



**President:** Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Pradhan (Bhutan), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

#### AGENDA ITEM 29

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

1. Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas): I have the honour to address the Assembly on yet another problem with which this body has been seized for the past few years.
2. Before I begin my delegation's contribution to the debate on this item, I wish to register my Government's concern that efforts were made to stifle discussion on Grenada in the Assembly. The international community must also view with concern the duplicity of some Member States, which, when faced with similar situations of military intervention, can find it possible to condemn on the one hand and justify on the other. Such a flagrant display of double standards does not augur well for the impartiality that this body is to espouse. My delegation is of the opinion that if sovereign States are denied the right to be heard it becomes increasingly difficult for this body to reach a just and equitable decision on many critical issues, such as the one now under discussion.
3. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Bahamas in his address to the Assembly on 5 October [19th meeting] referring to the areas of tension existing in the international community, issued a renewed appeal to Member States for scrupulous respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the affected States, of which Afghanistan is an important one.
4. The significance of events and their supreme importance have a tendency to be lost with the passage of time, which also often provides the needed excuse for those whose interests it may serve to attempt to alter the facts. The passage of time also gives them the excuse to be indifferent to their charge, under the Charter of the United Nations, of being the guardians of the rights of the weak.
5. This international body must maintain and strengthen its vigilance against the brazen violation of the accepted norms of international law and behaviour and friendly relations between States.
6. At the risk of repetition, let me briefly recall some details of the present situation.
7. On 27 December 1979, armed forces of the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. This calculated use of force and the subsequent occupation of Afghanistan violate the Charter of the United Nations and the basic tenets of the established norms of international law and behaviour, threatening the stability of the region and constituting a serious threat to international peace and security. In the aftermath of this invasion, the international community

rightly condemned this act of interference in the internal affairs of that State.

8. The Security Council's draft resolution<sup>1</sup> deploring the intervention and calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops received overwhelming support, but was vetoed by the Soviet Union.
9. On 14 January 1980, the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly adopted resolution ES-6/2, condemning the Soviet Union for its military intervention in, and aggression against, Afghanistan and demanding the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Additionally, the Foreign Ministers of the Islamic countries, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the Foreign Ministers of the European Community, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Commonwealth nations of the Asia-Pacific region, the Foreign Ministers of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and, yes, the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh sessions, have all spoken on this situation.
10. My delegation supported those resolutions through which the international community overwhelmingly condemned this interference in Afghanistan. Yet, today, foreign forces still remain in that country—and if present reports are true, despite considerable resistance to foreign occupation. A recent report, in the 26 October 1983 edition of *The New York Times*, that the village of Estalef, 15 miles north of Kabul, had been savagely attacked and several hundred villagers had been killed, is an indication that acts of oppression are still being perpetrated against the Afghan people. According to the 17 September 1983 issue of *The Economist*, more than 130,000 Afghans—two thirds of them civilians—have died since the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. It is these accounts which make my Government's position unequivocally clear: we categorically condemn interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and any other sovereign State as a flagrant violation of international law.
11. The situation in Afghanistan has also created a vacuum whose tragic human dimension not only erodes the dignity of people, but also creates a burden on States in the region, thus complicating their struggle for stability. For example, it is estimated that the 2 million Afghans now refugees in Pakistan and Iran are wreaking havoc on the economic and social structure of those countries, and if an immediate and final solution is not found it is inevitable that the problem will affect other areas of the globe.
12. My delegation commends the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Governments of Pakistan and Iran, and all those international bodies and all those countries that have granted assistance to those refugees. My delegation looks forward to the day when the Afghan people can once more return to their homeland in peace, security and dignity.
13. My Government has joined those of other States in advocating a political settlement to this problem. In doing so, we have recognized that there can be no peaceful and just settlement until: there is a total and unconditional

withdrawal of all foreign troops; all Afghan refugees now dispersed in Iran and Pakistan and elsewhere are allowed to return to their homeland; all Afghans are allowed to exercise their legitimate right of self-determination, free from interference and foreign domination; and respect for Afghanistan's national sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned status is upheld.

14. In this regard, my delegation notes the report of the Secretary-General [A/38/449] and welcomes the preliminary dialogue, as evidenced by the first two rounds of talks, as an essential and necessary step towards the ultimate solution of this problem.

15. My delegation also shares the views of the Secretary-General regarding the role of the General Assembly. We appeal to the countries concerned to capitalize on this opportunity and demonstrate their commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations by negotiating in good faith to seek a political settlement to this problem and thus once again bring peace and stability to the region.

16. Finally, my delegation's support for the content of draft resolution A/38/L.17 is a sign of reassurance of our unswerving commitment to the goal of a complete and just solution.

17. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): We all consider the United Nations to be the universal instrument for maintaining international peace and security and promoting understanding and co-operation among nations. It must nevertheless be stated, with regret, that this instrument is again being misused now by the present session's consideration of the situation in Afghanistan. The very formulation of the item, as included in the agenda, not only is contrary to the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations but also implies open interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a State Member of the United Nations.

18. Previous speakers have agreed on the need to seek a solution to a problem generating tension in the region of South-West Asia. Some feel that the problem is located within Afghanistan itself, but that is a false and misleading approach. In April 1978, the Afghan people emerged in control of its own destiny by carrying out a successful revolution, and it has since been making strenuous efforts to build a new society, free from exploitation, and to promote economic and cultural progress. In his statement at the present session [21st meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan referred to the fact that the Afghan people is united in rallying behind its legitimate Government for the successful realization of a five-year socio-economic development plan now under way. During the period since the victory of the revolution, noteworthy results have been achieved in the elimination of the country's centuries-old backwardness. The Afghan people is now passing through a period of its historical development in which it can rightfully count upon our sympathy with and our assistance to its pursuit of a new society. Consequently, there is no problem in Afghanistan calling for a solution by the international community.

19. Where, then, is the problem to be solved? The tension, in reality, lingers round Afghanistan. Certain forces are still unable to acquiesce in the actual independence of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, are still unable to accept the fact that the revolution in Afghanistan has frustrated their plans to use the country's territory for their aggressive designs. These same forces are out to prevent the economic and social progress of peoples and to maintain or regain influence in order to exploit their material and intellectual resources. The forces of imperialism pursue these same goals in other geographical

regions of the globe. This is at the root of tension in the Middle East just as in Central America, in regard to which I could cite convincing examples of recent date to bear me out on this point.

20. We are all aware of the attempts that imperil the independence and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The intruding counter-revolutionary gangs continue to ravage the country and try to create an atmosphere of terror to impede economic and social progress. We are glad to see that the Afghan people is meeting with increasing success in defending its national independence against outside intervention. Events show that some of Afghanistan's neighbours and their supporters have not abandoned their futile attempts to destabilize the country. The armed intervention is coupled with means of economic blockade and destructive propaganda. As can be seen, the problem giving rise to political tension in South-West Asia is to be found in the relationship between Afghanistan and some of its neighbours. A solution to the problem is, consequently, to be sought by means of a lasting and just settlement of relations between the countries of the region through direct negotiations between the parties concerned.

21. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as a full member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, pursues a peaceful course of foreign policy which is guided by, among other things, the basic principle of settling conflicts by way of negotiations and with due regard for each other's interests and sovereignty. This is reflected in the realistic and flexible proposals repeatedly put forward by the Afghan Government for negotiations aimed at a normalization of its relations with the countries of the region and at a comprehensive settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. A comprehensive settlement would not only end foreign intervention against Afghanistan but also promote the establishment of stability and peace in South-West Asia.

22. Made possible by the flexible and constructive political posture of the Afghan Government, the two-party and three-party talks conducted this year with the participation of the personal representative of the Secretary-General point to the emergence of the conditions necessary for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and for the elaboration of international guarantees of the country's sovereignty.

23. The report of the Secretary-General points out that the diplomatic process has made considerable progress towards a lasting and just solution serving the interests of the region. In identifying the reasons therefor, it rightly states further that:

"This has proved possible, in the main, because all concerned have remained firmly determined to work in good faith in the progressive development of a comprehensive settlement which would effectively resolve all the issues involved." [A/38/449, para. 11.]

We think that the Secretary-General's view that "the diplomatic process has moved in the right direction and that a settlement is possible on the basis of what has already been accomplished" [*ibid.*, para. 12] is well established.

24. We share the view that the conditions exist for the continuation of businesslike talks between the parties concerned. Speeding up that process is in the common interest not only of the countries involved but of the entire community of nations. For this, however, it is necessary to have, in addition to the flexible attitude shown by the Afghan Government with regard to negotiations, an increased understanding by its negotiating partners and a greater will on their part to negotiate. Another important

condition of a political settlement of relations between the countries of the region lies in the discontinuance of external support for the counter-revolutionary gangs seeking to overthrow the legitimate Government of Afghanistan and in the termination of other forms of outside interference aimed against the independence of that country.

25. It is well known that Hungary not only appreciates the results achieved by the Afghan people since its April 1978 revolution, but also provides assistance commensurate with its possibilities for the continued economic and social development of Afghanistan. The quest for just and lasting negotiated solutions to conflicts between nations, on the basis of respect for each other's interests, is a fundamental principle of our socialist foreign policy. Our opposition to attacks against the sovereignty of countries and to interference in their internal affairs is part and parcel of that principle. Hence, my delegation cannot support draft resolution A/38/L.17 because, in ignoring the realities, as was the case last year, it serves to impede the negotiating process started, between the parties concerned, with the participation of the personal representative of the Secretary-General, with a view to reaching a just settlement of the situation in South-West Asia.

26. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm my country's continuing readiness to support any efforts to achieve normalization of relations between the countries of South-West Asia and to establish peace and security in that region. We are confident that the negotiating partners of Afghanistan will show a fuller understanding of the fact that they will be able to safeguard their own interests only on the basis of mutual respect for each other's interests and only by the establishment of good-neighbourly relations between the countries of the region.

27. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): This is an important debate on an important subject, even though this is the fifth time we have debated it. I would ask for members' indulgence in making, despite the fact that it is the fifth time, a substantial statement to this Assembly because it is a matter which touches the conscience of the international community and is, I think, profoundly important for the way in which all of us, all the delegations in this Assembly, look at the international situation and, particularly, look at the principles at stake in the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

28. The Soviet Union's invasion and occupation of Afghanistan is a matter of special concern to the 10 member States of the European Community, as was made clear by the representative of Greece in his statement yesterday [64th meeting]. It goes without saying that my delegation is in full agreement with everything he said on behalf of the Community. I presume to add my voice to his only because I wish to emphasize the sense of outrage felt by the people and Government of the United Kingdom at the brutalities inflicted on Afghanistan and the Afghans and at the astonishing indifference of the Soviet Government to the demands of the international community that it should withdraw its forces and respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

29. It is deeply depressing that, for the fifth time, the General Assembly should have to consider the situation in Afghanistan without a glimmer of Soviet willingness to heed the views expressed four times over by the overwhelming majority of the United Nations Members. This is particularly deplorable when one considers the determined and constructive efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to promote a political solution, and the whole-hearted cooperation of the Government of Pakistan in these efforts. In his impressive speech at the opening meeting of this

debate [*ibid.*] the Foreign Minister of Pakistan gave the Assembly a detailed account of his Government's endeavours to make progress through the indirect talks. Once again he demonstrated Pakistan's determination to contribute to a peaceful solution in accordance with the resolutions of this Assembly.

30. In his report, the Secretary-General records that during his visit to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in March 1983 the Soviet Government expressed itself strongly in favour of a political settlement and supported categorically the continuation of his efforts [A/38/449, para. 5]. Sadly, despite the progress subsequently made in defining the contents of a comprehensive settlement, the Soviet Union has not followed up the assurances given to the Secretary-General by taking the steps necessary to put a settlement into effect. Hopes were raised, only to be dashed. The policy decisions which would allow all Afghans to decide their future in peace, and which would lay the foundations for mutual understanding and cooperation among the States in the area, have so far not been taken. In consequence, the Secretary-General has had to report that critical issues have been left in abeyance.

31. As every Member of this Assembly knows, what is crucially required is the agreement of the Soviet Government to a timetable and a termination date for withdrawal. This would open the way to a comprehensive and peaceful settlement, many elements of which are already in place. The need is clear, the decision simple. We look for deeds as well as for words. I hope the Soviet Ambassador, who is due to speak in this debate later this afternoon, will reply to this.

32. While the Soviet Union's negotiators have by deliberate omission stalled all diplomatic efforts, its armed forces have continued their savage but unavailing campaign to suppress the people of Afghanistan and thereby impose a solution by force.

