



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 25

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

1. Mr. NISHIBORI (Japan): The military intervention in Afghanistan by the Soviet Union in December 1979 aroused great indignation and apprehension throughout the world. And even now, although three years have passed, the situation remains unchanged. That situation violates basic principles of international law, in particular the principles of non-interference and non-use of force which are contained in the Charter of the United Nations, and thus constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security. Voices of profound concern and appeals for a settlement of this serious problem have been raised throughout the international community and are echoed in General Assembly resolution ES-6/2, adopted at the sixth emergency special session, and in its resolutions 35/37 and 36/24.

2. Fully recognizing the importance of the repeated calls by the international community for a settlement, the Government of Japan welcomed the initiative taken by the European Parliament in declaring 21 March 1982 Afghanistan Day in an effort to bring the Afghan problem to yet greater world attention. The Government of Japan, through a statement by Minister for Foreign Affairs Sakurauchi, joined in that effort.

3. Nevertheless, in spite of these expressions of concern and appeals from the international community, the Soviet Union remains intransigent, and there are as yet no prospects for a settlement. The Government of Japan continues to insist that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, which contravenes international law and justice, should be terminated at once and that the Soviet troops should be withdrawn immediately. The problem must be resolved in accordance with the principles of non-interference and respect for the right of self-determination of the Afghan people.

4. In February of this year, the Secretary-General appointed as his personal representative Mr. Diego Cordovez, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, whom he dispatched in April to the countries concerned to explore ways and means of settling the problem. In June, a round of discussions was held in Geneva through the intermediary of the Secretary-General's personal representative. In September, just before the current session of the

General Assembly, the Secretary-General himself visited the Soviet Union. He has thus spared no effort in seeking a settlement of the problem. Japan appreciates and supports these efforts and strongly hopes that they will be continued in the future.

5. Moreover, Japan fully understands the profound anxieties that this situation has created among the non-aligned countries, and particularly the Islamic countries. Those countries have been making important efforts towards a settlement, and they have our full support.

6. The situation in Afghanistan is having an enormous effect on Pakistan and other neighbouring countries. In particular, my country sympathizes with the Government of Pakistan, which is experiencing manifold difficulties in receiving the refugees from Afghanistan; we pay a high tribute to the humanitarian efforts it has made in this regard.

7. It is our intention to continue to extend, from the humanitarian point of view, as well as from considerations of regional peace and stability, as much co-operation as possible to relief activities through UNHCR and WFP; as well as through other organizations.

8. Japan strongly supports draft resolution A/37/L.38, which has been proposed by more than 40 Member States. It reflects the will of the international community and confirms basic principles for the settlement of the problem. My delegation hopes that the draft resolution will be adopted by an overwhelming majority, as were previous resolutions on this question.

9. The Government of Japan reiterates its appeal to the Soviet Union to heed the calls which the international community has been making during the past three years for the immediate withdrawal of its troops. Further, it urges that the right of self-determination be promptly restored to the Afghan people and that all the countries concerned make every effort to resolve the problem as soon as possible in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

10. Mr. ULRICHSEN (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

11. The conflict in Afghanistan continues to be a matter of profound concern to the 10 member States of the European Community and, indeed, to the Assembly. How many times will the Assembly have to occupy itself with this flagrant breach by a Member State of its obligations under the United Nations Charter? It is particularly shocking that the people of a developing and non-aligned country should continue to be the victims of such an act of force.

12. Another year has passed without substantive progress towards a peaceful political solution that

could bring about an end to the ever-growing toll of human suffering of the courageous and dignified Afghan people, whose resolve to fight for their freedom and independence has won the world's respect.

13. The conflict in Afghanistan remains vividly before the international community. This was reflected, *inter alia*, in the European Parliament's initiative in declaring 21 March 1982 Afghanistan Day. On that day, demonstrations of solidarity with the plight of the Afghan people were held in Europe and elsewhere.

14. The large-scale military intervention by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and its three years of continuing occupation are clear testimony to the willingness of the Soviet Union to pursue its aims by the use of its massive military potential. This places an increasingly severe burden on neighbouring States and presents an ever-present threat to the stability of the region and, indeed, a constant danger to international peace and security. Moreover, the nature of such a military presence, coupled with the force and duration of the Afghan resistance, clearly demonstrates the futility of the arguments which were put forward by the occupying Power in order to justify the whole operation.

15. More than 20 per cent of the Afghan population have had to flee their home country. This exodus continues, and tens of thousands of additional refugees are reaching the camps in neighbouring countries each month. Pakistan alone has more than 2,500,000 Afghan refugees, the largest concentration of refugees anywhere in the world. The Ten are deeply conscious of the great burden that this places on the host countries. The European Community and its member States have been making a significant contribution to the international relief effort, and we will continue to do so as long as this need persists. On a separate matter, the Ten hope that, in recognition of the humanitarian nature of its activities, the International Committee of the Red Cross will soon be able to resume its mission in Afghanistan.

16. What the refugees want is to be able to go home. Before they can do so, there must be a genuine political solution enabling Afghanistan to return to its traditional independent and non-aligned status, free from external interference and with the Afghan people having full capacity to exercise their right to self-determination. This requires, above all, the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. The principles which must govern the search for this solution and which would enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in full security and dignity have been clearly laid down by the Assembly. It is a matter for our deepest regret that the Soviet Union remains unwilling, as yet, to accept a solution in accordance with those principles, even though they have been endorsed by 116 States Members of the United Nations. The Ten cannot accept the attempt to impose a régime by force on the people of Afghanistan.

17. In seeking a political solution, the Ten have continued to give their support and encouragement to the initiatives of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. We have welcomed, too, the efforts made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We gave our full support to General Assembly resolution 35/37,

which led to the appointment by the Secretary-General of a special representative who would be able to exercise his good offices in promoting a political solution in accordance with the provisions of that resolution. We welcomed the appointment of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar to that post and, following Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar's election to the post of Secretary-General, we welcomed the Secretary-General's new personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez.

18. The Ten continue to follow with interest the efforts of the Secretary-General and Mr. Cordovez. We have noted the Secretary-General's recent report [A/37/482] detailing those efforts. The Secretary-General has pointed out in his report that the most critical stage of the diplomatic process undoubtedly lies ahead and that major differences must be bridged for the efforts to bear fruit. The Ten understand that difficult problems are involved. We share the Secretary-General's concern that the Afghan people be given the opportunity to build their future in peace, a process which must restore their right to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention or coercion.

19. The Ten once again draw attention to the European Council's proposal of 30 June 1981 for a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict.¹ We continue to believe that only a settlement which is ultimately endorsed by the Afghan people and which takes fully into account their fundamental right to self-determination will be able to bring lasting peace and stability to the area. The European Council's proposal seeks to bring about the cessation of external intervention and the establishment of safeguards to prevent such interventions in the future, and it takes into full account the legitimate interests of the countries of the area. The Ten maintain their proposal and their readiness to enter into discussions about it.

20. The General Assembly owes it to the suffering people of Afghanistan to show that its support for their rights continues as strongly as ever. It can do this by continuing to keep their plight closely before it, by rejecting the attempt to impose a *fait accompli* and by demonstrating in its vote the desire to seek a genuine political solution. The Ten urge the members of the General Assembly once again to demonstrate clearly that this is their steadfast position and that it enjoys overwhelming support.

21. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): The purpose in meeting here today is both clear and urgent. It is to uphold the right of the Afghan people to restore Afghanistan's sovereignty and national independence.

22. It is nearly three years since the Soviet Union intervened against an unaligned and unoffending neighbour, in breach of its obligations under the United Nations Charter. But still the war goes on. The Soviet Union is no nearer victory than it was at the start. On the contrary, after three years the Soviet adventure in Afghanistan has been a failure. The people of that traditional country remain hostile to the intervention. The leaders of the régime that has been installed in Kabul enjoy no confidence among their own people. What was meant to be a clear surgical strike has turned septic.

23. Soviet intervention has also been denounced by the world at large. It has drawn the condemnation of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. It has been overwhelmingly disowned in the United Nations. Indeed, the intervention in Afghanistan confronts all of us here with a serious challenge. If a great Power and a permanent member of the Security Council can invade, subjugate and occupy a neighbouring State with impunity, then the security of all members of the Assembly is substantially diminished. It is the lesson and the warning of history. It is hardly necessary to note that aggression is no more tolerable because its perpetrators claim to have been invited in by a régime that did not exist until it was set up by those self-same interveners. In this, as in other respects, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan is strikingly analogous to the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea.

24. There is another dimension to all of this. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan three years ago was the turning-point on a road which also led to Poland. It had a shattering effect on the comfortable view that Soviet actions could be explained away as defensive measures or measures designed to take advantage of events that might have happened anyway. Afghanistan broke this mould. It was the first time that the Soviet Union had deployed its own armed forces directly against the people of a developing, non-aligned country.

