of the United States, the hegemonists and their allies. Their campaign of slander against Afghanistan was readily understandable since his country was in the vanguard of the struggle against reaction, imperialism, zionism, hegemonism, racism and apartheid.

43. While Afghanistan pursued a policy of peaceful co-existence and active non-alignment and wished to maintain friendly relations with all peace-loving countries, particularly its Muslim neighbours, it resolutely upheld liberation movements struggling for self-determination in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It supported the struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, against the expansionist policy of Israel. It considered that no lasting peace in the Middle East would be possible unless the Israeli forces withdrew from all the occupied Arab territories and their inhabitants were allowed to exercise the right of self-determination. It also supported the struggle of the Namibian people under SWAPO and favoured the strict application of global sanctions against the South African régime. It expressed its solidarity with its sister nation, Angola, which was defending its territorial integrity against armed aggression by the Pretoria régime. It supported the people of Western Sahara in their struggle for self-determination and urged that all the small trusteeship territories should be given an opportunity to exercise that right. It condemned the continued interference by the United States in the internal affairs of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, and United States armed provocation of Cuba and Nicaragua. It expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the people of El Salvador against a fascist dictatorship. It also condemned expansionist conspiracies, backed by United States

imperialism, to undermine the sovereignty and security of Kampuchea. That State's legitimate rights in the United Nations must be immediately restored and the bloodthirsty Pol Pot clique must be ousted from all international forums.

44. His delegation was convinced that, despite all the obstacles, the victory of peoples in their struggle for liberty and full independence was an irreversible process, but resolute measures must be taken to speed it up. So long as imperialist circles denied oppressed peoples their right of self-determination, peace and international economic co-operation could not be ensured.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.