33. The Soviet Union would have us believe that the people of Afghanistan requested their so-called fraternal assistance. Why then does the Soviet Union find it necessary to destroy the homes and villages of these same Afghan people with attacks from helicopter gunships, and why is it necessary to drop mines on country paths? When Soviet soldiers ruin irrigation systems and deplete agricultural land, is this fraternal assistance? No, it is a policy of scorched earth. There is well-documented evidence that the Soviet forces have embarked on a deliberate policy of forcing the villagers off the land and of mounting reprisals and crude acts of vengeance against innocent men, women and children. In the words of one eye witness, "the sea is being emptied to kill the fish".

34. Likewise, the Soviet Union would have us believe that Afghanistan is now under control. Why, then, has the number of Soviet troops risen to 105,000? Why, this past summer, was there heavy fighting in Badakhshan, Mazar-i-Sharif and other places in the north; in Kandahar, Ghazni and Herat in the south and west; and in Paghman and Shomali near Kabul? Why, indeed, have there been acts of resistance in the capital city of Kabul itself? And why have military aircraft violated Pakistan's border with Afghanistan and intruded illegally and without justification into Pakistani airspace?

35. The truth is, of course, that we are witnessing a classic war of liberation fought with few resources but incredible bravery by a people struggling to free their homeland. The Afghan nation, which never threatened and would never threaten the Soviet Union, refuses to be subjugated and swallowed up in the Soviet empire. Fully a fifth of that nation, well over 3 million people, have been obliged to flee from Soviet oppression. They

have taken refuge in neighbouring countries. This is a state of affairs that shocks the conscience of the world. The Members of the United Nations are not prepared mutely to acquiesce in the rape of a small, independent, non-aligned State by a powerful and expansionist neighbour.

36. There are many problems on the agenda of this Assembly which are exceedingly difficult to resolve because they are of such a long-standing and complex nature. The problem of Afghanistan does not fall into this category; quite the reverse. The facts are not in question. The problem arose only recently, with the Soviet invasion of December 1979. It could be solved simply through a reversal of that invasion. Very reasonable proposals which would restore Afghanistan to its former status are available to the Soviet Union and wait only to be picked up.

37. The first initiative to this end was taken, as the representative of Greece has already recalled, by the 10 member States of the European Community. The Community's plan, which we helped to formulate, was a genuine attempt to construct a path to a settlement which took account of all interested parties and recognized that no settlement which was not endorsed by the Afghan people could bring lasting peace and stability to the area. We continue to believe that this plan offers a practical way forward, and we stand ready to play our part in working towards a political solution.

38. For the same reason, my Government has supported the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on Afghanistan, most recently resolution 37/37, passed by an overwhelming majority on 29 November 1982. As I have already indicated, we have paid close attention to the substantial diplomatic efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his personal representative with the aim of promoting a solution on the basis of the resolutions of the Assembly and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Those principles provide clear guidelines for a just solution, for example in the Charter's provisions on the peaceful settlement of disputes, on the non-use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, and on the self-determination of peoples.

39. In accordance with those principles, the Assembly has repeatedly demanded the immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops, the restoration of Afghanistan's former independence and non-aligned status, self-determination for the people of Afghanistan, and the creation of conditions in which the refugees can return in peace and honour. It is right that the Assembly should do so once again. But the passage of a resolution, even with the strong support of almost all its members, in itself is evidently not enough. We must make every effort in the coming year to back this up and to persuade the Soviet Union to negotiate seriously and commit itself to the earliest possible implementation of a settlement.

40. It may well be the Soviet Government's hope that with the passage of time our concern for Afghanistan will fade and that it will be able to wage its war of attrition against the Afghan people without the present embarrassing glare of international attention. If so, it has made a deeply cynical calculation. It has also made a false one. I am confident that the United Nations will not let the proud and independent people of Afghanistan down. Nor shall we abandon the refugees and the countries which have willingly shouldered the burden of giving them a home. Nor shall we ignore the threat which the conflict and the Soviet army pose to peace and security in the region. Indeed, as time passes, as the casualty list mounts, as the destruction escalates, the need for a settlement

becomes ever more urgent, and our collective responsibility to promote one becomes the greater.

41. I therefore urge all members of the Assembly to live up to that responsibility by supporting draft resolution A/38/L.17. I do so in the belief that eventually the Soviet Government must come to its senses and realize that its own interests can be served only by a peaceful settlement. Surely it is in the interest of the Soviet Government, like other Governments, to have a good reputation. At present, its occupation of Afghanistan gives it a very bad one.

42. Mr. NATORF (Poland): Once again, the General Assembly is proceeding with what has already become a familiar exercise. Once again the Members of the United Nations find themselves engaged in—or to be more precise have been dragged into—the unseemly venture of discussing the item entitled “The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security”.

43. Needless to say, the discussion of this item is taking place against the will and in spite of the strongest objections of the country most directly concerned, namely, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a Member of the United Nations. Speaking at the first meeting of the General Committee, held on 21 September 1983, the representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan said that, at the thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh sessions, his delegation had strongly objected to the inclusion on the agenda of this item. He stated also that, as was evident from the title of the item, it was the situation within Afghanistan that would be under discussion. He stressed that this would be contrary to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations, which states that nothing in the Charter authorizes the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or requires the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the Charter.

44. Poland has always given its full, unreserved support to the position of the Government of Afghanistan that this item should not be included on the agenda. We have always resolutely opposed such inclusion, and have strongly objected to the discussion in the General Assembly of the so-called situation in Afghanistan, for in our view consideration of this item constitutes open interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. It is contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Charter. It has never brought any constructive results, and it cannot bring them now, either. In the past, all the commotion regarding the item only served the interests of those imperialist forces which were seeking pretexts for fostering confrontation and for creating a smoke-screen behind which the undeclared wars against Afghanistan and other countries could be waged and brutal intervention and direct interference in the domestic affairs of other States could be pursued with ruthless determination.

45. As before, discussion of the item in the Assembly constitutes yet another attempt to heat up the debate, to stir up and heighten emotions and to divert attention from the real problems. As before, the instigators of this debate want to use it to put new obstacles in the way of solutions. This is clearly evidenced by draft resolution A/38/L.17, as from beneath the cover of appealing words the real intentions of the authors of that document come to the surface.

46. As before, this draft resolution displays exactly the same negative features. It neglects objective facts and lacks political realism. It fails to take into account the genuine interests of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan or those of other States of the South-West Asian region, and it runs counter to the political initiatives of

Afghanistan aimed at resolving the problem. As a matter of fact, it supports the forces which are waging, financing and organizing the undeclared war and armed intervention against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It is nothing more than a new attempt to meddle once again in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan.

47. Therefore, when that draft resolution is put to the vote, Poland will vote against it. We would only add that the resolution adopted last year [*resolution 37/37*] not only failed to bring a political settlement closer but, on the contrary, made such a settlement between Afghanistan and its neighbours more difficult. The impact of the present draft resolution will be no different.

48. Disregard of the interests of the Afghan people and specific acts of those forces which are hostile to the people of Afghanistan and to the Afghan revolution are the main underlying reasons for this matter being kept on the agenda and for the debate continuing. In these circumstances, we cannot but emphasize once again our unswerving support for the efforts made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and for its foreign policy, which is aimed at easing existing tensions and restoring and developing good-neighbourly relations. We welcomed with great satisfaction the proposals put forward by that Government on 15 May 1980<sup>2</sup> and on 24 August 1981.<sup>3</sup> They constitute the most realistic basis for a comprehensive solution to the problems faced by Afghanistan and its neighbours.

49. It is also with hope and interest that we have taken note of some positive developments as a result of the personal efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative. In his report of 28 September 1983, the Secretary-General says, *inter alia*,

“During the discussions, which were conducted in a very constructive spirit, substantial progress was made in the definition of the contents of the comprehensive settlement, its principles and objectives, the interrelationship amongst its four component elements and the provisions, including time-frames, for its implementation” [*A/38/499, para. 7*].

50. In our opinion, this is proof that, with sincere political will on all sides, it will be possible to achieve further progress to create the right political climate for direct bilateral negotiations allowing consideration of the various aspects of existing difficulties and paving the way for the normalization of relations and the promotion of peace, stability and co-operation in South-West Asia.

51. We cannot but strongly condemn acts of aggression, undeclared war and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. We felt obliged unequivocally to deplore actions attempting to isolate the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on the international scene and activities designed to use the so-called question of Afghanistan for sinister political propaganda purposes. We cannot but point out that attempts are continuing to use the so-called question of Afghanistan as a pretext by the United States for building military bases in Asia, like the one, for example, on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, for strengthening its naval and military presence in the Persian Gulf and developing and stationing the rapid deployment force.

52. There are those who want to use the discussion of the situation in Afghanistan as a curtain behind which such gross violations as the invasion of Grenada or other operations like the covert war against Nicaragua could be conducted. The United Nations must not allow itself to be drawn into such schemes and machinations. We cannot but emphasize that only the complete cessation of armed attacks, of support for the rebels and of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the provision of reliable and firm guarantees for the non-

recurrence of such interference in the future are the prerequisites for the attainment of a comprehensive political solution.

53. In this respect it is worth while to quote the 24 August 1981 statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which says, *inter alia*:

“The securing of complete and reliable cessation of armed and any other intervention in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the creation of conditions making impossible the recurrence of such interference in the future must be the main aim and basic content of the political settlement.”<sup>4</sup>

54. The achievement of such a settlement that would also include international guarantees will create appropriate conditions for determining by agreement between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union the withdrawal of the limited contingent of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

55. Whether or not it is to the liking of those who sponsored it, the debate on the so-called situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security will not have the impact they might have falsely expected. The situation in Afghanistan is the affair of the Afghan people. Five years ago that people made the historic choice of embarking upon the road of important political and socio-economic changes. The difficulties and obstacles having their roots in the past, and those resulting from counter-revolutionary subversive activities and the undeclared war notwithstanding, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was able to achieve further normalization of the situation, considerable economic development and consolidation of the people's Government. The April 1978 revolution opened a new chapter in the history of the nation. The country has embarked upon the road of eliminating feudalism, underdevelopment, poverty, and illiteracy and of accelerating cultural development and social progress.

56. We view with great satisfaction the positive changes which have been brought about in the country during the new phase of the April revolution. Poland is giving the people of Afghanistan staunch and firm support for its struggle against the forces of imperialism and counter-revolution and against interference in its domestic affairs. We shall continue to stand side by side with the Afghan people in its efforts to implement important tasks in the political, economic and social fields. We shall be ceaselessly supporting the efforts of Afghanistan to attain a genuine comprehensive political settlement.

57. Regretfully, the present debate and the draft resolution do not serve the attainment of this objective.

58. Mr. HARLAND (New Zealand): It is now nearly four years since the armed forces of the Soviet Union entered Afghanistan in strength. For the Afghan people, this anniversary will commemorate nothing but the beginning of a nightmare. Four years ago, the then Government of Afghanistan was overthrown and replaced by one that would co-operate with the Soviet Union. Then Soviet troops began trying to put down by force the ever-growing popular resistance to their presence. They have not succeeded, but their operations have caused some 3 million people—one fifth of Afghanistan's population—to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. That so many people have fled in search of peace, shelter and food shows how much the Soviet presence is hated and feared. It is a tribute to the neighbouring countries that, despite the most difficult circumstances, they have, with the help of international bodies, accepted the burden of providing for these refugees.

59. The invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union shocked the international community. It is

a fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations that Member States shall refrain from the use of force in international relations. By its intervention in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union violated this principle. The occupation was condemned by the General Assembly, as well as by other international organizations. We have repeatedly called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan so that its people can decide their own future without foreign interference.

60. No part of the Charter has stronger or broader support than Article 2, paragraph 4. Small countries at least know that their security and independence can be assured only through the scrupulous observance by all countries of the principles laid down in the Charter. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during the past four years, and the large majorities they have commanded, make it clear that the international community is not prepared to accept the situation created by the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. It insists that the problem must be settled through a negotiated political settlement and that it cannot be resolved without the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

61. My Government has read with considerable interest the report of the Secretary-General [A/38/449]. It commends his efforts to promote a negotiated solution and is particularly encouraged by the substantial progress that has been made in defining the contents of a comprehensive settlement.

*Mr. Illueca (Panama) took the Chair.*

62. The increasingly broad support being lent to this process by the international community is equally welcome. The principles involved in such a settlement have been clearly set out in earlier resolutions. They are still valid. They include acceptance of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and international guarantees against further intervention. The Government of Afghanistan must be acceptable to the people themselves, and conditions must be created which will encourage the Afghan people to return voluntarily to their homes in safety. The key point, however, is the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan.

63. New Zealand shares the Secretary-General's concern at the slow pace of negotiations and regrets that it has not yet been possible to bridge differences of attitude and opinion regarding a number of issues. My Government urges all those concerned to renew their efforts to overcome these outstanding difficulties and reach a settlement. Nothing would receive a greater welcome around the world as a concrete contribution to the relaxation of world tensions. Equally, nothing would be better news for the millions of Afghan men, women and children who have been forced from their homes over the past four years.