25. The impact is now part of recent history. Afghanistan has severely aggravated tensions between East and West. It provoked a fundamental reassessment of the policies and intentions of the Soviet Government, including in the vital area of arms control. The Soviet invasion ended a period of widespread optimism about the course of international relations, and it has interrupted and seriously eroded the basis for détente.

26. The conflict in Afghanistan is thus a matter of profound concern. It has deepened anxieties and exacerbated tensions throughout the vital region of South-West Asia. It has cast a shadow over the broader prospects for global stability and world peace.

27. Yet the Soviet Union has turned a deaf ear to the many demands and appeals for its withdrawal. If anything, it appears to be stepping up its intervention in Afghanistan. Its military activities have been directly responsible for driving nearly 3 million Afghans across the borders into Pakistan and Iran, thereby turning one fifth of the Afghan population into refugees. Few perhaps realize that Afghans, not Palestinians, comprise the most numerous body of Islamic refugees.

28. In alleviating the plight of these homeless people, the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees deserves high praise. Australia has supported and will continue to support the work of the High Commissioner in this area. But assistance to the refugees cannot be more than a temporary expedient. What the refugees want is to go home. And that means that there must be a genuine political solution in Afghanistan. Such a solution can only be achieved on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops, full respect for the independence, sovereignty and non-

aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference.

29. It is true that, in response to international pressure, the Soviet Union has reached into its verbal armoury to dust off an old plan which makes it theoretically possible to take its armed forces out of Afghanistan. But it is indeed very theoretical. Withdrawal, we are told, can only take place if the so-called foreign interference in Afghanistan eases. But since foreign interference is merely a euphemism for local Afghan resistance to the Soviet Union's own interference, withdrawal, it seems, is out of the question.

30. A central fact of the situation in Afghanistan is the national resistance of the Afghan people against foreign military intervention and the unrepresentative and faction-ridden régime which Moscow has installed in Kabul. As long as that reality is not recognized by all concerned and attempts are made to ascribe the resistance to outside instigation and support, a solution to the Afghan problem will remain beyond our grasp.

31. This is not to deny the efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative aimed at promoting dialogue. The week of proximity talks conducted under the aegis of Mr. Diego Cordovez in Geneva last June has been valued by the participants, and we understand that these potentially useful initiatives are to be continued early in the new year. These developments are to be welcomed, but they should not lull us into a false sense of confidence.

32. So far, the exchanges seem not to have moved beyond what I might call the chicken-and-egg argument on which previous talks have foundered. The Government of Pakistan clearly enough wants its more than 2 million Afghan refugees to be repatriated. The refugees will not go home unless the Russians have withdrawn. The Russians will not withdraw until they are sure that the Kabul régime remains in control. That régime cannot keep control once the Russians have withdrawn.

33. The Soviet leaders, it seems, are quite willing to encourage the idea of talk in order to demonstrate flexibility, but only so long as such talk does not reach the point of actually requiring Soviet withdrawal.

34. There remains perhaps a slender possibility that the Soviet Union would accept an escape route from its Afghanistan dilemma. It is quite evident that the Soviet Union finds itself in an unanticipated situation. Its troops control only the larger towns, and then not all the time. The guerrilla army has more than doubled, while the army of the Soviet Union's supposed ally, the Babrak Karmal régime, has dwindled, through desertion and defections, to a quarter of its previous size. The Soviet Union seems intent on trying to extract itself from its difficulties through a war of attrition, but there is no end in sight. The régime itself, which the Soviet Union is trying to defend, has no international credibility and no significant internal support.

35. The immediate prospect, then—a prospect which must be unappealing even to the Soviet Government—is one of continued impasse. But the Soviet Union need not remain tied to its Afghan bed of nails.

There are alternative prospects available: for example, in the proposals and initiatives put forward last year by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and by the European Community. The Secretary-General and his personal representative offer another avenue.

36. In every case, however, the starting-point for any serious negotiations must be recognition that withdrawal of foreign forces is a central objective. This need not lead to the calamity the Soviet Union seems to fear. The Soviet Union could be assured that any Government which emerges in Afghanistan after its withdrawal would be neutral and non-aligned and thus not a threat to the Soviet Union's interests.

37. The present is, perhaps, a time of unique opportunity. None of us here is unmindful of the fact that there is a new leadership in the Soviet Union. Each of us would hope that there could be a return to a stable and less acrimonious chapter in international relationships. Afghanistan could be a touchstone.

38. We would urge the Soviet Government to seize this opportunity. It will find that in any search for a genuine political settlement in Afghanistan, its legitimate interests can be protected. It will find that if it is prepared to settle for a neutral and non-aligned Afghanistan, subservient to no great Power, more normal relations will again be possible. If, on the other hand, the new Soviet leadership continues to insist on an Afghanistan under its domination and run by a régime which most of the Afghan people manifestly do not want, then the prospect can only be one of continuing travail, both in Afghanistan and for international relationships at large.

39. It follows from what I have said that Australia will be supporting the draft resolution submitted by Pakistan and a number of other countries. We see in this draft resolution, as in its predecessors, the framework for a fair and just settlement in Afghanistan which takes into account the interests of all, including the interests of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

40. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Year after year and session after session, we gather in this Hall in order to consider the serious situation in Afghanistan since early 1980 and its implications for international peace and security.

41. The problem of Afghanistan, which we are considering today, is a real example of the serious plight of peoples weakened because of the use of force for the purpose of oppressing small peoples and to serve the national interests and ambitions of one State to the detriment of another.

42. Three years have gone by since the invasion began, and the Afghan people continue to suffer under the yoke of the foreign military occupation of their country. What has happened in Afghanistan since the end of 1979 and what continues to take place there as we meet here is a flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and of the rules of international law. It is also a glaring example of infringement of the sovereignty and independence of small peace-loving countries and of blatant intervention in their internal affairs.

43. Many pretexts and arguments have been adduced to justify the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. We reject such justification, since it is devoid of any logical or legal basis. That intervention in fact constitutes a dangerous precedent in the history of international relations which could lead States to arrogate to themselves the right to interfere in the internal affairs of neighbouring States under the pretext that they do not view with favour the régimes in power in those countries.

44. It is surprising that attempts should be made every year to prevent the inclusion of an item on the question of Afghanistan in the agenda of the regular session of the General Assembly on the grounds that it is an internal problem which should not be considered by the United Nations. I need not refute such allegations, for we all are familiar with the serious political implications of the Afghan problem. This question has been discussed in detail in many statements. Furthermore, the negative political results and the inhuman repercussions of the Afghan crisis bear eloquent witness to the danger of that situation for international peace and security.

45. Despite the positive development in the unrelenting efforts of the United Nations to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problem, efforts which have been endorsed by the almost unanimous international support for resolutions of the General Assembly on this question from the sixth emergency special session to the thirty-sixth regular session, resolutions that contain the bases for a settlement of the problem, and despite the positive developments also seen in Geneva last June, some negative elements persist and impede these efforts. They have manifested themselves particularly in the resort to the veto by the Soviet Union in the Security Council in January 1980 in order to prevent adoption of the draft resolution submitted by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which called for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan.

46. It is perhaps because we appreciate the plight of the Afghan people, their serious situation and the danger which the situation in Afghanistan represents for international peace and security that we feel compelled to make further efforts to bring about a political solution to this problem without delay.

47. The primary importance which the international community attaches to the Afghan problem stems from three main elements. The first element is a question of principle, which makes it imperative for all States to defend the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter and international law and, on that basis, to oppose any foreign military intervention, such as that in Afghanistan. The second element is an ideological one which stems from the fact that Afghanistan belongs to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which makes it imperative for all member States of that Movement to stand shoulder to shoulder with Afghanistan until it regains its independence and sovereignty. The third element is a religious one; it stems from the fact that Afghanistan belongs to the Muslim world, and that makes it imperative for Muslim countries to support Afghanistan in its struggle to terminate foreign military intervention in its territory.

48. Despite the continuing international efforts which are being made, notably those undertaken by the United Nations, by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and by Islamic countries to put an end to Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the problem has not been settled.

49. The delegation of Egypt, for its part, while supporting international efforts to arrive at a political solution to the problem of Afghanistan, believes that draft resolution A/37/L.38, of which Egypt is a sponsor, together with 45 other countries, contains positive general elements which constitute a good basis for a solution to the problem. In the preamble of the draft resolution, some paragraphs reaffirm General Assembly resolutions on this question, resolutions which had the almost unanimous support of the international community. Other paragraphs of the preamble emphasize the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, to which we are all committed as States Members of this international Organization, or express the deep concern of the international community over the persistence of this problem and the exacerbation of the dangers it entails. They also express appreciation and support for international efforts to resolve the problem. Operative paragraphs 1 and 2 reaffirm the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Afghan people, rights which are recognized for all peoples and which no one can challenge or violate. Operative paragraph 3 opens the way to a solution of the problem because it calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan, and this is the essential condition for the settlement needed for this problem. Operative paragraph 4 defines the means for arriving at an overall settlement of the problem which would enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. The humanitarian aims mentioned in operative paragraph 5 concern the obligation we all have towards the militant Afghan people. Operative paragraphs 6, 7 and 8 deal with the primary role of the Secretary-General in trying to reach an overall solution to the Afghan problem. It is a role which is particularly appreciated by and has the full support of the international community. In this connection, I must pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his praiseworthy efforts.

50. Thus, the draft resolution as a whole contains important positive elements; it is characterized by moderation and balance and should certainly win the support of the international community.

51. Since the emergence of the Afghan problem, Egypt has been among the first countries to support the struggle of the militant Afghan people and to call for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghan territory. We have also asked that the Afghan people be allowed to determine its own future and choose its own system of government and political and economic system without any intervention from outside.

52. In supporting the cause of the fraternal Afghan people, Egypt is inspired by its faith and its commitment to the international principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, of the right of peoples to liberty, independence and self-determination, and of non-use of force in international relations. This is a position which reflects Egypt's strict

adherence to international legitimacy and to the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter and of international law.

53. Egypt has reaffirmed its position by supporting all United Nations resolutions on this problem and all resolutions emanating from Ministerial Conferences of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which define the position of the non-aligned countries with regard to the problem of Afghanistan.

54. Egypt today reiterates its commitment to those resolutions and calls for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet forces from all Afghan territory, on the basis of a precise timetable to be established by the United Nations. Egypt also calls for the Afghan *mujahidin* to take part in all efforts to reach a peaceful settlement of the problem and hopes that the Afghan people will be able to regain its inalienable right to self-determination without any foreign interference, so as to guarantee the total independence and freedom of Afghanistan and its sovereignty over all its territory, as well as its status as a non-aligned country.

55. The struggle of the Afghan people to recover its independence and its freedom offers us a striking example of the struggle of small peoples against aggression and oppression. This militant nation of believers, which is deeply attached to liberty and has great moral strength and material resources, will no doubt succeed, with God's help, in realizing its aspirations.

56. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The crisis in Afghanistan is not limited to the invasion by the forces of a major Power of a small non-aligned country and the imposition of a régime against the will of the majority of the people of that country. In addition to the fact that the scope of the crisis jeopardizes international peace and security, the political events which have followed have shown that its implications extend to the international arena, since they relate to the development of relations between the two super-Powers and the positive or negative effects this can have at the international level. The invasion of Afghanistan at a critical point in international relations has deepened the differences between the Soviet Union and the United States and greatly endangered international peace and security, and this has had a direct effect on the international détente that all peace-loving peoples of the world desire. This crisis is one of the major obstacles to the restoration of a climate of confidence, which is a pre-condition of agreement between the two super-Powers on the limitation of strategic weapons as an important first step towards general and complete disarmament.

57. Nearly three years have gone by since the convening of the sixth emergency special session, during which the General Assembly called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The General Assembly reiterated that call at its thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth regular sessions and demanded that a solution be found to the problem through diplomatic, peaceful means, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, which rejects the use of force in the settlement of international problems.

58. Despite all that, the situation in Afghanistan has remained unchanged, not to say deteriorated. The maintenance of foreign troops in Afghanistan for almost three years and the reinforcement of those troops shows that the Afghan people rejects the régime that has been imposed upon it by force of arms. The opposition of the Afghan *mujahidin* to the foreign troops during these years is like a confrontation between a defenceless civilian and a soldier armed to the teeth and shows the heroism and the spirit of sacrifice of the Afghan people in their efforts to regain their independence and freedom. The number of victims of the unequal struggle has increased enormously during those three years, not to mention the thousands of refugees who have had to flee to Pakistan and Iran, where bewildered and scattered and deprived of life's essentials, they endure an extremely hard existence, despite all the efforts of the international community and the assistance they have received. The occupation continues, exhausting the strength and the potential of the Afghan people, who struggle heroically to liberate their country, and preventing them from choosing a political and social system that conforms with their religious convictions. At the same time, the security of South-West Asia and the Arabian Gulf region is also endangered by the continued occupation. These dangers can be seen particularly in the increased rivalry of the super-Powers with regard to their military presence in the Indian Ocean, of which the foreign military intervention in Afghanistan is proof.

59. My delegation is deeply concerned by the news it has received concerning the installation of a Soviet air base in the south-east of Afghanistan. The existence of such a base is a direct threat to the security of the Middle East and of the Arabian Gulf region in particular. It is certain that the United States, which made this news public, will spare no effort to redress the imbalance of forces in the region by establishing similar military installations, and this will lead to the escalation of armaments and greater tension in an already explosive region. The establishment of that air base, if the news is confirmed, would be harmful to any solution of the Afghan problem. That is why my delegation calls for the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations, as well as the recommendations and resolutions of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and for a response to the appeal made by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in 1981, all of which call for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and a political settlement which guarantees respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, as well as for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

60. We reaffirm the right of the Afghan refugees to return to their homes and to recover their possessions. We call for the redoubling of international efforts to find a just solution to the problem. There are two prerequisites for the solution of the Afghan problem, given its military, political and humanitarian dimensions: the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces, and respect for the right of the Afghan people to self-determination and to choose for itself the social and political system that

will guarantee social justice and political democracy in accordance with its religious convictions.

61. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation notes with regret that the General Assembly, at its present session, has once again found itself involved in the consideration of the so-called question of Afghanistan, despite the appropriate and legitimate objections of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The inclusion in the agenda of the United Nations of questions which are entirely within the purview of any particular State Member of the Organization can only be regarded as a violation of the elementary norms of international law and of the United Nations Charter.

62. We cannot overlook the fact that the discussion which has taken place and the attempts which have been made to ensure the adoption of a draft resolution which is essentially anti-Afghan are obviously aimed at distracting the attention of the present session from really burning international issues, such as those of averting the threat of nuclear war, curbing the arms race, eliminating dangerous sources of conflict in the Middle East, southern Africa and the South Atlantic, and eradicating the vestiges of colonialism.

63. It is quite easy to guess the real reason for the appearance of this so-called problem on the agenda of the General Assembly. Someone obviously did not like the fact that the Afghan people, which in April 1978 carried out a liberating revolution, has decided to put an end once and for all to its age-old backwardness and oppression, to confirm its democratic rights and freedoms and to guarantee social and national equality for all. The forces of international imperialism and hegemonism are annoyed by the fact that freedom-loving Afghanistan has chosen its own fate independently and has proceeded to construct a new life for itself without asking advice from those to whom the interests of the Afghan people are alien. This discontent was heard quite clearly in the statements made by the representatives of the United States and China during today's discussion.

64. Since April 1978, as has been convincingly indicated in a number of documents from the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Afghan people has not been given even a single day of respite for constructive activities.

65. In the statement of the representative of Afghanistan at the 78th meeting, concrete facts were adduced indicating that his Government concerns itself daily with dealing with some of the most important tasks which face the country in the economic and social fields, tasks which are common to all developing countries. There can be no doubt that the tasks of economic rebirth and of overcoming backwardness and improving the well-being of the people could be tackled much more successfully and rapidly if aggression were not being waged against Afghanistan from outside.

66. The main responsibility for the fact that tension still prevails around Afghanistan and in the region of South-West Asia generally is borne by the United States Administration. In the second month after he took up his duties, the present President of the United States stated his intention to render military assis-

tance to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. That promise did not remain a merely verbal one, but took the form of specific action. All we need say is that to date, in order to train and supply terrorists in the territory of Pakistan, the United States has already allocated a total of \$217 million, and this does not include so-called secret operations. At the prompting of the United States, its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] took similar action. Thus, for example, the United Kingdom's contribution to the general "kitty" for support for the Afghan counter-revolution amounts to £17.5 million. Egypt and certain other countries have also participated in anti-Afghan operations.

67. At the present stage, this activity, which is aimed against democratic Afghanistan, has acquired even broader dimensions. As members know, quite recently a resolution was introduced in the Congress of the United States which suggested that armed intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan should be pushed to a qualitatively new stage and that the Afghan insurgents should be given as many weapons "as the United States sees fit for the effectiveness of their struggle". As one United States Congressman said: "The fight of the Afghan freedom fighters"—that is what the terrorists and counter-revolutionaries in Afghanistan are called in the West—"is our fight as well in the most profound sense of the term".

68. What is the United States attempting to do by arming the Afghan counter-revolution and directing its piratical and terrorist acts?

69. The United States has not concealed the fact that one of the fundamental purposes of that struggle is to consolidate American influence in Afghanistan by turning that country, which has a common border with the Soviet Union and which is very close to the petroleum-rich Persian Gulf, into a United States stronghold. Therefore, quite logically, Senator Paul Tsongas, speaking on 30 September in the United States Senate, said: "History, however, has presented the United States with a unique opportunity.... So, for a small investment now, we stand to reap just rewards in the future".