64. It is for these reasons that New Zealand strongly supports draft resolution A/38/L.17.

65. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union fully associates itself with the view of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which has expressed its firm objection to the discussion in the General Assembly of the so-called question of Afghanistan. The discussion on this problem, for those who have created it artificially and dragged it to the forum of the United Nations, is nothing other than a device for gross and blatant interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and a further attempt, through the General Assembly, to force upon that sovereign State something that is actually being rejected by its Government and people.

66. The States which have become involved in the unseemly fuss about the "question of Afghanistan", here in the United Nations and outside it, are trying to represent themselves as the friends and defenders of the interests of the people of Afghanistan. A leading role in this chorus has been assumed, as we all know, by representatives of the United States. However, what are their words worth? This is illustrated much more eloquently by the specific actions of the political and military leaders of the United States who, with the assistance of certain other States, have already for some time now been waging an undeclared war against the people of Afghanistan, causing them great privation and suffering and holding back the progressive development of that country.

67. The United States is quite generous in its assistance, making it possible to train and equip, in the numerous camps situated on the territory of Pakistan, counter-revolutionary units for terrorist raids into Afghanistan to kill, plunder and burn and to intimidate the peaceful population. Huge sums of money are allocated annually to be given to one group of Afghans and equip them with weapons so that they can kill their compatriots.

68. In an article published in *Newsweek* as recently as 10 October, it was pointed out that the United States was giving to the Afghan bandit formations arms to the value of approximately \$100 million annually—but that is only the tip of the iceberg. According to other information, the total amount spent by the United States and its partners for the fight against the Afghan revolution is estimated at \$1 billion. In any event, it is well known that the American allocations for the purposes of this undeclared war against Afghanistan are very much greater than the total assistance that the United States has given that country throughout the whole period of the existence of the United Nations.

69. The United States Government is well aware that the funds it provided for the conduct of its anti-Afghanistan policy serve a shameful purpose. That is why the supplying of Afghan counter-revolutionaries with weapons is carried out within the framework of covert operations, masterminded, as is usual in such instances, by the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]. Quite rightly, the American review *The Washington Quarterly* wrote with regard to the *mujahidin*, as the Afghan counter-revolutionaries are called in the West, that

"much of the *mujahidin's* new-found military potential comes from the top-secret arms supply programme launched under Washington's supervision at the end of 1980," and that "thousands of rifles, mines and other light weapons were funnelled to the Afghan resistance movement in 1981 and 1982 from the United States, Egypt, Pakistan, and especially China".

70. The American press does not conceal the fact that assistance to the Afghan rebels during 1983 has increased and that this is the result of a special decision to that effect by President Reagan. Referring to communications from American officials, *The New York Times* of 4 May this year wrote that "the Central Intelligence Agency was ordered in December to provide the Afghan insurgents for the first time with bazookas, mortars, grenade launchers, mines and recoilless rifles".

71. The camps of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border have for long been the sites of a kind of pilgrimage for leading representatives of the United States Administration, who have travelled there in order to "inspire" the terrorists located there. In the second half of this year alone, we had Secretary of State Shultz there in July and Secretary of Defence Weinberger in October. The question is, what right have they to make such inflammatory speeches on the frontiers

of a peace-loving country, a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries? The second question is, on what grounds do the authorities of Pakistan provide such a platform for overseas visitors, and how can this be reconciled with their assurances about their readiness to settle the situation around Afghanistan by political means, using the good offices of the Secretary-General?

72. The undeclared war against Afghanistan, viewed in all its manifestations, cannot be described as anything but the clearest case of aggression. In fact, according to article 3 of the Definition of Aggression, adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, the term aggression covers such acts as "The sending by or on behalf of a State of armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another State . . ."

73. With each day that passes it becomes increasingly clear what purposes inspire the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Having organized the armed intervention against that country, the United States has decided to embark upon revenge for the loss of its positions in neighbouring Iran and also to use the destabilization of the situation in South-West Asia for intensive military preparations in the region of the Persian Gulf, where the United States, as far back as the spring of 1979, began sending naval units on a large scale, as if that region were one involving its "vital interests".

74. The imperialist policy of the United States is resulting in a threat to the peaceful and independent existence of peoples not only in South-West Asia and the region of the Indian Ocean, but also in the Near East, in Central America and in other parts of the world. The armed intervention of the United States in Grenada, which resulted in the repression in that country of a progressive and democratic régime, is the most recent example of this.

75. American leaders like to speak, relevantly or irrelevantly and at great length, on the subject of freedom and democracy. One may wonder what kind of freedom and what kind of democracy they wish to set up in Afghanistan when they are arming terrorists who are committing murder, destruction and arson in that country, a country which has embarked upon the course of socio-economic development aimed at the establishment of a new system, based on progress and at the same time providing for the retention of the best traditions of its national historical heritage.

76. According to the classification of the United Nations, Afghanistan falls into the category of least developed countries. Before the victorious April 1978 revolution, Afghanistan occupied one of the lowest places in the world according to the criterion of per capita national income. Almost one out of three peasant families had no land. More than 90 per cent of the population did not know how to read or write. The health system did not meet the most elementary requirements. Poverty, hard, exhausting labour, disease, illiteracy and a total lack of rights were the lot of the overwhelming majority of the population of pre-revolutionary Afghanistan.

77. The April revolution, which was led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, had an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist orientation and reflected the wide spectrum of interests of the toiling classes and sectors of the population.

78. The chief place in the programme of democratic reforms after the revolution was taken by land and water reform aimed at the elimination of the feudal land-holding system. Approximately 300,000 peasant families which had no or very little land received free of charge the land expropriated from the landowners. The land workers were thus liberated from the grip of the usurers.

79. Taking into account the results of the first stage in the agrarian reform, a programme for its continuation has been prepared and carried out. Provision is made for allotting land to a further 80,000 peasant families, with expansion of Government assistance by means of credits, the provision of agricultural technology, chemical fertilizers, high-yield seed, and the building of transport communications.

80. Today, the bands of counter-revolutionaries, armed by the United States and the countries which are following its line, are destroying crops and irrigation systems and taking livestock away from the peasants. They are trying to terrorize the population. The material agricultural losses caused by the rebels already amount, according to certain data, to 1.5 billion afghanis. One may well ask who needs that kind of "democracy and freedom". Probably only those who wish to return Afghanistan to the period of the Middle Ages, to the time of the domination of the feudal lords and the usurers.

81. The most important task facing the national democratic revolution is the elimination of that terrible legacy of the past, illiteracy. In pre-revolutionary times, only one in four children in Afghanistan could attend school and only one in nine adults was literate. Today, according to official data, the country has 4,500 elementary and secondary schools, in which approximately 1.5 million children are being taught. However, the exercise even of the right to education runs into the fierce opposition of the counter-revolution and the external forces which support it. In the spreading of education and knowledge among the population, the foes of the revolution see a danger to their ideological effect upon the workers. The destruction and burning of schools and the brutal repression of the teachers—this, unfortunately, is the harsh and bitter reality.

82. The representatives of the countries responsible for bringing the so-called question of Afghanistan before the General Assembly like to speak of the fate of the Afghan population in the territory of neighbouring countries, principally Pakistan. The co-sponsors of the draft resolution on the so-called question of Afghanistan have included an appropriate provision on the need to create the necessary conditions for the voluntary return of Afghans to their homes. In this connection, we wish to draw attention to the fact that no barriers exist to the return of Afghans to their country in honour. Such return is provided for by a decree of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan adopted as far back as 18 June 1981. Numerous examples show that the organs of national authority in Afghanistan are scrupulously and fully implementing this important law and that all those who have returned to their country have assumed their rightful place in Afghan society. Only recently, in the statement of the National Fatherland Front of Afghanistan, which has been distributed as a United Nations document dated 3 November 1983, there is a reaffirmation of the appeal of Babrak Karmal, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, to Afghans abroad: "In the name of Afghan honour and valour, in the name of the homeland, become aware and return to the homeland" [*A/38/559 and Corr.1, annex, p. 5*].

83. The problem of Afghan refugees outside the borders of Afghanistan, like all other problems creating tension in and around Afghanistan, is caused by the policy of those same countries that are supporting the state of undeclared war against Afghanistan. Those in the ruling circles of those countries talk hypocritically about their

concern about the fate of the Afghan refugees. Their principal purpose, however, is to hold those misguided persons in camps on foreign territory and use them against the people of Afghanistan.

84. In the course of this debate the representatives of several countries, in particular Pakistan and China, have spared no words in order to emphasize that they are ostensibly concerned about the interests of the Afghan people. It is scarcely likely that such statements can be convincing in the mouth of the representative of Pakistan, a country which has converted its territory into the main base for continuous bandit raids against the peaceful cities and villages of Afghanistan. The words of the Chinese representative sound equally false considering that China is arming Afghan terrorists, supplying its instructors to train them and pushing them into a fratricidal war.

85. One thing only is necessary to stabilize the situation in South-West Asia, and that is the ending of the undeclared war against Afghanistan. The sooner this is understood by the Governments of States which, together with the United States, are fanning the flames of that war, the better. The basic principles of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan have been formulated in various statements by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, including those made on 15 May 1980<sup>2</sup> and on 24 August 1981,<sup>3</sup> in which Afghanistan expressed its readiness to attempt to achieve this purpose by means of bilateral or trilateral negotiations involving Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran.

86. The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, pointed out at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in June of this year:

“The Soviet Union holds to the position of total support for the programme of political settlement put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. On the basis of that programme, it is possible to agree on the solution of the questions relating to the external aspect of the problem of Afghanistan, and precisely to the external aspect, inasmuch as the internal affairs must be resolved only by the people of Afghanistan themselves.”

87. The Soviet Union has a positive view with regard to the negotiations being held between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the personal representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Diego Cordovez. We hope that at an early date a way will be found for a direct dialogue between the two countries. We can state with satisfaction that on the whole the course of the negotiations is appraised positively by the Secretary-General, who states in his report that:

“valuable and indispensable work has been accomplished . . . For, given the difficulties encountered in setting in motion the diplomatic process, it has undoubtedly gone a long way towards the achievement of a fair and lasting political solution. This has proved possible, in the main, because all concerned have remained firmly determined to work in good faith in the progressive development of a comprehensive settlement which would effectively resolve all the issues involved” [A/38/449, para. 11].

88. In his statement yesterday [64th meeting], the representative of Pakistan spoke in considerable detail about the negotiations on the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. In this connection, we share the perplexity expressed by the representative of Afghanistan. Such an attempt by the Pakistan side to make the negotiations, which, as is known, are regarded as delicate and complex, the subject of public discussion can give rise

to certain doubts about the attempt by Pakistan to make progress at the negotiations.

89. The Soviet Union's position with regard to the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan has been stated frequently, in particular in April this year by Y. V. Andropov, who said in an interview with the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*:

“We consider that as soon as outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan has ceased, and as soon as there is a guarantee that it will not be resumed, we will withdraw our troops. Our troops are in that country at the request of the lawful Afghanistan Government, the one which was in power at that time, and they remain there at the request of the lawful Government, which is headed by Babrak Karmal. Therefore, we do not seek anything ourselves. We have responded to the call for help from a friendly neighbouring country.”

90. The Soviet delegation will vote against the draft resolution on the so-called Afghanistan question, just as it voted against similar draft resolutions last year, inasmuch as they reflect the intention of certain States to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan and to alter the course of events there in their own favour and against the interests of the people of that country and its revolution and the interests of the cause of peace.

91. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): One of the major characteristics of our world today is the escalation of tension and the increase of areas of conflict, resulting in the resurrection of the cold war which prevailed in the world for a long time and which made it suffer from a number of flagrant violations of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations which were laid down to govern international relations.

92. The threat or the use of force in international relations has now become one of those characteristics which we live with. Regrettably, it has grown more frequent. This is a clear breach of the principles of international law, relied upon and cherished by small, peace-loving countries as the natural protection of their security, independence and territorial integrity.

93. What is even more disturbing is that major Powers bearing special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security pursue a policy of threatening or using force in their relations with their neighbours in particular and with the rest of the countries of the world in general. The Charter of the United Nations has placed on the permanent members of the Security Council a heavy responsibility for the defence of the principles of the Charter relating to international peace and security. The disregard of those principles by any permanent member, therefore, strikes at the basis of international law and is a major factor in increasing the international anarchy with which we, regrettably, live nowadays, as well as being a dangerous act in the history of international relations, leading the world to live in fear and anxiety.

94. Kuwait believes that the best guarantee of international peace and security is strict compliance with the principles of equal sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the non-use of force, peaceful coexistence between countries and peoples and the established right of every State to choose its economic, social and political system, free from foreign interference. We therefore strongly reject the use of force by any party to oppress small peoples in order to achieve national objectives and the interests of one State at the expense of another. What has happened in Afghanistan since the end of 1979, and is still happening, is an example of what we mean by the continued flagrant violation of the principles



and purposes of the Charter and of international law. In turn, this has resulted in the violation of the sovereignty and independence of a small, peaceful people and interference in its internal affairs.

95. My delegation cannot accept the arguments on which the interference in Afghanistan's affairs was based. Kuwait's position was established on the very first day of the invasion. It is as follows. First, we reject the military intervention in Afghanistan as a violation of the sovereignty, security and independence of this non-aligned, Muslim country. Secondly, all foreign troops must be unconditionally and immediately withdrawn from Afghanistan and interference in its internal affairs in any way whatsoever must cease. Thirdly, there must be full respect for the will of the Afghan people in determining their future and choosing their Government and their political and economic systems, free from foreign interference. Fourthly, all the Afghan refugees must be enabled to return to their homes in dignity and safety.

96. Kuwait has supported and still supports the Afghan people's struggle to rid itself of foreign troops, to restore its established, legitimate rights and to determine its future free from foreign interference. Kuwait pays a tribute to that heroic Muslim people, which is devoted to its religion of tolerance and to its country's role in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in particular and the international community in general.

97. My delegation has read the report of the Secretary-General [A/38/449] on his efforts to solve this complex problem. While we commend him for his relentless efforts, which have made some progress, albeit slow and limited, we still believe that those efforts should in the first place be focused on setting a timetable for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, because we feel that this would pave the way to a solution of the rest of the pending questions. Therefore, we call upon all parties concerned in this question, foremost among them the Soviet Union, to redouble their efforts to set this timetable as a first step towards solving the problem and alleviating the suffering of the people so that they can mobilize their energies to developing their economy in a way that would benefit all of them and bring peace and security to the entire region.

98. We express once again our appreciation for all the humanitarian assistance given by States and specialized agencies to alleviate some of the suffering of the Afghan refugees. We call upon the international community to increase this assistance as one of the steps leading to the return of the refugees to their homes.

99. On the basis of those considerations, Kuwait, while supporting all international and regional efforts as well as those of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, has joined in sponsoring draft resolution A/38/L.17. We believe that this draft resolution contains the internationally accepted basic principles for the solution of this problem. It contains other important, positive elements and is moderate and balanced. We therefore believe it will enjoy wide international support.

100. A final word is necessary. We believe that, regrettably, however lofty the principles contained in draft resolutions are and however much international acceptance they have, what really counts is the commitment of the parties concerned to these principles and to translating them into reality. What we most fear is the phenomenon of the transformation of current international problems into episodes in the whole pattern of major-Power rivalry for spheres of influence, at the expense of the existence, security and welfare of the peoples of the countries affected. One manifestation of this phenomenon is the

presence of huge quantities of military equipment in the Indian Ocean region. The presence of one Power seems inevitably to call for the presence of another Power. On the basis of our concern and desire for peace, we reject this logic.

101. Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic feels that it is unworthy of the General Assembly to be once again drawn into this unseemly exercise which is the discussion of the so-called question of Afghanistan. Despite the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations, this discussion is being exploited by certain countries in an attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of a sovereign, non-aligned country, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

102. The continuing furor surrounding the ill-famed question of Afghanistan is not only unlawful in essence but highly harmful and politically dangerous for the cause of peace since it is used by its initiators, the forces of imperialism and reaction, as a cover to wage an undeclared war against the Afghan people and to justify a policy of greatly increasing tensions in South-West Asia and the international arena as a whole, as well as to counteract in every possible way efforts aiming at the peaceful and just settlement of the problems of that region. Finally, it is exploited in order to divert the attention of the United Nations from truly important and relevant questions.

103. Proof of all this has been provided in the form of reliable facts and data, including those set forth from this rostrum by the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and a number of other countries. All this quite clearly proves the cynical tendentiousness of the statements of those representatives who, behind a mixture of verbal acrobatics, crocodile tears and vicious designs, conceal attempts by every method and means to complicate the search for a constructive solution to the problem as a whole.

104. Indeed, if their position were really as they try to picture it, if indeed their actions were in keeping with the appeals for respect for the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan, they would not try to close their eyes to a fact that has such historical significance for the entire Afghan people—that is, the April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan. That is not because of a lapse of memory on their part; rather, it reflects deliberate malicious intent.

105. The April 1978 revolution, which was the legitimate result of an objective need for the development of Afghan society, and the subsequent process of that revolution paved the way for the carrying out of radical socio-economic changes that were long overdue and confirmed the democratic rights and freedoms of the Afghan people, while retaining its national traditions. The past few years have shown that the Afghan people, defending the victories of the revolution, is exerting every effort to implement the social and economic programmes it has set for itself. An example of this is the carrying out of land and water reforms and the adoption of specific steps for the development of industry, agriculture, health, education and culture.

106. But the choice made by the Afghan people for the development of its independent State, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, has not fitted and does not fit into the plans and designs that the forces of imperialism and hegemonism have for Afghanistan. For this reason, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan from the very outset has become the victim of an unprovoked imperialist aggression. Cynically ignoring universally recognized norms of international law and the Charter of the United

Nations, imperialism and reaction have unleashed an undeclared war against that country, trying to deprive the people of Afghanistan, which has embarked upon social transformations, of the right to build its life in accordance with its own decisions.

107. Time, truth and the facts have torn off the mask of falsehood and deceit from the face of the forces of imperialism and reaction and have uncovered their direct participation in aggressive and subversive actions against Afghanistan. The specific data on this question have already been provided from this rostrum, and today as well. They convincingly illustrate the fact that in following their military and political purposes and in being completely indifferent to the fate of the people of Afghanistan, these forces are speeding up the tempo of the undeclared war against Afghanistan and are supporting and promoting the counter-revolutionary rabble in every way possible. It should be emphasized that the recruitment, training and equipping of the counter-revolutionary rebels on Pakistani territory on the part of the United States alone have cost \$217 million, not taking into account expenditures on "covert operations". Having raised international terrorism to an official policy, the United States is sparing no effort for the upkeep of the terrorists. Here, it only conceals the fact that for its so-called beneficence, it is requiring its clients to pay. And the rebels do pay. They pay in the tears of the wounded and the maimed, the blood of the tortured and the slain Afghans. Mercenaries are carrying out acts of terrorism against the representatives of the authorities, doctors, clergy, workers, peasants—against all those who stand on the side of revolution and who are trying to achieve a better, more just life.

108. Now, the activities of imperialist and reactionary circles, which are directed against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, have acquired a new outline. If only very recently, the Administration of the United States preferred not to advertise its comprehensive ties with the terrorist bands of rebels, now, as is known, the bandit leaders are being received in the White House, and the Secretary of State of the United States, in meeting with them in the summer of this year in Pakistan, stated: "My message to you from the United States is very simple. We are with you." Well, this is stated with total clarity and, indeed, there is no need for any further comments. Quite vainly, in his statement yesterday [64th meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan attempted—in spite of well-known facts—to represent the situation on a clearly tendentious plane. The role which is played by Pakistan in providing assistance to the rebels has been highly and unequivocally praised by United States Secretary of Defense Weinberger, who stated in one of the Congressional committees this year that "without Pakistan, the resistance in Afghanistan would be reduced to nought".

109. It is necessary to emphasize that the undeclared war being waged against the Afghanistan people is a part of the political policy of the imperialist forces in regard to South-West Asia and the adjacent regions. The United States is trying in every way to build up tensions there and it is utilizing the events around Afghanistan as an excuse for expanding military bases on Diego Garcia island and in a number of other places, for intensifying the groupings of its naval forces in the Persian Gulf area and in adjacent regions. The fuss around the so-called Afghanistan question, including here at the United Nations, is being used by the United States as verbal camouflage for covering over and continuing its aggressive policies.

110. That is why we are profoundly convinced that bringing the United Nations into the fruitless and harmful

discussion on the so-called question of Afghanistan is in fact beneficial only to those who wish to undermine a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and to maintain tensions in South-West Asia in the interests of their own imperialist and hegemonist interests. The United Nations must quite firmly counteract that.

111. An objective and realistic appraisal of the situation in South-West Asia convinces one that the efforts of the United Nations should be aimed not at inflaming passions which are used by imperialism for armed interference, but at comprehensive co-operation in a genuine political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The way towards such a settlement is open. Its bases are contained in the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan put forward in May 1980<sup>2</sup> and August 1981.<sup>3</sup> The content of those specific businesslike proposals is well known and they are supported by a broad circle of the world community.

112. The plan for a political settlement proposed by the Afghan side is logical, flexible and realistic. It refers in a constructive fashion to questions both of substance and as to the framework of the proposed negotiations with the Governments of neighbouring countries. The proposals of the Afghan side are in keeping with the urgent need for settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and take into account the well-founded wishes of the other parties concerned. They are an expression of goodwill aimed at carrying out a fully fledged dialogue. Precisely a dialogue and not confrontation, a search for solutions and not propaganda exercises, a well-intentioned attitude and mutual understanding and not pathological hostility and hatred—that is the course which the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has systematically and consistently been defending in trying to achieve a political settlement of the questions relating to the external aspect of the problem of Afghanistan, the normalization of relations between that country and neighbouring States and the securing of peace and stability in South-West Asia.

113. Fully supporting these proposals and the efforts of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for their realization, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers it necessary once again to emphasize that, as in the past, we are firmly in favour of a peaceful political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, of the complete and unconditional cessation and guaranteeing of the non-resumption of armed or any other interference from outside in the domestic affairs of the country, and the establishment of conditions under which such an interference would be excluded in the future. We are in favour of the normalization of relations of Pakistan and Iran with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Given goodwill on the part of the parties concerned, a just political settlement of the problem can be found. As is known, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly stated that it is ready to attempt to achieve such a settlement.

114. In this way, the first positive steps were taken, through the rounds of discussion which took place with the mediation of the personal representative of the Secretary-General, in which representatives of the Afghan and Pakistan sides took part. In the report of the Secretary-General, it was stated in this connection

"That valuable and indispensable work has been accomplished during the period covered by this report is beyond question. For, given the difficulties encountered in setting in motion the diplomatic process, it has undoubtedly gone a long way towards the achievement of a fair and lasting political solution." [A/38/449, para. 11.]

115. In pointing to this, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR wishes to emphasize that the efforts of the United Nations must be aimed not at the inflaming of passions but at a comprehensive contribution to a genuine political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan by means of serious, businesslike negotiations.

116. Any attempts to hamper the diplomatic process must be decisively rejected. Such attempts, obviously intended directly to upset that process, as is known, are being actively undertaken. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, in May of this year the United States increased its military supplies to the rebels of Afghanistan, who are operating from bases in Pakistan, with a view to preventing any possible forward movement between the Afghanistan and Pakistan parties at the then forthcoming round of discussions in Geneva in June of this year. This, in fact, is what is being undertaken by those who are waging an undeclared war against the people of Afghanistan, who are doing everything possible to keep South-West Asia in the grip of a military and political fever, while at the same time trying to cover up their ominous adventurist policies and imperial ambitions by the orchestrated furor generated at the sessions of the General Assembly. Here we have an attempt to divert the attention of the United Nations from genuinely vital problems of our time and to hinder their settlement.

117. Essentially, in its design and construction, draft resolution A/38/L.17 is totally unacceptable, inasmuch as it contains provisions which provide for an infringement upon the sovereign rights of Afghanistan, ignores the basic factors of the existing state of affairs and does not take into account the legitimate interests and constructive proposals of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. In view of the foregoing, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will vote against that draft resolution when it is put to the vote.

118. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The position of the Mongolian delegation on the so-called question entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security" is well known and has been stated on a number of occasions here in the United Nations. We consider that the situation in this sovereign State, a full Member of the United Nations, is first of all a matter for the people of Afghanistan itself. It does not constitute any threat whatsoever to international peace and security. Its discussion at sessions of the General Assembly, against the firm and justified objections of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, cannot be viewed other than as a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular Article 2 thereof, which provides that nothing in the Charter "shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State".

119. As has been clearly demonstrated by the experience of recent years, such debates have not brought, nor will they bring, any positive results in the search for ways towards a political settlement of the situation in South-West Asia. On the contrary, they are being used, first of all, by those circles interested in constantly maintaining tensions there and in fanning vicious anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet propaganda, so as to justify and divert attention from their own aggressive actions in that region and in other parts of the world.