70. Afghanistan, according to the plans of Washington, should serve as one of the links in those front lines which the United States is attempting to set up in South-West Asia, in accordance with its concept of an anti-Soviet strategic consensus. As *The New York Times* indicated on 4 May 1981, a former State Department specialist on Afghan affairs, Mr. Leon B. Poullada, stated that the Afghan bandits should be regarded as the vanguard of the United States rapid deployment force.

71. In order to implement their strategic plans, those in the ruling circles in the United States are trying at all costs to maintain a state of tension around Afghanistan. In the light of this, the aggression against Afghanistan is simply part and parcel of a far-reaching plan for destabilizing the situation throughout the region, from South Asia to the Persian Gulf. In the context of that policy, a particular role has been allocated to Pakistan, from whose territory intervention is at present being carried out against Afghanistan. The Pentagon has not concealed the fact that it would like to acquire military bases in Pakistan and is par-

ticularly interested in air force bases and naval ports, which could be utilized for their rapid deployment force.

72. The imperialist forces in the United States would find it easier to achieve all those ends if they managed to divert Afghanistan from the path of progressive development and turn it into a State along the lines of the Shah's Iran, where the authority of a despotic régime relied heavily on the American military machine. It is precisely for that reason that Washington is relying heavily on the strength of the Afghan terrorist counter-revolutionary organizations located in the territory of Pakistan.

73. Despite certain divergencies in their programmes, their leaders are united by one thing: hatred for the new revolutionary structure of Afghanistan and the progressive social and economic reforms which are being carried out there. All those organizations are headed by representatives of the exploiting classes that were swept away by the revolution: tribal leaders, feudal lords and reactionary clerics. The type of people they are is eloquently indicated by the fact that some of them at one time even fought against the reactionary régimes of the previous king, Zâhir Shâh, and then against Daoud. It is easy to imagine into what sort of mediaeval hinterland those forces, which are glorified in the West as freedom fighters, would like to lead the Afghan people.

74. Imperialist agents and professional terrorists from the counter-revolutionary bands still manage, by force and deception, to involve people from among the refugees in carrying out armed attacks against Afghan territory. Taking advantage of the lawlessness and illiteracy of those people and their material difficulties, the representatives of the counter-revolutionary organizations are recruiting cannon fodder from among those people, who are subjected to ideological programming and military training in special camps located along the border with Afghanistan. The American instructors have even introduced a selective pay scale for various acts of terrorism—for example, for setting fire to a warehouse or a school, for killing a member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, for shooting up cars on the highway, and so forth. According to this monstrous bill of fare, the terrorists in Afghanistan murder spiritual persons, destroy mosques and intimidate believers. In connection with this kind of brutality, which has occurred in the Tahar province, the head of their clergy, Balkk Abdul Madjid, recently declared in a sermon that "the murder of innocent children, old people and religious observers and the burning of holy books which are not reconcilable with Islam reveal the duplicity and hypocrisy of those people who are speculating in religion. Their name is 'murderers'".

75. The actions and policies of the patrons of the Afghan counter-revolution are radically at variance with the national interests of the Afghan people. That is why the efforts of the forces which are against democratic Afghanistan are doomed to failure. The Afghan people, which made its choice in April 1978, is resolute in its determination to protect the gains of its revolution from outside enemies. Furthermore, Afghanistan has friends that continue to be prepared to give it all necessary fraternal, international assistance

to help it protect its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

76. During the general debate, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Gromyko, said:

“The foes of the Afghan people, including those who flaunt their commitment to democracy, are trying to hinder the building of a new and truly democratic life in that country. While in words a political solution to the problems which have arisen around Afghanistan is being advocated, in deeds the achievement of such a solution is being impeded in every possible way.

“Opportunities for such a solution do exist. They are embodied in the constructive proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which the Soviet Union fully supports. Only one thing is required, and that is to stop the armed intervention from outside against Afghanistan and not interfere in the internal affairs of that sovereign non-aligned State.” [13th meeting, paras. 126 and 127.]

77. The content of the proposals contained in the statements of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 15 May 1980² and 24 August 1981³ are well known. The programme for a political settlement put forward by the Government of Afghanistan constitutes a specific and realistic programme for negotiations with the Governments of neighbouring countries, and that programme remains fully up to date. The Afghan proposals, which take into account certain wishes expressed by other interested parties, are an expression of good will aimed at proceeding as soon as possible to a full dialogue.

78. The subject of the negotiations, of course, would be the international aspects of the Afghan problem rather than the domestic affairs of Afghanistan, which fall fully and solely within the competence of the Government of that country. The questions of the present structure of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the composition of its Government and all other domestic matters cannot be discussed in any international forum. They are being resolved, and will continue to be resolved, by the Afghan people alone.

79. Agreements to normalize relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours should be supplemented by suitable international guarantees that armed or any other form of intervention in Afghan affairs would be terminated and would not recur. Such guarantees should form an integral part of a political settlement. We concur in the view of the Afghan Government that the countries providing such guarantees should be the Soviet Union, the United States and other countries acceptable to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its neighbours.

80. It is very important to note that the Afghan Government has no objection to the discussion of questions connected with the elaboration of international guarantees, to be commenced at the same time as and to proceed concurrently with bilateral or trilateral talks between Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. In its early stages, such a discussion might take the form of unofficial multilateral consultations, to be continued in a relevant international forum.

81. The position of the Soviet Union is clear and consistent. We fully support the constructive initiatives put forward by the Afghan Government. We favour a peaceful political settlement of the situation prevailing around Afghanistan on the basis of the complete, unconditional cessation of armed or any other intervention in Afghanistan's affairs and a guarantee of the non-recurrence of such intervention. We favour the normalization of relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours. The Soviet Union regards Afghanistan as an independent, non-aligned State and considers that Afghanistan should continue to enjoy that status.

82. The Soviet delegation would like to reaffirm something which it has stated frequently in the past at various levels, from the highest down. It is that the achievement of a political settlement would make it possible to create the conditions necessary for a stage-by-stage withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan on the basis of agreement between the Governments of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Thus, the sooner agreements are reached and implemented to preclude intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan, the sooner the withdrawal of Soviet troops will begin and be completed.

83. The position of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which has provided a real basis for a just political settlement, deserves to be welcomed sympathetically by all those that are genuinely concerned that the situation in South-West Asia should be normalized and that respect the right of peoples to development along the path they have chosen, without any outside intervention.

84. Apart from negotiations, no way of reducing tension in South-West Asia exists. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union affirmed in his statement at the present session of the General Assembly, “we view as a step in the right direction the start [in June] of negotiations in Geneva between representatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan through a personal representative of the Secretary-General”. [*Ibid.*, para. 128.] We are pleased to note that the preliminary outcome of those contacts has, on the whole, been commended by the parties directly concerned, who have agreed to continue the dialogue. The Secretary-General has stated in his report that he regards the initiation of this diplomatic process as giving some grounds for optimism. In this connection, it is important that the opportunity of making further progress along these lines and achieving mutually acceptable agreements between the countries of South-West Asia is not missed. Of decisive importance in this matter, in our view, is the policy to be followed by the Government of Pakistan, from whose territory armed invasions of Afghanistan are primarily carried out.

85. Now, when the first slender threads of dialogue have been spun—threads which may be woven into a sound basis for a future settlement—it is extremely important to refrain from any actions which might impede this process. On the contrary, an atmosphere favourable to its successful development should be fostered. It is perfectly clear that deliberately to involve the General Assembly in yet another fruitless and dangerous discussion of the so-called question of Afghanistan is simply to play into the hands of those

that would like to thwart a political settlement and maintain tension in South-West Asia for their own imperialist and hegemonist purposes. They are trying to achieve this under the camouflage of an artificial hue and cry over the so-called question of Afghanistan.

86. The Soviet delegation is profoundly convinced that resolution 36/34 on that question not only brought us no closer to a political settlement but, on the contrary, made it more difficult to find ways and means of bringing about a normalization of the situation around Afghanistan. If any headway at all has been made in this process, that has been not because of the resolution of the General Assembly but, rather, despite it.

87. The draft resolution that has been presented to the present session has exactly the same negative features as made the anti-Afghan resolution adopted at the thirty-sixth session completely unacceptable. The present draft resolution is devoid of political realism; it disregards the objective facts of the situation and fails to take account of the legitimate interests of those concerned and the constructive initiatives put forward by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

88. The Soviet delegation therefore strongly objects to the draft resolution which has been presented. The adoption of that draft resolution would be tantamount to inadmissible intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. We consider that anyone voting for this draft resolution, whether doing so of his own accord or under pressure from others, is simply voting in favour of a continuance of the tension in South-West Asia for some time to come.

89. The Soviet delegation has previously emphasized and now reiterates its conviction that the efforts of the General Assembly should be directed not at arousing passions and supporting armed intervention but at giving comprehensive support to a genuine political solution of the situation around Afghanistan.

90. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): The situation in Afghanistan has had profound implications for international peace and security. It has added to the mistrust and suspicion between the two major Powers and has strained their relations. It has hurt the process of détente and has adversely affected the possibility of an early conclusion of an arms control agreement. These are matters of serious concern, and a satisfactory solution of the Afghan problem could help greatly in reversing the present unhealthy state of international relations.

91. The position of Nepal on the situation in Afghanistan is clear. We have always believed that international peace and security are best guaranteed by a scrupulous observance of the principles of the sovereign equality of nations, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force, and peaceful co-existence. These principles constitute the very foundation of the United Nations and are upheld by the non-aligned community. The inalienable right of every nation to choose its own political, social and economic system without imposition from outside is inviolable. These cardinal principles have received the unequivocal commitment of all States Members of this Organization, big or small, weak or powerful. The Charter of the United Nations commits each Member

State to uphold and honour these principles. The situation in Afghanistan cannot be an exception to these sets of values in international relations. We cannot accept any justification for armed intervention in any part of the world, nor do we recognize a situation created by such intervention. Our concern over the situation in Afghanistan has been increased by the human misery that event has caused. My delegation therefore once again reiterates its appeal for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan. This alone can enable the people of Afghanistan to exercise freely its right of self-determination.

92. My delegation notes with appreciation the efforts made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference to find a solution to the problem. We should like also to express our great appreciation to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to seek a political settlement of the situation. Nepal fully supports the continuation of these missions.

93. It is a matter of deep regret that these serious efforts have not so far succeeded and resulted in a just solution to the problem. We continue to believe that only a negotiated political settlement can solve the human and political aspects of the situation in Afghanistan. With this consideration in view, Nepal has once again sponsored the draft resolution on this question. It represents one more serious effort on the part of the sponsors to break the present impasse.

94. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): The situation in Afghanistan continues to be one of the most important issues on the agenda, a problem with far-reaching implications, which has deeply shaken not only the peace and stability of the region but international peace and security as well.

95. The continuing armed intervention in Afghanistan not only threatens the stability of the region but gravely endangers the maintenance of peace and security in the world. It also constitutes a serious violation of the principle that all States Members of the United Nations shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. Moreover, the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, including the free choice of their own political and social system, and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States have been seriously infringed. Finally, the events in Afghanistan have also resulted in a refugee problem of considerable proportions, which has created suffering and misery for millions of people and has seriously affected the States neighbouring Afghanistan, particularly Pakistan.

96. These are fundamental principles which govern the orderly and peaceful conduct of relations between States. Austria has repeatedly stressed their importance over the years. We cannot remain silent in the face of a situation in which those principles are continuously violated.

97. There is yet another aspect of the situation in Afghanistan which gives rise to concern. Austria had hoped that the new decade of the 1980s would bring further improvements in the world political climate, ensuring international peace and security and enabling

us to concentrate jointly on the solution of urgent global problems, for which an atmosphere of confidence and co-operation is a pre-condition and where progress depends upon an undisturbed and fruitful dialogue among nations. Instead, the events in Afghanistan have seriously aggravated the international climate and further impaired the prospects of international co-operation. In those circumstances, renewed and determined efforts to find a political solution to the Afghanistan problem become all the more urgent and imperative.

98. Over the past three years, many constructive proposals have been made in this regard. In particular, the member States of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have assumed an active role. Many of these proposals have outlined the framework and content of a political settlement, in line with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Austria is particularly gratified that, through the efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative for Afghanistan, Mr. Diego Cordovez, progress was achieved in initiating an exchange of views with Afghanistan and Pakistan as a first step towards a negotiated settlement.

99. The basic elements of a political solution to the Afghanistan question have now been clearly established. Such a political settlement will have to be based on the preservation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and the right of the Afghan people to determine freely their political future without any outside interference. It will require the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops and will have to deal with the issues of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, international guarantees of non-interference and the voluntary return of the refugees.

100. We understand that the discussions in Geneva have dealt with these issues and other interrelated matters. We feel encouraged by the assessment in the report of the Secretary-General that there was a strong disposition among the participants to reach, through negotiations, a comprehensive settlement which would lay the foundations for the promotion of good-neighbourly relations and co-operation among States in the area. The momentum thus created must not be lost; swift continuation of the talks therefore seems to us of paramount importance.

101. The draft resolution presented under this item by Pakistan and numerous other sponsors in our view does justice to those fundamental considerations, and Austria will support it.

102. In conclusion, let me reiterate that Austria supports the right of every people to self-determination. We hope that the people of Afghanistan will soon have the opportunity to exercise that basic right. We hope, furthermore, that in the course of this process the general political climate will be improved and that the policy of dialogue and co-operation from which the whole world has benefited will be resumed.

103. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): Respect for international law is an important element for the security of all States. For the security of small and medium-

sized States, respect for international law is essential, the more so if a smaller State is the neighbour of an overwhelmingly stronger Power. On both sides of the globe, disturbing evidence keeps emerging to throw continued doubt on the sincerity of the stronger Powers in their professed commitment to the sovereign equality of States.

104. This is the third year in which the General Assembly, at its regular session, has debated the situation in Afghanistan that has arisen out of the military intervention in that country by the Soviet Union. The Soviet army continues its brutal attempt to subdue the armed resistance provoked by its occupation of Afghanistan. The frightful logic of this type of warfare leads it to increasingly savage assaults on the civilian population. The repeated calls by the Assembly for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign forces from Afghanistan have gone unheeded.

105. The Charter of the United Nations gives the permanent members of the Security Council a position of great responsibility when it comes to upholding the principles of the Charter as they relate to international peace and security. When a permanent member flagrantly disregards those principles, it strikes a damaging blow at the very foundation of the structure of international law. Such behaviour by permanent members of the Council has been a major factor contributing to the present trend towards what the Secretary-General has termed a new international anarchy.

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

107. Let me reiterate, in this context, my Government's appreciation of the work of humanitarian assistance carried out by UNHCR and by several other agencies and non-governmental organizations. Continued large-scale assistance from the international community remains necessary in order to ease the burden on Pakistan, which has already shown great generosity in admitting and assisting these refugees.

108. Once the Soviet Government realizes that its efforts to impose a military solution to the problems of Afghanistan are not only illegal but also futile, a genuine effort may come about to find a political solution. Not long ago, we witnessed another protracted conflict in Asia, involving another great Power. What is happening in Afghanistan is turning into a repetition of that tragedy of a decade ago. The draft resolution before us provides the basic outline for a political solution, which requires respect for the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and social system, the withdrawal of all foreign forces and respect for the sovereignty of Afghanistan.

109. The efforts of the Secretary-General, of which he gives an account in his report under this item, to facilitate negotiations among the parties concerned have the full support of my Government as a valuable contribution towards a political solution along the lines repeatedly put forward by the General Assembly.

110. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): The representative of Denmark spoke earlier in this debate on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community. My delegation is in full agreement with everything he said. We have, nevertheless, decided to make a statement of our own in order to underline the United Kingdom's concern at the continuing tragedy in Afghanistan—one of the gravest international issues of our time.

111. This is the fourth time in less than three years that the General Assembly has debated the situation in Afghanistan—unfortunately, to little avail. The international community cannot afford to ignore what is happening in Afghanistan. Misleading attempts have been made to play down the seriousness of the situation by suggesting that the Afghan people themselves asked for Soviet assistance and that the country is now under control.

112. The facts tell a different story. The Soviet Union decided for its own reasons to get rid of the President, and Soviet troops were sent in to dispose of him and to install Babrak Karmal in his place. It is difficult to imagine a more cynical intrusion by a great Power into the internal affairs of a small nation. But the Afghan people were not prepared to accept the régime foisted upon them by the Soviet invader. They rose in revolt to protect themselves and their families and to defend their independence. For nearly three years, they have been fighting a liberation campaign against the might of the Soviet armed forces, a campaign which has won the admiration of the world.

113. There are now some 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The size of that force has increased steadily since the invasion. But the brave people of Afghanistan continue to fight. Soviet troops are obliged to travel through the countryside in armed convoys. They bombard villages from tanks, helicopters and war planes. They destroy crops and irrigation systems, bringing starvation in their train. They sow the hillsides with mines, regardless of the welfare of the civilian population in a country with a tradition of nomadic family life. But the Afghan spirit and resistance remain unbroken. There can be no doubt that the Soviet troops are an army of occupation seeking to suppress an independent and freedom-loving people.

114. Further proof of the true nature of the Soviet occupation lies in the exodus of millions of Afghan refugees, men, women and children, who have fled their country. The Government of Pakistan has recently estimated that there are about 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Those in Iran are believed to number hundreds of thousands. Others have moved to India, to Turkey or to Western Europe. In 1978, the population of Afghanistan was estimated to be between 15 and 16 million. More than a fifth of that population has since had to flee. Those people are living testimony to what has been done to their country. This is the largest refugee problem in the world.