120. The Mongolian delegation has asked to speak, not at all for the purpose of taking part in any such fruitless and at the same time harmful discussion, but for the purpose once again of confirming before the Assembly our warm solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its selfless struggle against internal and

external reaction in defence of, and for the multiplication of the achievements of, the April revolution, which crowned the long struggle of the Afghanistan people for freedom, independence and social reformation.

121. To put an end to age-old backwardness, to achieve cardinal transformations in the country in the briefest possible period and to establish a just democratic society free from man's exploitation of man—this, if we were to characterize it briefly, is the main purpose towards which the policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is oriented today. Already there are profound changes in the life of this country, which are in keeping with the fundamental interests of the people of Afghanistan and which are being fully supported by it. Everyone who truly wishes the people of Afghanistan well is bound to be pleased with its achievements in the building of its new life and must reject the actions of those external forces which are trying to hinder it from following its chosen course. These forces, first of all world imperialism, in the form of the United States and its allies opposed to communism and sovietism have for more than five years been waging an undeclared war against the April revolution, while carrying out large-scale and co-ordinated aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, an independent and non-aligned country.

122. Meanwhile, it is to be deeply regretted that the rostrum of the United Nations is being used in the present instance principally to cover up such aggressive actions against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, where there is open intervention in its internal affairs, instead of contributing to an effective search for a constructive settlement of the situation which has been created around Afghanistan. It is particularly regrettable because at the present time the necessary premises do exist for such a settlement. Here we have in mind the well-known proposals of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on this question, which fully retain their relevance and which are evidence of its constant and sincere attempt to achieve a peaceful settlement in its relations with its neighbouring countries and normalization of the situation in this part of Asia as a whole.

123. The Government of Afghanistan justly proceeds from the premise that the only subject of negotiation should be the international aspects of the problem and that the securing of a total and guaranteed cessation of armed or any other interference in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are the basic elements of any political settlement.

124. At the same time, it is demonstrating the necessary flexibility and its readiness to take into account the interests of its partners. It is precisely as a result of the flexible position taken by the Afghanistan side that it has been possible to make a start on the encouraging diplomatic process in which the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan are participating through the intermediary of the personal representative of the Secretary-General. In his report, the Secretary-General states that "the diplomatic process has moved in the right direction and that a settlement is possible on the basis of what has already been accomplished, provided that the necessary policy decisions are made" [*ibid.*, para. 12]. But there can hardly be any doubt that the taking of such decisions will not be fostered by yet another obviously fruitless discussion and yet another anti-Afghanistan resolution.

125. The Mongolian delegation considers that draft resolution A/38/L.17 contains the same negative aspects as made previous resolutions on the subject completely unacceptable to certain of the principal parties. The document is devoid of political realism; it ignores the

true situation and takes no account of the legitimate interests of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Thus, it is only natural that my delegation should vote against it.

126. The Mongolian people is bound to the people of Afghanistan by long-standing ties of deep sympathy and friendship. With the victory in 1978 of the People's Democratic Revolution and the formation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the relations between our two peoples were raised to an altogether new level, and the widest prospects were opened up for the further development of those relations. An outstanding event was the official friendly visit to the Mongolian People's Republic in July of this year of the Party and State delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, led by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Babrak Karmal. The talks and negotiations between our two Party and State leaders, as well as the documents signed as a result of them—first and foremost a treaty of peace and co-operation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan—demonstrate the determination of the two peoples to develop and strengthen in every possible way their mutual relations, their unity and their solidarity in the building of a new life and in their struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

127. I wish to conclude my statement with the words spoken by Comrade Yumjagiin Tsendenbal at the solemn meeting of Mongolian-Afghan friendship held at Ulan Bator. He said:

“Our people knows full well that in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan a new life is being built under difficult conditions of open interference by the forces of imperialism and hegemonism and of unceasing armed raids by counter-revolutionary elements. We take sincere pleasure in each new success achieved by the Afghan people by dint of selfless work, under the leadership of its vanguard, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

“The Mongolian people and the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, together with brother socialist countries and all the other friends of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, will continue to support the efforts of the people of Afghanistan to achieve further revolutionary reforms in their country and the struggle to ensure the peace and security of peoples.”

128. Mr. JOXE (France) (*interpretation from French*): On several occasions since the beginning of this debate speakers have used the word “sterile” to describe it. But it is not sterile to wish to reaffirm the right of the Afghan people to determine for themselves, in the words of paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/38/L.17, “their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever”.

129. For the fifth time since January 1980, the General Assembly is considering the question of the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. The Assembly decided once again to include this item on its agenda because the problem of Afghanistan has not been resolved, the causes of the crisis have not disappeared and the prospects for a settlement remain uncertain.

130. The territory of Afghanistan was invaded four years ago and, whatever arguments may have been put

forward to justify this act of force, the truth is that the Soviet intervention constitutes a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State and a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. France condemns acts of this kind wherever they may occur.

131. Today, 100,000 Soviet soldiers continue to occupy Afghanistan. Bloody confrontations between the military forces of occupation and the internal resistance movement continue. Villages are being bombarded and destroyed. Curfews have been imposed in most towns. Innocent civilians are the victims of this fighting. Thus, it is not surprising that more than 3 million Afghans have attempted to escape the vicissitudes of war by abandoning their homes and seeking refuge in Pakistan and Iran.

132. That is the picture of the present situation in Afghanistan, and several speakers have supplemented it by stressing the danger of the extension of the conflict beyond the borders of Afghanistan to the entire region.

133. The fact that 114 delegations supported last year's resolution on Afghanistan [*resolution 37/37*] and the fact that this question is on our agenda once again testify to the continuing concern of the international community and, as I stated here in 1981, at the thirty-sixth session [*59th meeting*], and in 1982, at the thirty-seventh session [*79th meeting*], the concern of French public opinion. We cannot but be sympathetic to those who have chosen to resist. Their struggle has popular support the extensiveness of which has been attested to by impartial observers. What could be more legitimate than to wish to remain the master of one's own house? What could be more legitimate than to reaffirm, if I may repeat myself, the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system free from outside interference, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever?

134. The French people cannot understand how an eminent Member of this Organization, one which bears special responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council, could depart from the Charter of the United Nations, disregard the resolutions of the General Assembly, and not make a greater effort to resolve this crisis.

135. That attitude can only exacerbate the international climate, which has already been unfavourably affected, mainly by the imbalance of forces and the attendant tensions. In such a context, the military occupation of Afghanistan and its tragic consequences is now more than ever a matter of concern. No one should count on oblivion, resignation or diversion making it possible to continue trampling underfoot universally recognized principles. This explains why the President of the French Republic, Mr. François Mitterrand, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Claude Cheysson, have found it necessary on several occasions to reaffirm our condemnation of the foreign intervention in Afghanistan. It goes without saying that the situation in Afghanistan and the concern to which it gives rise affect the climate of our traditional relations with the Soviet Union.

136. The international community has spared no effort in seeking a solution, in the context of the meetings of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and the initiative of the Council of Europe, whose proposals remain valid.

137. In this very forum, the General Assembly has called upon the Secretary-General and his personal representative to carry out their good offices. We are following closely the efforts of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar and Mr. Córdovez to find a political settlement by means of what have been termed “indirect negotiations”.

138. The aim of these efforts must be to arrive at a solution in keeping with the relevant General Assembly resolutions. They call for self-determination for the Afghan people, the withdrawal of foreign troops, the restoration of the non-aligned status of Afghanistan and, of course, the voluntary return of refugees to their homes.

139. France fully supports those aims. We believe that any settlement outside the framework defined in draft resolution A/38/L.17 is likely to prove illusory. It is not a matter of settling the situation "around" Afghanistan; it is in Afghanistan itself that the problem and its solution are to be found.

140. We appreciate that the Secretary-General should have mentioned in his report his "deep concern at the slow pace of the negotiations and at the difficulties encountered in overcoming existing obstacles" [A/38/449, para. 12]. For nearly two years now, much time, energy and goodwill have been expended without any resolution of the uncertainties at present characterizing the process of indirect negotiations. We accordingly hope that genuine progress and specific results will be announced shortly; otherwise, many States Members of the United Nations will begin to wonder about the appropriateness of this diplomatic process.

141. The General Assembly must by its vote show its determination to bring about a genuine political settlement. The Afghanistan crisis is very serious, and it will be overcome only through an early settlement based on the principles of the Charter and on strict implementation of the Assembly's resolutions. Only thus will the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Afghanistan be restored, the suffering of the Afghan people come to an end and the concern and distrust of the international community be dispelled, thus eliminating one of the dangers threatening world peace.

142. Therefore, as it has done in past years, France will support draft resolution A/38/L.17.

143. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): From the very outset of the consideration of this question in the United Nations, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has always clearly and explicitly stated that such a discussion is nothing other than totally unjustified interference in the affairs of a sovereign State. Time has irrefutably demonstrated that, far from contributing to an improvement of the international climate in the region, this debate merely creates further complications in arriving at a solution of this problem, while still further aggravating the situation in this sensitive area of the world.

144. With regard to the core of the question, the real facts leave no doubts as to the nature of events within Afghanistan and as to the regional problems the international community has been witnessing for some years.

145. The April 1978 revolution was a particularly important and logical stage in the development of the country. That revolution dealt a crushing blow to the feudal system, opening the way to a process of profound socio-economic changes. In a relatively short period of time, the Afghan people, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, achieved important successes in eliminating the poverty, backwardness and political injustice which had afflicted the country.

146. Agrarian reform, as a result of which more than 300,000 peasant families have obtained lands, played a key role in the process of democratic renewal. A vast literacy campaign was launched. At present, there are one and a half million pupils in primary and secondary schools. More than 650,000 workers, peasants and craftsmen are

enrolled in literacy courses. The State has built housing, improved the social security system and expanded the network of free medical care.

147. All of these changes are increasingly typical of today's Afghanistan, as well as of its comprehensive social development.

148. However, the current reality in Afghanistan has another aspect: a dark side. I refer to the constant provocations and cruel acts of terrorism inspired from abroad which have become a veritable undeclared war against the people and the Government of Afghanistan. Counter-revolutionary bands armed with the most sophisticated weapons, including mortars, bazookas, machine-guns, mines and firearms of all kinds, are systematically carrying out incursions inside the Republic. They destroy factories, crops and irrigation systems, burn schools and kill teachers in cold blood, and strive to submit the entire population to bloody terror.

149. These hostile acts carried out from bases and camps outside Afghanistan are co-ordinated and financed by well-known imperialist circles, first and foremost the United States. They are designed to restore the medieval order, which was rejected by the Afghan people, and to create conditions for imposing imperialist domination over the country. These acts cannot be called anything but armed aggression. As is known, article 3 of the Definition of Aggression, adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, includes, among others, such acts as "The sending by or on behalf of a State of armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another State . . ."

150. It is precisely in these conditions that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was compelled to have recourse to its right to individual and collective self-defence, as provided for in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. By lending limited military assistance to its neighbour to the south at the request of its Government, the Soviet Union fulfilled its obligations under the Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Co-operation, signed between the two countries in December 1978. To help the Government and the people of Afghanistan to repulse aggression against that country was and continues to be the sole objective of this assistance.

151. The position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the problem under consideration stems from the profound belief that every people has the inalienable right to decide its destiny for itself. There is no doubt that the constant interference by imperialist, hegemonic and other reactionary forces in the internal affairs of Afghanistan is the reason why the situation around that country has not yet been normalized. In fact, it is precisely those subversive acts, rather than the Afghan revolution, which threaten the peace, security and independence of the States and peoples of South-West Asia.

152. The present propaganda campaign, designed to discredit the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, including the inscription of the so-called question of Afghanistan on the agenda of sessions of the General Assembly, has the same destabilizing aim. Insistence in bringing up this question is not inspired by a general concern for the well-being of the people. It has unhealthy and selfish objectives: to intensify tension in the region, poison the international climate and divert the attention of the international community from the acts of the aggressive and militaristic forces of imperialism in various regions of the world.

153. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan needs peace and tranquility in order to continue, and subsequently to promote, the process leading to progress in

that country. Its adherence to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the maintenance of good-neighbourly relations with all States of the region and the desire to resolve disputes at the negotiating table constitute the corner-stones of its external policy. The initiatives with regard to external policy put forward by Afghanistan on 15 May 1980<sup>2</sup> and 24 August 1981,<sup>3</sup> which outline the fundamental principles regarding the settlement of the situation of conflict created in that part of the world are concrete confirmation of this political line.

154. The Afghan Government has emphasized that it is ready to negotiate on a bilateral or trilateral basis with Pakistan and Iran. It has given its assent to direct contact, as well as to the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General or his personal representative. The approach of principle of Afghanistan on this question has always been founded on its belief that there is no problem which cannot be settled by peaceful means, provided that the negotiating parties show political goodwill, statesmanship and sincerity.

155. My country has welcomed with satisfaction the beginning of direct dialogue between Afghanistan and Pakistan, as well as the mission of good offices of the personal representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Diego Cordovez. The initial results have been promising, but it has so far not been possible to overcome certain difficulties stemming from the unrealistic and not at all constructive position of one of the parties. In the view of my delegation, the international community should make every effort to enable the negotiations to continue and to ensure that they lead to a successful solution. To achieve a peaceful settlement of the problems between the two parties concerned should be the principal objective of this world Organization, rather than the fanning of the flames of passion over these problems and the intensifying of tension in the region.

156. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is in favour of the initiatives of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. These are constructive and flexible proposals which take into account the wishes of the other States. We are in favour of a political settlement of the situation in South-West Asia on the basis of an immediate and unconditional halt to all armed or other interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The political guarantees of certain countries, including the Soviet Union and the United States, would make it possible to exclude in future a return to interventionist acts against sovereign and independent Afghanistan. This would be an important element for such a settlement.

157. The Government of my country is convinced that to achieve such a political settlement would be in the interest of the people of Afghanistan as well as that of its neighbours, would stabilize the situation in South-West Asia and have a beneficial influence on the international climate as a whole.

158. On the basis of these considerations, the Bulgarian delegation believes that instead of conducting an endless sterile polemic, this world Organization should make effective efforts to bring about a cessation of confrontation and the normalization of the situation in that part of the world. Since draft resolution A/38/L.17 runs counter to those objectives, my delegation finds it unacceptable and will vote against it.

159. Mr. KAMARA (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The situation in Afghanistan is, in our opinion, a very clear example of the vicissitudes which are often inflicted upon weak countries in a world where the interests and ambitions of the powerful seem now to be prevailing over the law.

160. The country was invaded almost four years ago, and the Afghan people is still languishing under the yoke of foreign military occupation.

161. The General Assembly has defined and reaffirmed the nature of the problem under discussion four times already: the situation which has prevailed in that country for the last four years stems from a violation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and a failure to respect the sovereignty of others.

162. Afghanistan was indeed invaded by foreign troops in December 1979 and today is still under military occupation. The continuing presence of those troops and the massive exodus of several million Afghan nationals to neighbouring countries constitute a threat to the peace of the region and to international security.

163. At the same time as it has set forth the principles in question, the General Assembly has at the last four sessions advocated the measures necessary to restore legality and peace in that country. By calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed there, the restoration of the right of the Afghan people to decide its own future without foreign interference or pressure and the creation, by means of negotiations between the parties involved, of conditions which would make possible the return of the Afghan refugees to their homes, the General Assembly has defined the appropriate framework for a solution to the Afghan problem.

164. Unfortunately, the situation has not improved and the Afghan people continues to pay dearly in its attempts to obtain recognition of its right of sovereignty and peace.

165. For reasons of principle and solidarity, my country has from the outset supported the claim of the fraternal people of Afghanistan to its right to the free exercise of its sovereignty. At the same time, we have consistently emphasized the need to arrive at a negotiated political solution based on a dialogue between the parties concerned, whose co-operation is essential if an escalation of tension in that part of the world is to be avoided. In this spirit, we welcome with optimism the few positive signs which we have discerned in the diplomatic sphere.

166. Indeed, in the last few months the consultation machinery established by the Secretary-General has made it possible to begin a process which we must all welcome.

167. The support expressed by all the parties concerned for the continuance of the efforts of the Secretary-General assigned to facilitate the negotiations on a political settlement is in itself encouraging.

168. The fact that the Secretary-General has detected some convergence of views between the parties on the principles which should underlie a comprehensive settlement, the relation which must exist between the different elements of this settlement and the measures to be undertaken to guarantee its effective implementation, undoubtedly indicates the beginning, however modest, of progress. However, we must deplore the fact that significant differences of opinion still exist which could reduce to naught the meagre progress which has so far been seen.

169. Therefore, we believe that in the interest of peace we must maintain the present impetus by facilitating dialogue in the context of the relevant principles of justice and international law. Senegal, which has always opposed interference in the internal affairs of other States, particularly armed intervention from outside, takes this opportunity once again to express its solidarity with the fraternal people of Afghanistan in the difficult situation in which they have been placed. We shall continue to support, as we have in the past, the efforts to bring about peace which are being undertaken at various levels, for we remain convinced that any solution arrived at by force

will merely exacerbate the conflict and increase tension in the region.

170. We hope that these efforts will make it possible to break the present deadlock and to achieve real progress towards the political solution advocated by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the resolutions of the General Assembly.

171. It is on this basis that this year Senegal has once again become a sponsor of draft resolution A/38/L.17, which we regard as a constructive effort to bring about a peaceful solution of the Afghan problem. The draft contains provisions which could facilitate negotiations between the parties concerned, and it also refers to the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In our opinion, adoption of this draft resolution would express our desire to bring about a peaceful, negotiated settlement. It would also be an expression of our desire to preserve peace and our determination to fight the diktat of force and the use of power in international relations.

172. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): With the recent outbreak of international crises, it is worthy of note that the situation in Afghanistan has been on the agenda of this Assembly for four consecutive years. Indeed, its impact on the Afghan people and the neighbouring countries, as well as its implications for international peace and security, are inexorably tragic and full of dangers. It continues to take an unmitigating toll of the Afghan patriots and to impose an increasingly heavy burden on the countries of first refuge for millions of refugees, particularly Pakistan.

173. It may be recalled that, around Christmas time in 1979, Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan, toppled the Government then in power in Kabul and installed a puppet régime in its place. The foreign armed intervention seemed to follow the pattern of the similar foreign armed intervention in another non-aligned country in another part of Asia which had taken place almost exactly one year previously. Since then, the situation in Afghanistan and the situation in Kampuchea have run on parallel tracks, as if they were inspired by the same textbook. Similar arguments have been adduced to legitimize the actions, which contravened the principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as the norms of conduct between States. The responses to such challenges, especially in United Nations forums, have been equally prompt and unequivocal. The General Assembly has repeatedly, and with the overwhelming support of the Member States, demanded the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the exercise of the right to self-determination by the people concerned. In both instances, the occupying Power has adamantly refused to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions. In Afghanistan, nationalist forces are waging a determined struggle against foreign occupation; in Kampuchea, the resistance forces are doing the same. In Afghanistan, horrendous weapons are being employed against the freedom fighters, and civilians in general, without regard for humanitarian principles or international legal obligations; in Kampuchea, similar brutal acts are occurring. In Afghanistan, the situation has forced a quarter of the population to seek temporary refuge in the neighbouring countries; in Kampuchea, a similar situation exists.

174. In the light of the above, Thailand shares the anguish of the Afghan nation, as well as the concerns of the front-line countries—Iran and Pakistan—particularly in having to bear the burden of the influx of refugees. In his statement yesterday, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan stated that

“the presence on our soil of nearly 3 million Afghan refugees . . . constitutes a humanitarian problem of colossal magnitude and places an enormous burden on our limited resources. The number of these refugees increases with each day that the conflict continues within Afghanistan.” [64th meeting, para. 23.]

He also said that “Pakistan is bearing more than half the expenditure on the Afghan refugees . . .” [*ibid.*, para. 26].

175. Thailand, which is also shouldering a heavy refugee burden created by the neighbouring Indo-Chinese States, pays a warm tribute to the Government and people of Pakistan for their humanitarian efforts on behalf of the uprooted Afghan people. My delegation finds it appalling that those who have created the refugee situation should be the ones to make slanderous allegations against Pakistan on account of its refugee policy. My delegation takes note, with deep appreciation, that Pakistan, despite its enormous burden, has pledged a contribution to assist refugees along the Thai-Kampuchea border, thereby demonstrating its genuine concern for refugees wherever they may be located.

176. Together with the humanitarian consequence, the situation in Afghanistan is fraught with dangerous implications for the region of South-West Asia, as well as for the world at large. The present conflict, if prolonged, threatens to bring about a long-drawn-out rivalry between major Powers. The situation offers fertile ground for such rivalry, partly because it already directly involves one of the super-Powers. In recognition of this danger, the neighbouring countries in the region have responded positively and have actively co-operated with the initiative of the Secretary-General and his personal representative in trying to achieve a comprehensive political solution to the problem. In so doing, they have accepted, and the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh sessions has endorsed, the following principles for a settlement: first, the immediate, total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan; secondly, the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system, free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever; thirdly, the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; and, fourthly, the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

177. The above principles have also been reaffirmed by the Organization of the Islamic Conference. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has, as in the case of the Kampuchean problem, repeatedly called for a political settlement of the Afghanistan problem, based on the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and respect for its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status.

178. My delegation notes with regret, therefore, that despite the praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative, there remain differences of attitude and position on a number of issues, including some crucial ones, which need to be bridged on the road towards a settlement. It appears that, as the Pakistan Foreign Minister stated, the indication of a reasonable time-frame for the withdrawal of troops would give a decisive impetus to the United Nations process, thus leading to an early solution. My delegation fully endorses this view, and earnestly hopes that the indirect negotiations conducted by Mr. Diego Cordovez will progress in that direction. In this connection, my delegation is happy

to note that, as stated in his report, the Secretary-General personally feels that "the diplomatic process has moved in the right direction and that a settlement is possible on the basis on what has already been accomplished, provided that the necessary policy decisions are made" [A/38/449, para. 12].

179. This year, the General Assembly has before it draft resolution A/38/L.17, which was eloquently introduced yesterday [64th meeting] by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan on behalf of its sponsors. My delegation, as one of the sponsors, shares the view that the present draft is free of polemics, and welcomes the reaffirmation of the basic principles concerned. The draft resolution also calls particular attention to the humanitarian problem of the Afghan refugees, whose right to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour is not in doubt. Meanwhile, the General Assembly is requested to renew its appeal to all States and national and international organizations to continue to extend humanitarian relief assistance to the Afghan refugees.

180. Since the draft resolution reaffirms the essential elements of a peaceful solution to the problem, including the right to self-determination of the Afghan people, and confirms international support for the efforts and constructive steps taken by the Secretary-General and for humanitarian relief assistance for Afghan refugees, my delegation strongly believes that it merits the support of all Member States. On a previous occasion, while speaking here on another situation, my delegation referred to the present agenda item as a test case, particularly for delegations that profess adherence to similar principles and norms. It is therefore my delegation's sincere hope that they will also act in good faith in meeting this test.

181. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): The present debate on the situation in Afghanistan marks the fifth time that the General Assembly has met to consider the Soviet Union's invasion of that country and its continuing effort to subjugate the Afghan people by force. The fact that our deliberations, by this time, follow an established pattern must not be allowed in any way to detract from the urgency and the extraordinary significance of the issue before us.

182. On one level, the continuing war conducted by the Soviet Union against the people of Afghanistan poses a challenge to the ability of the United Nations effectively to defend the bedrock Charter principle prohibiting aggression against the territorial integrity and political independence of Member States. But on another level, the continuation of the war, which will shortly enter its fifth year, is a tribute to the heroism of the people of Afghanistan.

183. As of today, the 22nd of November, the Soviet war against the Afghan people has been fought 35 days longer than the Soviet Union's participation in the struggle against Nazi Germany during the Second World War—what the Soviets call the "great patriotic war". The fact that the Afghan people have been able to resist an adversary so much more powerful militarily and so ruthless in its use of force is testimony to their fierce pride and unsurpassed courage. But this war, which is truly Afghanistan's great patriotic war against the Soviet Union, has taken a devastating toll on the Afghan people, hundreds of thousands of whom have been killed and millions of whom have been forced to flee their homeland.

184. It has been said that Afghanistan can be destroyed but cannot be conquered. Unable to subdue the Afghan freedom fighters, the Soviet forces have launched ruthless campaigns against the general populace—levelling entire villages, burning harvests, killing livestock and taking cruel reprisals against Afghan civilians. Areas that once

exported foodstuffs now suffer food shortages and, in some cases, actual starvation.

185. The chronicle of the rising level of violence inflicted by Soviet occupation forces against Afghan civilians recalls images of Guernica and Lidice. This violence, which has included torture, mass executions, rape and civilian massacres, has been painstakingly documented and strongly condemned by independent international humanitarian groups, including the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal, which met last December in Paris, and the International Afghanistan Hearing, which was held in Oslo in March.

186. Of all the dozens of witnesses who testified at the Paris meeting—among them journalists, doctors, experts on weaponry, representatives of humanitarian groups who had secretly visited Afghanistan, Afghan victims and other eyewitnesses—none presented more compelling testimony than three men from a village in the Logar valley near Kabul. They described in harrowing detail how Soviet troops entered their village on 13 September 1982 and deliberately burned to death 105 villagers, including small children, who had taken refuge in an underground irrigation tunnel. According to one of the witnesses, Soviet troops "burst into applause" after successfully sealing up and igniting the tunnel. The witnesses charged that incidents of equal brutality had occurred in other villages.