115. This is not just the tragedy of a small and isolated people subjected to armed invasion by a large and powerful neighbour. There is also the wider question of the challenge to the principles on which the United Nations is based. There is no way in which the in-

vasion and occupation of Afghanistan can be reconciled with the principles of the United Nations as described in the Charter. This grave problem is therefore of vital importance to us all.

Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

116. The Soviet Union has an alternative—namely, to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and then to follow the principles laid down so clearly in the Charter: the peaceful settlement of disputes, the non-use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State and the self-determination of peoples. For that is what is desired by the Afghan people, not only by those who continue to fight for their country's liberation and by the millions who have fled Afghanistan, but also by those who remain in their homeland despite increasing hardship. The principles which provide the basis for a political solution to the situation in Afghanistan have been endorsed by an increasing majority in the General Assembly. They demand the immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops, the restoration of Afghanistan's former independence and non-aligned status, self-determination for the Afghan people and the creation of conditions in which the refugees can return in peace and honour.

117. The United Kingdom remains ready to work constructively and flexibly towards a political solution on these lines. We played a central part in preparing the initiative which was announced by the 10 member States of the European Community on 30 June 1981.¹ We believe that this plan continues to offer a practical and reasonable way forward. It is a genuine attempt to devise a path to a settlement which takes account of all interested parties. It recognizes that no settlement which is not endorsed by the Afghan people can bring lasting peace and stability to the area.

118. My Government supported resolution 35/37, in which the General Assembly asked the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative in order to promote a political solution in accordance with the provisions of that resolution. The representative of Denmark has already expressed, on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community, the keen interest with which we have followed the endeavours this year of the Secretary-General and his personal representative. We note, for example, that the Secretary-General's report affirmed that there was a strong disposition to reach, through negotiations, a comprehensive settlement which would lay the foundations for promoting good-neighbourly relations and co-operation among the States in the area and for strengthening international peace and security in the region. What we have not yet seen, however, is what my delegation would regard as real evidence of any such disposition on the part of the Soviet Union. Subtle hints will not do. What is needed is a firm undertaking to withdraw its troops and put a stop to the brutal repression of the Afghan people.

119. To sum up, my Government continues to support the June 1981 initiative of the European Community. We continue to follow the Secretary-General's efforts with interest. We shall give our backing to any other activity in good faith which promises the pos-

sibility of progress towards a solution. All that we insist on is that the eventual result should be based on the principles of the Charter and, in particular, those principles which this Assembly has repeatedly declared apply to the tragic situation in Afghanistan.

120. We urge the members of the Assembly to give overwhelming support to the draft resolution before us, and we repeat that the key to this protracted and bitter crisis lies in the hands of the Soviet Union.

121. Mrs. NGUYEN NGOC DUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, the delegation of Viet Nam wishes to express its strong disapproval of the fact that the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan is once again included in the agenda, despite the strong opposition of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

122. We believe that such interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, an independent, sovereign State, constitutes a violation of the United Nations Charter, which states in paragraph 7 of Article 2: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State..."

123. It is a known fact that inclusion of this question in the agenda of the General Assembly is intended to distract the attention of public opinion from the burning issues that preoccupy the peoples of the world and demand immediate solution—namely, the policy of aggression and massacre carried out by the imperialist forces and their allies in the Middle East, southern Africa and Central America, the danger of the arms race and the threat of nuclear disaster.

124. Once again, from this rostrum, the delegation of Viet Nam wishes to reaffirm its unswerving support for the just struggle of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in following up their April revolution, in defending their national independence against all reactionary forces and in building a new and happy life.

125. We rejoice at the major achievements of the Afghan people, which mark an important turning-point in the history of that people in freeing themselves from the chains of imperialism and abolishing inhuman feudal relationships and the consequences of economic and social backwardness. The Afghan people, in full exercise of their sovereign rights, have been able to achieve the noble objectives of their revolution despite many difficulties and obstacles. Having weathered wind and storm, they have solidly established popular power and have laid the broad political and social foundations of the young Republic, which constitute the solid basis of the new society moving towards development and progress. The formation of the National Fatherland Front to strengthen the revolutionary process is a typical example of this.

126. Thanks to effective measures on the part of the Government of Afghanistan in the economic sphere, workers today enjoy a better life. Agrarian reform has brought about an improvement in the economic situation of hundreds of thousands of farmers. Illiteracy has been eradicated. These achievements have given the entire people access to work, to education and to participation in the development of the country.

On the external level, the Government has spared no effort in its pursuit of a policy of peace, non-alignment, friendship and co-operation with all other countries, particularly neighbouring countries. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan quite clearly constitutes a positive factor of peace and stability in South-West Asia.

127. In the face of the revolutionary change achieved by the Afghan people, the forces of imperialism and hegemonism are uttering cries of alarm and are setting in motion a cynical campaign of denigration of that country in the hope of reversing a situation which goes against their interests.

128. Ever since the first days of the revolution, those forces, together with regional reactionaries, have engaged in disgraceful activities to undermine the achievements of the April revolution. Granting increased military and political assistance to their bellicose allies in the region and assistance of all kinds to members of the fallen despotic régime, they fabricate slanderous propaganda while carrying out criminal military acts of intervention, using financing and arms from the United States, with a view to abolishing popular power and reinstalling a pro-American régime in Afghanistan. Within the country, they have brought together agents of the overthrown feudal clique and used them in activities of sabotage in order to create a state of constant instability. These baleful efforts fall within the framework of the global strategy of the United States and China in that region of the Asian sub-continent.

129. After the fall of the pro-American tsarist régime in Iran, United States imperialism cannot endure the birth of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It therefore intervened against the revolutionary changes in Afghanistan and is using those changes as a pretext for reviving the terrible times of the cold war, while it speeds up the arms race and prepares for a hot war. Together with its hostile activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, it is increasing its military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf; it is increasing its support for Israel, which committed the monstrous massacres in Beirut last summer; it is doubling the strength of its rapid deployment force, and it is expanding its military bases in this region and seeking new ones.

130. These are the true roots of the state of tension and instability in this part of the world, while the vociferous campaign waged throughout the world on the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan is only a manoeuvre in a policy of uniting the allied forces in anti-Sovietism and against détente and international peace and security. But that policy cannot succeed. In those underhand attempts, the United States is happy to find a new ally in Asia that is a self-proclaimed member of the "Eastern NATO", being in the vanguard of the crusade against the Afghan revolution, and that endeavours to please the imperialists in order to get from them, in exchange, assistance in attaining its objectives of the "four modernizations".

131. As a result of this dangerous collusion, in the past few years thousands of reactionaries, called "people's militia" and trained on the soil of neighbouring territories, have been sent to Afghanistan to carry out

subversive activities. The construction by China of the Karakoram strategic route is further proof of its expansionist aims in regard to South-West Asia.

132. In March 1981, President Reagan himself referred publicly to United States arms aid to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries, and, in fact, hundreds of millions of dollars have gone to support hostile activities against the Afghan population.

133. In short, a non-declared war is being waged in South-West Asia, creating a climate of terror in Afghan territory, in the vain hope of stifling the young Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and causing untold suffering to the population.

134. It was precisely in that context that the Afghan people, defending its revolutionary achievements, mobilized all its energies in an unrelenting struggle against those imperialist manoeuvres and appealed to the Soviet Union to enable it to face that undeclared war imposed from outside. That assistance by a neighbouring country, requested in a case of urgent and legitimate self-defence, is in full conformity with article 4 of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 1978⁴ and with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

135. It is clear that such aid could not threaten neighbouring countries and could in no way constitute a danger to peace and security in the region. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has stated many times that its contingents will be withdrawn completely from Afghanistan as soon as outside interference of any kind against the Government and people of Afghanistan has ceased and as soon as there are guarantees that such interference will not be renewed.

136. My delegation believes that the interests of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the region South-West Asia and world peace require that the forces hostile to that country end all interference in its internal affairs.

137. We greatly appreciate the efforts to achieve peace and co-operation made by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as set out in its proposal of 15 May 1980² and made more precise in its statement of 24 August 1981,³ which constitute the most realistic basis for a settlement of the situation in South-West Asia. The good will and sincerity which Afghanistan has shown in accepting trilateral negotiations through the intermediary of the Secretary-General have contributed to ironing out many difficulties. In addition, the talks in Geneva in June 1982 between the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and his counterpart from the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, with the good offices of the representative of the Secretary-General, have led to positive and constructive results. That is the right path for the normalization of relations between Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries, thereby responding to the wishes of the entire international community.

138. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam warmly welcomes and unreservedly supports the peace proposals, imbued with sincerity and good will, of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. If the interested parties pursue negotiations in the same spirit of dialogue, a political solution aimed at the normalization and improvement of relations of friend-

ship between Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries will soon be found.

139. We believe that those that are behind the debate on the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan and that are sponsoring draft resolution A/37/L.38 are very far from contributing to that end. On the contrary, by their action they support the designs of those forces which oppose the peaceful building of the Afghan people and the negotiating efforts in that region. My delegation will have to vote against that draft resolution.

140. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Once again this year, we have had presented to us for our consideration a matter which falls exclusively within the purview of a sovereign State Member of the United Nations, namely, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This, moreover, has occurred, first, despite the extremely clear and uncompromising position taken by the Government of that State, the sole legitimate representative of the Afghan people; secondly, despite the disagreement clearly expressed by the representatives of a number of other States; and, thirdly, despite the present situation and international law. Consideration of an item on the situation in Afghanistan in the United Nations can only be described as a blatant violation of the Charter of the Organization and as yet another act of intervention in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

141. The underlying reasons for this matter being kept as an item on the agenda of this session are the specific acts of those forces which are hostile to the people of Afghanistan, which disregard their interests and their desires and which are openly against the Afghan revolution, by means of which the Afghan people, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, embarked on the path of reconstruction, along the lines of social justice, in their country. These forces, which have openly interfered in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, have unleashed an undeclared war against it. They organize, finance and introduce into Afghanistan thousands of specially trained guerrillas and terrorists, armed to the teeth, whose attacks against those who represent revolutionary power, and other barbarous crimes, including the massacre of the defenceless civilian population, have aroused profound indignation among broad segments of world public opinion.

142. Direct support for the military intervention and acts of sabotage has been promoted to the status of official policy in the United States and certain other States that head the forces which are contriving to stifle the Afghan revolution. They also pursue other objectives. By once again involving us in the discussion of the so-called Afghan question, they are endeavouring to divert the attention of the international community from the violations of the United Nations Charter and of international law by the forces of imperialism and hegemonism and to distract our attention from the most acute problems of the present day. Last, but not least, this is an extremely clear strategem, engaged in so that this fabricated issue can be used to justify their own actions designed to bring about a deterioration of the international climate.

143. It is quite obvious that it was neither the Afghan revolution nor the fact that a limited contingent of Soviet troops was sent there at the request of the Afghan Government, in accordance with article 4 of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 1978⁴ and Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, that led to the deterioration of the situation in South-West Asia. As we are well aware, the difficult decision to send military units was taken by the Soviet Union in order to assist the Afghan people and its armed forces to repulse foreign military intervention and defend the independence and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The situation in the region has deteriorated purely and simply because of the acts of aggression and intervention which have been organized by the forces of imperialism, and it is precisely the initiators, the organizers and impresarios of the intervention and aggression against Afghanistan that have dragged the so-called question of Afghanistan into this forum.

144. We also believe that the way to settle the problem which has arisen around Afghanistan, and which has complicated relations between countries in South-West Asia, cannot be found by considering internal Afghan affairs in this forum of the Organization. A settlement can only be reached if an end is put to military intervention and acts of violence against the Afghan people, and if guarantees are provided against the recurrence in the future of any intervention in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan or any direct military forays from outside. We are profoundly convinced that a realistic and effective foundation for talks on a political settlement of Afghan relations with Pakistan and Iran can be found in the proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 15 May 1980² and 24 August 1981.³ Those proposals meet with our full and total support. We regard them as a manifestation of political good will, the intention of which, first and foremost, is to achieve a political settlement of the situation. Political good will was also the reason for the support given by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the mediation efforts of the Secretary-General which led to the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva in June of this year. We regard those talks as a positive step towards settling the Afghan situation. In our view, the results stemming from those talks are a first step towards a possible solution leading to the establishment of normal and stable relations of friendship and co-operation between Afghanistan and neighbouring States. We entirely endorse those talks and the constructive work they represent, and we wish them a successful outcome. It is our fervent hope that the discussions in the plenary meetings of the present session will not lead to any difficulties in the talks between the two States which are at present going on.

145. We believe that the initiatives which are intended to settle the situation in that part of the world, the constructive response to the mediation efforts of the Secretary-General and the active approach to indirect talks with Pakistan all indicate the good will of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its desire to seek a political way out of the situation which has arisen, thus demonstrating the essentially peaceful nature of its foreign policy. Afghanistan has

frequently proclaimed, and has demonstrated in practice, that it aspires to amicable relationships with all States, on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States. It has chosen the course of non-alignment in the spirit of the principles to which I have referred and intends to forge good neighbourly relations with Pakistan and Iran, and consistently and constantly to direct its efforts to finding a political solution to the problems besetting that part of the world. Afghanistan is doing everything in its power to create the proper conditions for a comprehensive and stable settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, which, as the Afghan and Soviet Governments have frequently affirmed, would make it possible, on the basis of agreement between the two States, to draw up a blueprint for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country.

146. Czechoslovakia would like to commend the considerable and obvious achievements of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its efforts to build a new society in the taxing conditions of having to repel large-scale intervention from outside. We had an opportunity to appreciate this and to witness it with our own eyes during the friendly official visit to Afghanistan of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia two years ago.

147. We have great respect for the fundamental foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and for the efforts it has made to achieve a political settlement of the undesirable and unacceptable situation which has arisen in its relations with certain neighbouring countries. We also have great respect for its contribution to peace and security in the world, including its efforts here in the Organization. Our Republic is strengthening its traditional ties of friendship and full co-operation with Afghanistan. These relationships are steadily developing, and a new and vital stimulus was given to them by the visit of the President of the Revolutionary Council of Afghanistan, Babrak Karmal, to Czechoslovakia last year. A further cornerstone was laid for those relations by the Treaty of friendship and co-operation between our two countries, signed on 24 June 1981. Our co-operation is based on mutual respect, on the right of each State freely to determine how it should develop and on the support we have given to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in constructing a society based on social justice and in protecting its revolutionary achievements and its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

148. The attempts, in the context of the United Nations, to find ways and means of reaching a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan can only touch upon the international aspects of that problem. Therefore, we denounce the submission of items in the Organization which fall outside that context and the consideration of which is nothing more or less than interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. That is something which does not help to promote a political settlement of the situation around that country, does not help create a normal, tranquil climate in that part of the world and does not, on the whole, lead to a reduction of tension. On the contrary, it simply contributes to undermining the authority of the United Nations and to placing

constraints on the possibility of the Organization's being involved in the political settlement of this situation in the interest of international peace and security.

149. For these reasons, therefore, our delegation cannot agree to the draft resolution before us, through which, once again, a vain attempt is being made to legalize intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Unfortunately, this is a one-sided draft resolution which fails to take account of the interests of that State. For that reason we shall vote against the draft resolution.

150. Mr. JOXE (France) (*interpretation from French*): It is now the fourth time since January 1980 that the General Assembly has had before it the question of the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. This is so because the problem of Afghanistan has not yet been resolved, because the problem is a real one and not, as has been suggested, an alleged problem.

151. The causes of the crisis have not disappeared, stability in the region is threatened and the prospects of a settlement are remote and uncertain.

152. We cannot fail to note that approximately 100,000 Soviet soldiers continue to occupy the territory of Afghanistan and, whatever arguments are adduced to justify that situation, world public opinion still believes that the Soviet intervention and occupation constitute a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State Member of the Organization and a violation of the United Nations Charter. Since reference has just been made to that, it is in Afghanistan that there is a violation of the Charter, not here because we are talking about it. It is there, because of what is going on there, that there is a violation of the Charter.

153. There, nearly 3 million—or, at any rate, more than 2.5 million—Afghan victims of the war have abandoned their homes and sought refuge in, particularly, Pakistan. The murderous clashes between the military occupation forces and the internal resistance fighters continue, and we fear that it may spill over—we only hope it will not—the Afghan frontiers, with the risk of engulfing the entire region. That is the situation that has obtained in Afghanistan for three years.

154. The French delegation shares the concern expressed by most of the previous speakers at this rostrum during a debate which, I cannot understand why, one speaker described as sterile. The fact that 104 countries, then 111 and last year 116—an ever-increasing number, with a very small number in opposition—gave their support to an almost identical resolution on Afghanistan shows the growing disquiet of the international community.

155. It is hardly surprising that the situation in Afghanistan and the concern which it arouses has affected the climate of relations between States. This is particularly true with regard to France.

156. In this connection, my delegation feels that the Soviet intervention in and occupation of Afghanistan are unacceptable. The President of the French Republic, Mr. François Mitterrand, in an overseas broadcast

almost a year ago while the debate on this item was going on here, stated, speaking on behalf of France:

"I do not accept the military invasion of Afghanistan. I think that world peace hinges on the balance of forces, on the willingness to negotiate and on the prohibition of any expansionist or imperialist action which infringes the freedom of peoples. Of course, I try, as is the least one can do, to suit my deeds to my words and I want others to do the same."

157. That was aimed particularly at those who speak, as we have heard them, of putting an end to foreign intervention in general but who, in fact, themselves practise intervention. It is in the same spirit that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Claude Cheysson, has recalled on various occasions that our relations with the Soviet Union necessarily could not fail to be affected by this.