187. The report of the Oslo Hearing, which was presented to the recent meeting of the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, contains many factual accounts of and eyewitness testimony to flagrant violations of basic human rights, including mass killings perpetrated by Soviet forces in Afghanistan.

188. The main Soviet military efforts in 1983 have included a ruthless bombing and ground campaign in the western city of Herat during the spring and summer and attacks on villages near Kabul and along the Pakistan border near Kandahar, Ghazni and Jalalabad. The bombing attacks resulted in heavy civilian casualties but relatively few losses among the *mujahidin*. Herat, for example, was hit by some 50 sorties in a day in April, but the city still remains in the hands of the resistance.

189. Among the many reports of violence against civilians was that concerning the execution by Soviet forces in July of 20 elders in the provincial capital of Ghazni to avenge the deaths of several Soviet personnel. In October, reprisals were launched against villages near Kandahar, Afghanistan's second largest city, resulting in the death of some 100 civilians.

190. More recently, several hundred men, women and children were reportedly killed as a result of the Soviets' savage destruction of the small handicraft-producing town of Estalef, north of Kabul. At least half the town was levelled by artillery shelling, aerial bombardments and torching. Shocking but credible reports have been received from numerous sources of the killing of women and children with bayonets. A respected Estalef religious figure is said to have been summarily shot after personally complaining to the Kabul régime's Prime Minister about the Estalef atrocities.

191. Wartime devastation and the violence directed against the civilian population have forced a massive exodus of Afghans from their homes. Over 3 million Afghans have fled their country, while tens of thousands more are displaced within Afghanistan itself. Pakistan, which provides asylum to well over 2 million refugees, has handled its burden in a humane manner which is truly admirable. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees deserves special recognition too for tireless



efforts to lessen the burden by providing shelter, food and medical care to the refugees.

192. Finding themselves unable to defeat the Afghan resistance in its native mountainous terrain, Soviet forces have cruelly used chemical weapons and toxin weapons against freedom fighters and civilians alike in contravention of international law and agreements—and of human decency. Victims tell of long and painful sickness and death following Soviet chemical attacks. Their accounts conform with those of Hmong tribesmen in Laos and Kampuchea resistance fighters who report similar attacks by Soviet surrogates in Indo-China.

193. The Soviets also continue to use booby-trapped mines disguised as toys, cigarette packs, pens and other household objects in violation of the Convention,<sup>5</sup> which the Soviet Union signed in 1981, prohibiting the use of such cruel weapons.

194. The increased brutality against Afghan civilians makes a mockery of Soviet propaganda which portrays the Soviet Union as the protector of Afghanistan and Babrak Karmal as the beloved and democratically chosen leader of the Afghan nation. In fact, the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan is a clear—indeed, blatant—example of imperialist expansion, the fulfilment of a long-standing Soviet, and before that tsarist, goal of obtaining warm-water ports on the Indian Ocean. In its effort to add Afghanistan to its collection of conquered Central Asian Khanates, Moscow unilaterally invaded the country in December 1979 and installed a puppet régime there. Moscow's claim that it was invited by an established Government was concocted after the invasion. The Soviet Union has, in fact, never produced a shred of concrete evidence supporting its claim that an invitation was issued, and its first action in Afghanistan after the invasion was the murder, by a special Soviet assault team, of the then-President, Hafizullah Amin, in whose name they claimed to be acting.

195. The Soviet assertion that it sent its forces into Afghanistan to beat back American, Chinese and other foreign invaders is equally absurd and equally unsubstantiated. Not a single American or Chinese soldier has ever been found there. In a recent interview, a Soviet soldier who defected to the *mujahidin* said that he and other Soviet soldiers sent to Afghanistan were told that they would be defending the Soviet southern border against such foreign invaders.

“But one or two months after I arrived in Afghanistan,” he said, “I realized that I was deceived. We didn't see any Chinese or Americans.” He added, “I didn't want to be part of this dirty war in Afghanistan. None of the Soviet soldiers wants to be here . . . the Soviet Union should pull out its forces, because innocent people are dying on both sides.”

196. Moscow's argument that it is fighting outside interference has validity only if one considers the Afghan people to be outsiders in their own country. Meanwhile, four years after the Soviet invasion, Moscow is still attempting to make Afghanistan a subservient satellite, with 105,000 Soviet troops wreaking death and destruction upon an unyielding Afghan citizenry.

197. Real Soviet intentions towards Afghanistan are further underscored by its efforts to absorb the country economically and culturally into the Soviet empire. Afghanistan's natural resources, including natural gas, copper and iron ore, are being shipped to the Soviet Union to offset the cost of the occupation. New road and rail links connect Afghanistan with the Soviet Union, while the power grid in northern Afghanistan is now integrated with that of Soviet Central Asia. The effort

to reshape Afghanistan's traditional culture in a Marxist-Leninist mould continues apace. In addition to the sovietization of Afghanistan's educational institutions, thousands of young Afghans, including children aged six to nine, have been sent to the Soviet Union and other bloc countries for training and indoctrination.

198. Such efforts to reshape Afghan culture are one indication of the total absence of popular support for the Soviet occupation, as well as for the puppet régime of Babrak Karmal, which has no following apart from the tiny, splintered and despised communist party. As a result, the Soviets and their surrogates have had to exert control through brute force and terror. The Afghan secret police, known as the KHAD, is modeled after the Soviet KGB and is under direct Soviet control. During the 20-month period of communist rule preceding the Soviet invasion, the KHAD and its Soviet advisers were responsible for thousands of executions, as many as 32,000 in Pul-i-Charkhi prison alone, according to the Paris-based International Federation of Human Rights, which has conducted extensive interviews with survivors of that terror campaign. The KHAD remains the most pervasive and systematic violator of human rights in areas under régime control. Through surveillance, arrest, imprisonment and torture, the KHAD has instilled a pervasive atmosphere of terror.

199. Amnesty International recently reported that torture is used systematically by the KHAD. Victims range from 16-year-old girls to persons in their sixties. Amnesty's interviews with former prisoners reveal that hundreds of students from Kabul University and high schools have been tortured during the past three years. Amnesty International renewed its appeal to Babrak Karmal—which has still gone unanswered—to put an end to the torture.

200. With the Soviet invasion of 1979, a totalitarian, one-party State ruled by the Afghan communists has given way to a totalitarian apparatus completely controlled by the Soviet Union. Soviet military and civilian advisors sit in almost all ministries and make or approve every decision in the name of the régime. So weak and isolated is the Soviet client régime that its tenuous control extends only over parts of some major cities. The Afghan army continues to elude Soviet and régime efforts to make it an effective fighting force. Wracked by desertions and low morale, the army remains at half its pre-1979 level, despite the use of hated press-gangs to conscript males, many in their early teens, and incentive pay scales for recruits almost equal to sub-cabinet salaries. Defections to the resistance in fact equal inductions into the army.

201. Afghans tell of Alexander the Great defining the hero as he who does not ask the number of his foe, but asks where his foe is. This description epitomizes the Afghan *mujahidin*. Enjoying widespread support among the Afghan people, the *mujahidin* have heroically held the Soviet Union at bay for four years in a tenacious defence of their homeland, their religion and their right to self-determination as a people. They have not been deterred by the military and technological superiority of the Soviet forces or by the violence that those forces have used against the population of Afghanistan. On the contrary, fully three quarters of the Afghan countryside and populace and a third of the district capitals remain under the control of the resistance. Indeed, Moscow's efforts to subjugate Afghanistan have fostered a new sense of Afghan nationhood based partly on common ties to Islam and, increasingly, on the Afghan nation's unbending determination to resist Soviet aggression and domination.

202. Nothing more clearly illuminates the aggressive nature of the invasion of Afghanistan and the utter fraudulence of the Soviet arguments defending the invasion

than the universal revulsion this action has occasioned among the Afghan people. Had the reaction of the Afghan people been different, had they, for example, welcomed the Soviet troops as liberators, then surely the judgement of the international community regarding the Soviet action would, and should, be different.

203. The norms embodied in the Charter of the United Nations become meaningful in their application to specific situations. It is not possible to distinguish between the lawful and the criminal use of force without first carefully examining the reasons for the use of force, the manner, the duration of its use and the result. In this respect, the use of force by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan is without legal foundation and lacks any reasonable moral or political justification. As we have already seen, the use of force by the Soviet Union was not undertaken at the request of any lawful authority within Afghanistan, and it resulted in the murder of the existing president. Similarly, the countries of the region neither requested nor welcomed the action but regarded it as a blatant act of aggression and a threat to their own security and to regional stability. Nor was there evidence of any foreign involvement in Afghanistan posing a threat to Soviet security. Moreover, the Soviet action could not be justified in terms of liberating the Afghan people from internal oppression or alien domination. As the attitude and the actions of the Afghan people clearly demonstrate, the Soviet Union is an oppressor and a foreign aggressor, not a liberator. There are no reports of Afghans welcoming Soviet forces with cries of "God bless Andropov!"

204. On all other counts, the Soviet invasion violates the norms of international law and the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Soviet Union has used force without restraint and without regard for civilian casualties. On the contrary, it has deliberately attacked the civilian population in an effort to depopulate areas of resistance strength. Nor has it allowed the International Committee of the Red Cross or any other international humanitarian organization to establish a presence in Afghanistan or to fulfil its international function. It has not only forbidden such humanitarian organizations to work in Afghanistan, but has deliberately bombed hospitals established by French doctors in an effort to drive them out of the country.

205. Regarding the duration of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, the Soviet forces have already been there for four years, and Moscow gives no sign that it has any intention of withdrawing those forces in the foreseeable future. Finally, the result of the Soviet invasion is the clear and unambiguous denial of the right of the people of Afghanistan to self-determination. The argument put forward by Moscow that the Afghan people exercised their right of self-determination through the so-called Great Saur Revolution of April 1978, thus precluding the need for free elections, is ludicrous on the face of it. The argument is meaningful only to the extent that it reveals Moscow's Orwellian interpretation of self-determination as absorption in the Soviet empire.

206. A careful examination of these issues not only helps clarify the illegal and, indeed, the immoral character of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan but also exposes as intellectually pernicious and morally obfuscating any equation of this invasion with the rescue operation undertaken by the United States and six Caribbean nations in Grenada. I have no intention of discussing the issue of Grenada at this time beyond noting that on each and every point mentioned above—the attitude of the people concerned, the legal authority of the action undertaken, the stability and security of the region, the clear threat posed by foreign involvement, the effort to avoid civilian casualties, co-operation with humanitarian agencies, the

announced intention to withdraw forces with deliberate speed and by a certain date, the intention to hold free elections in a manner consistent with the principle of self-determination, as well as the additional factor of the safety of innocent United States civilians whose lives were endangered—on all of these points and more, Grenada was as different from Afghanistan as day from night, as liberation from enslavement, as independence from conquest and subjugation.

207. The failure to make such distinctions will not, as some feel, preserve the integrity of the principle of non-use of force. Rather, the failure to make such distinctions will undermine international law as an instrument for the resolution of conflicts in a manner consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

208. It is on the basis of these purposes and principles that we support draft resolution A/38/L.17. This draft resolution outlines a fair and comprehensive solution to the situation in Afghanistan. It calls for the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, for the right of the Afghan people to choose their own form of government and for the restoration of Afghanistan's political independence and non-aligned status; and it reaffirms the rights of refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour.

209. My Government supports these principles. It supports as well the search for a negotiated political settlement to end the tragedy the Afghan people now endure. We firmly believe that a peaceful settlement is possible, and we strongly support the efforts of the Secretary-General to find such a settlement. Indeed, the Secretary-General and his personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, deserve to be commended for their sustained effort to bring about an end to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. We have been pleased to hear of the progress made in the United Nations talks, and my Government will continue to support them in the context of the four fundamental principles outlined in draft resolution A/38/L.17. The Soviet Union, and it alone, can ensure the success of these talks by committing itself to a timetable for the total withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan.

210. The elements for a fair and just settlement are in place. They have been repeatedly endorsed by the large majority of nations. The world awaits a Soviet act of good faith. The world hopes for a peaceful and free Afghanistan—an Afghanistan in which the people of that country, and they alone, shall determine their country's destiny. Surely if any people in the world have earned the right to self-determination through their courage, determination, sacrifice and faith, they are the people of Afghanistan. In an age of cynicism and unbelief, they are authentic heroes. For their courage and resilience, they deserve our admiration. For their just cause, they deserve our support. And for their defence of rights which all people cherish and which constitute the foundation of world peace, they deserve our undying gratitude.

211. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Wherever peoples embark on the course of genuine social transformation they come up against the reactionary forces of imperialism, which use all the resources at their command to attempt to halt and sidetrack social processes.