158. Those statements, and others which I shall not quote here, reflect the disquiet of French public opinion. As I said in this Hall at the 59th meeting of the thirty-sixth session, the people of France cannot understand why or how an eminent State Member of the Organization, which furthermore has particular responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council, should show such scant regard for the United Nations Charter, disregard the resolutions of the General Assembly and not make a determined effort to settle this crisis.

159. However, the international community has left no stone unturned to find a solution, whether within the framework of meetings of the non-aligned countries or of the members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference or on the initiative of the European Council, whose proposals are still valid.

160. In this very Hall, the General Assembly called upon the Secretary-General and his personal representative to lend their good offices. We have taken note of and follow attentively the efforts which have been taken by Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar and Mr. Cordovez in seeking a political solution through what have been called indirect tripartite talks.

161. These efforts must be aimed at finding a solution which is in every respect in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and which, may I recall, demand the withdrawal of the foreign troops, recognition of the right to self-determination and the sovereignty of the Afghan people and the restoration of the non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

162. France fully subscribes to that. We believe that any settlement which departs from the framework laid down in the first three operative paragraphs of the draft resolution that we are discussing today might prove to be simply a sham.

163. In conclusion, I should like to say that the Assembly should demonstrate by its vote its determination that a genuine political settlement should be arrived at. The crisis in Afghanistan is serious. It can be ended only by a prompt settlement based on the principles of the Charter and on the strict implementation of the resolutions of the Assembly. Only thus can the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Afghanistan be restored, the suffering of

the Afghan people ended and the concern and distrust of the international community dispelled.

164. In order to contribute to such a political settlement, the French delegation accordingly, as in previous years, supports the draft resolution before the Assembly.

165. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary) (*interpretation from French*): If there is anything to be learned from the debates that have taken place at the United Nations concerning agenda item 25 and the resolutions that have been adopted on that item, it is that neither those debates nor those resolutions have contributed to the solution of the problems which have arisen in the region of South-West Asia. On the contrary, by providing a forum for propaganda and thunderous statements, these public discussions have only worsened the atmosphere among the countries concerned and have not facilitated the creation of the conditions necessary for seeking a satisfactory solution.

166. The United Nations can play a positive role in promoting such a solution, as the Secretary-General's report indicates. That report describes many visits and in-depth, constructive exchanges of views with the leaders of the countries of the region. We note, in particular, the discussions held last June in Geneva between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan and Afghanistan, through the intermediary of the personal representative of the Secretary-General, with which Iran was indirectly associated through its representative at the United Nations Office at Geneva. The report also reveals the intention of the participants to pursue the diplomatic process with a view to achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problems involving South-West Asia. We welcome the Secretary-General's readiness to continue his efforts to that end, efforts that are far more promising than the futile, sterile debates and pointless resolutions on the question produced thus far by the world Organization.

167. We continue to believe—and that belief is based on the specific facts of the case and the real situation in the area—that the present difficulties in that geographic region result essentially from the constant interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan from abroad—both from neighbouring and distant countries—by those who have no interest in permitting the stabilization of the situation in the region. More and more, we see that the inevitable difficulties accompanying historical turning-points like that which took place in Afghanistan in 1978 are being seized on as a pretext by those who desire the overthrow of the democratic Afghan régime and who continue to present the situation in and around that country in simplistic terms of a struggle between "freedom fighters" and a Government accused of being repressive and having sold out to a foreign Power.

168. We call on all those who sincerely believe themselves to be in favour of progress, democracy and justice to consider the nature of the political elements facing each other in that region, and especially within Afghanistan itself, and to take a broader view of events, to appreciate the facts of the situa-

tion and the validity of the goals the Afghan Government has set itself.

169. All the countries of the region should be interested in resolving questions which affect that part of the world; in ensuring that the borders remain a place for the peaceful exchange of persons and goods, not for smuggling, infiltration and the illegal introduction of weapons and subversive materials; in striving to reduce the number of displaced persons and refugees until eventually the stream dries up, to promote the normalization and development of relations among the neighbouring States to the satisfaction of all, and to see that that region of the world is no longer a by-word for instability and insecurity.

170. We note that Afghanistan has made many signs of good will and has shown understanding towards its neighbours, while displaying flexibility regarding the means of resolving the thorny problems which exist among them. Its proposals and initiatives over the last two years bear witness to the Afghan Government's sincere efforts to arrive at specific agreements directed towards a political settlement. We are deeply convinced that if the necessary political will and realism exist on both sides, there can be no insurmountable obstacles in the way of a settlement that would respect the territorial sovereignty and national independence of each of the participants.

171. In its international activities, Hungary tries to make its modest contribution to the establishment of the climate indispensable to movement towards a positive solution. During the visit to Budapest, at the beginning of October, of a delegation from the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, led by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Party and President of the Revolutionary Council, questions concerning South-West Asia were broached, and the Hungarian side expressed its support for the policy of consolidating the gains of the revolution of April 1978 and for efforts to achieve a political settlement of the situation in that region of the world.

172. While there is a long way to go before peace and security return to the region, we think that, with perseverance and good will, positive results can be achieved. In order to do so, the methods and means that have served so well in establishing and maintaining a constructive dialogue between the countries concerned should be further employed and used to the full in the interest of peace, not only in South-West Asia, but in the whole world.

173. Draft resolution A/37/L.38, like that submitted last year, emphasizes premises which strikingly fail to take account of the interrelation of the facts of the regional situation in which events are taking place. Furthermore, the draft resolution continues to advocate means of settlement which are clearly incapable of producing a just solution to the situation in South-West Asia and to ensure respect for the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned. That is why my delegation cannot support this draft resolution.

174. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Pakistan has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

175. Mr. SHAHRAYAR-KHAN (Pakistan): My delegation would like to take the opportunity, in the exercise of its right of reply, to reject categorically the baseless allegations and slanderous accusations against Pakistan with which the representative of the Kabul régime attempted to give substance to the preposterous claims made in his statement at the previous meeting.

176. Essentially, the representative of the Kabul régime tried to explain away the undeniable fact of the nation-wide resistance to the régime by attributing the endemic unrest and the dislocation of the life of the people of Afghanistan resulting from the entry of foreign troops into that country to so-called bandit groups. It was then claimed that these bandit groups were being given military training in organized camps in Pakistan.

177. The factual situation inside Afghanistan is not shrouded in mystery. The international community, and this Assembly in particular, are fully aware of the fact of the foreign military intervention in Afghanistan, in contravention of the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, and of the heroic and undying resistance of the Afghan people which it has brought into being.

178. At the same time, the acts of terrorism and cruel repression which have been unleashed inside the country have forced nearly 3 million Afghan nationals to seek refuge in Pakistan. The refugee camps are located at identifiable places and are open to inspection. In fact, the officials of UNHCR and other international humanitarian organizations regularly visit these camps and are satisfied that the activities in these camps are entirely humanitarian in nature. We should like to state categorically that there is not a single training centre in any one of these refugee concentrations. It is our fervent hope that these refugees will be able to return to their homes in safety and honour in the not-too-distant future.

179. Let the representative of the Kabul régime explain to us why such a mass of humanity, comprising a large section of the population of Afghanistan, should abandon their soil and opt for a life of hardship and suffering beyond its frontiers. We heard from him this morning that there is an unprecedented improvement in the quality of life in Afghanistan in every conceivable field of human activity. If that is true, why, one may ask, has more than one fifth of the population preferred a life of privation and exile in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran to a life under the conditions which actually prevail in their homeland. The problem of Afghan refugees is not the creation of

Pakistan but is a result of the crisis inside Afghanistan, at the heart of which lies foreign military intervention. The number of these Afghan refugees in Pakistan alone, as verified by UNHCR, is nearing 3 million. To describe these 3 million men, women and children, who have been forced to flee their homes because of relentless persecution, as reactionaries and bandits defies common sense.

180. The heroic resistance of the Afghan people to this foreign intervention is continuing, unmitigated, and with equal tenacity and vigour throughout the country. The fact that more than 100,000 foreign troops of a super-Power, equipped with the most sophisticated weapons, have failed to suppress this struggle speaks for its indigenous and determined character. The people of Afghanistan are sacrificing their lives in the cause of the restoration of their freedom and combating foreign domination, in keeping with their time-honoured traditions and love of freedom. The labelling of these freedom fighters as bandits is a measure of the despair of those that vainly hope to wish away the reality of the Afghan national resistance by closing their eyes to it.

181. In conclusion, Pakistan's abiding commitment to a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States is a matter of record and is borne out by more than 30 years of our relations with Afghanistan. As a neighbour which is affected by the crisis inside Afghanistan, Pakistan is sincerely co-operating in every international endeavour, including the initiative of the Secretary-General, to find a just political settlement consistent with the demands of the international community.

182. We hope that our collective endeavours in the United Nations will bear fruit in bringing tranquillity to Afghanistan and strengthening peace and stability in the region.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Bulletin of the European Communities*, No. 6, 1981, para. 1.1.13.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951.

³ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14649.

⁴ Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, done at Moscow on 5 December 1978.