212. The fact that Afghanistan chose the course of independent development, escaping the domination of imperialism, which had already lost a faithful ally in the region with the overthrow of the Shah of Iran, made the imperialist forces do all in their power to destabilize the process, encouraging and spurring on hostile forces to obstruct the consolidation of the economic and social conquests of the Afghan people.

213. When Afghanistan took the steps necessary for its own defence, in a sovereign and lawful act legitimized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, the same reactionary forces as had provoked the situation used their economic and military resources to foster the aggression from outside.

*Mr. Koh (Singapore), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

214. At the same time, they launched an unprecedented diplomatic offensive, which included the introduction into the United Nations, against the will of a sovereign State, of an inappropriate debate, on the pretext that the situation in Afghanistan posed a threat to peace and security.

215. The only threat to peace in that region is that created by Yankee imperialism and international reaction through their interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, their training and supplying of armed bands which sow terror, thus promoting a war that is no less bloody for being undeclared, and their intensive slander campaign, which includes provocative statements by the President of the United States himself which encourage the crimes of the bandits in a futile attempt to prevent the consolidation of the conquests made by the Afghan people.

216. The entire situation which has been provoked around Afghanistan since the revolutionary triumph of 1978 is but another link in the long chain of the acts of aggression and interference carried out by imperialism. Those acts are, without question, being added to by the policies of the present United States Administration, which, with aggressive vigour, is again playing the role of international policeman against peoples which choose the course of independence and social progress.

217. The dozens of United States military bases installed in the four corners of the world threaten international peace and security and are used to support the most reactionary and aggressive régimes, such as the *apartheid* régime in South Africa and the Zionist régime in Israel.

218. The falseness of the supposed concern for the fate of the Afghan people of the spokesmen of imperialism—spokesmen who, in the purest Orwellian style, call the bandits patriots and the patriots terrorists—was revealed in the crude jest uttered by President Reagan when he learned the result of the United Nations vote condemning the criminal Yankee aggression and occupation in Grenada: "It didn't make me lose my breakfast".

219. Although it expresses concern at the slow pace of negotiations, the report of the Secretary-General [A/38/449] indicates that there has been progress on the correct path towards the achievement of a fair and lasting political solution and that this has been possible because all the parties concerned have remained firmly determined to work in good faith towards the achievement of a comprehensive settlement.

220. In this context, we welcome the efforts made by the Secretary-General and his personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, in arranging the talks that may make it possible to work out a comprehensive agreement.

221. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has also expressed its concern regarding the solution of this problem and has recognized the efforts of the Secretary-General, urging him to continue those efforts. At the same time, it has advocated a political settlement and the adoption of measures which would lead to the establishment of harmonious relations among the States of the region.

222. Cuba—which during its chairmanship of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries made every possible

effort to bring about a lessening of tension in the region—hopes that the growing trend towards dialogue will make it possible to create a climate of trust conducive to a negotiated solution beneficial to all the parties, on the basis of the principles of respect for the sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

223. If the threat posed by imperialist interference in Afghanistan ceases, the Afghans, as the report of the Secretary-General points out, "will be able to decide their future in peace, and the foundations will have been laid for mutual understanding and co-operation among the States in the area" [*ibid.*, para. 12].

224. Cuba maintains its firm position of principle never to side with imperialism, which is the main instigator and promoter of conflicts and which attempts to reverse the course of history, a course which leads inevitably to peace and progress.

225. As regards draft resolution A/38/L.17, we believe that it contains provisions which cannot be accepted by the principal party concerned, and that, because of its unilateral nature, it will not contribute to bringing the parties closer together or promote the negotiating process. That is why my delegation will vote against the draft resolution.

226. Mr. SUCHARIPA (Austria): The question of Afghanistan continues to be one of the central issues on the Assembly's agenda. It is a problem with far-reaching implications, not only for the stability of the region, but also for international peace and security.

227. The continued military intervention in Afghanistan, which has been condemned by the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, including Austria, constitutes a serious violation of some of the most basic principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations: the principle that all Members of the United Nations should refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State; the principle of the equal rights and the right to self-determination of peoples, including their right to the free choice of their own political and social systems; and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

228. Those 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.

229. Moreover, the situation in Afghanistan has created a serious humanitarian problem of considerable proportions. Millions of people have been forced to leave their homes and seek refuge in the States neighbouring Afghanistan, particularly Pakistan. Their plight adds particular urgency to the tragedy that has befallen their country.

230. There is yet another aspect of the situation in Afghanistan which gives rise to concern. The events in that country constitute a most serious impediment to any improvement in the political climate in general, to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the search for joint solutions to urgent global problems. Those events have dealt a severe blow to our hopes to attain positive results in all these fields and to pursue an undisturbed and fruitful dialogue in an atmosphere of confidence and co-operation. This is one more reason why a political solution to the Afghanistan problem is becoming ever more urgent.

231. In our view, such a solution has to be based on the following elements, which have been repeatedly emphasized by the General Assembly: the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops, the exercise by the

people of Afghanistan of its right of self-determination; international guarantees of non-interference; and the voluntary return of the refugees.

232. Over the past few years, many constructive initiatives have been launched outlining the scope and content of a political settlement in line with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant General Assembly resolutions. I should like to mention especially the contributions made by the member States of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the European Community.

233. Austria is particularly pleased to learn from the report of the Secretary-General [A/38/449] that his efforts and those of his personal representative, Mr. Cordovez, have been further pursued and have resulted in substantial progress in the definition of the details of a comprehensive settlement. It is our hope that it will prove possible for those efforts to gain further momentum in order to arrive at a positive conclusion in the near future.

234. Let me emphasize that the United Nations has played a primary role in elaborating the basis for a settlement in Afghanistan. As a Member State that has always advocated the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, Austria is especially gratified by this important contribution to the solution of the Afghanistan problem. As has been pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report, it is now for the parties to the conflict to make the necessary political decisions in order to arrive at an early settlement. We sincerely hope such a process can be initiated without delay.

235. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The situation in Afghanistan, with its tension, instability and bloody struggle between two unequal parties, continues to threaten international peace and security.

236. Nearly four years have elapsed since the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, which violated the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and recognized rules of international conduct. Throughout these four years, the efforts of the international community, shocked by the intervention of a super-Power in the internal affairs of a small State, have never slackened. Immediately after that intervention, in resolution ES-6/2, adopted on 14 January 1980 at its sixth emergency special session, the General Assembly called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan. Further General Assembly resolutions followed at its last three sessions—the thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh—reaffirming the operative part of resolution ES-6/2.

237. The international community's efforts went further. The Organization of the Islamic Conference took up the question and adopted resolutions at the levels both of Foreign Ministers and of Heads of State or Government calling for a solution of the problem of Afghanistan on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

238. The latest of these international efforts was the appeal by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, for a political settlement based on the withdrawal of foreign forces and full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, and for strict observance of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 114].

239. In this context, we must express our great appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to find a just solution of this question. The consultations held by

Mr. Cordovez with the authorities in Islamabad, Kabul and Teheran at the beginning of last year led to the first series of indirect talks, which took place in Geneva in June 1982. Those talks defined the elements of a comprehensive solution to the Afghan question, including the withdrawal of all foreign forces, non-interference of any kind, international guarantees and the voluntary return of Afghan refugees to their homes.

240. Despite the modest optimism resulting from these meetings, the situation remained stationary after the failure of the second round of indirect talks, in Geneva in June 1983, to reach agreement on the elements of a comprehensive settlement. In his report the Secretary-General, referring to this obstacle, said that it had not proved possible to bridge differences of attitude and position regarding a number of issues, including some crucial issues, which were left in abeyance [A/38/449, para. 7].

241. Among the important issues left in abeyance and mentioned in the Secretary-General's report is agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of foreign forces, in application of resolutions of the General Assembly and of other international bodies.

242. The settlement of this crucial issue, together with consultations with Afghan refugees concerning guarantees of the conditions of their voluntary return to their homes and talks on international guarantees, could lead to greater progress towards a comprehensive settlement and crown the Secretary-General's initiative with success.

243. Four years have elapsed since the foreign military intervention in Afghanistan. Despite the awesome inequality between the invading force—that of a super-Power—and that of the Afghan people, the Afghan people rose up to liberate their country and defend their freedom, independence and faith and, with their modest armament, resisted foreign forces armed to the teeth with the most modern weapons. They are waging an heroic struggle that is worthy of our admiration.

244. However, neither the heroism of the *mujahidin* nor the sympathy of the world public has changed the tragic reality: heroism and sacrifice alone, even if supported by law and legitimacy, do not make an adversary equal to the weapons of a super-Power. Thus, it is inevitable that this reality should have resulted in the death of more than 130,000 Afghans, two thirds of whom were civilians, since the beginning of the foreign military intervention. Moreover, millions of Afghan refugees have had to leave their country, and the number in Pakistan alone has reached nearly 3 million. This huge number is perhaps the best indication of the tragic human dimension of the Afghan tragedy; hence the concern of the General Assembly, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference to include in all their resolutions an appeal for the Afghan refugees to be given the opportunity to return to their homes in dignity and for respect for the right of the Afghan people to self-determination without foreign interference.

245. My delegation, which supports the struggle of our Afghan Muslim brothers to regain their legitimate right to choose their political, economic and social system without interference, coercion or foreign constraint of any kind, reaffirms the position of Qatar concerning this problem, a position which has already been stated in resolutions of the General Assembly, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and in the official statements of the Government of Qatar, including the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Qatar in this Assembly on 7 October, when he said:

“The State of Qatar categorically rejects the use of force to settle disputes. It believes in the right of all peoples to self-determination. Based on that stand, we hope for the success of the United Nations efforts to bring back normal life to Afghanistan and to ensure the withdrawal of all foreign forces from this friendly Muslim country, allowing its people to choose the political and social system that best suits it and to live in the manner it chooses and desires.” [24th meeting, para. 123.]

246. Based on this position, the delegation of Qatar was a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/38/L.17. The draft resolution recalls the resolutions adopted at the sixth emergency special session and the last three regular sessions of the General Assembly. It requests the Secretary-General to continue his efforts with a view to promoting a political solution to the problem and to continue the exploration of securing appropriate guarantees for the non-use of force, or threat of use of force, against the political independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of all neighbouring States, on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

247. We express the hope that these diplomatic efforts will quickly be crowned with success so that the suffering of the Afghan people may be ended and the material, moral and political burdens on neighbouring countries resulting from the foreign intervention may be removed.

248. Mrs. MOLØKKEN (Norway): For the fourth year, the General Assembly is called upon to consider the continuing tragedy in Afghanistan. Each year since the Soviet invasion in December 1979, the General Assembly has passed by overwhelming margins resolutions calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces and a political settlement. Despite United Nations resolutions and international sympathy, the situation in Afghanistan continues to be a matter of grave concern. The foreign military intervention, in clear contravention of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, poses a threat to peace and stability throughout the region.

249. After almost four years of occupation, the Afghan people continues to pay the price and bear the burden to ensure the survival of their freedom. The costs of the Soviet invasion have been enormous. It has taken a high toll in human lives. It has brought widespread suffering and the destruction of the Afghan society. Political repression, military actions and a disrupted economy have caused an estimated one fourth of the Afghan population to take refuge in neighbouring countries.

250. We noted that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, Mr. Shah Mohammad Dost, in his address to the General Assembly on 6 October, stated that

“half of all schools in the country, 50 per cent of our hospitals, 14 per cent of public-transport motor vehicles, 75 per cent of all communication lines, a number of hydroelectric and thermal power installations of the country, and other public facilities have been destroyed” [21st meeting, para. 112].

This is clear testimony to the agony and suffering of the Afghan people.

251. The adverse impact of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan on international peace and security is clearly visible. The intervention has created dangerous uncertainties and tensions in a highly volatile region. It has figured prominently in East-West relations and caused damage to détente and efforts aimed at halting the arms race. In the United Nations we have seen how the intervention has affected the relations between the major Powers, which necessarily also hampers the effectiveness and lessens the credibility of the whole Organization.

Moreover, the intervention in Afghanistan constitutes a most dangerous precedent.

252. We all have a direct stake in a just and durable settlement of the Afghanistan crisis. The core problem is the inflexibility and the unwillingness to address seriously the troop withdrawal question. The crisis in Afghanistan is the direct result of foreign armed intervention and its solution lies in the termination of that intervention. My Government believes that continued occupation will contribute to making violence even more widespread and destructive. Therefore, we urge the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and to consider seriously the positive effects of a negotiated settlement. We also urge that the authorities in Kabul terminate their futile efforts to subjugate the Afghan people.

253. Draft resolution A/38/L.17 incorporates the essential elements and practical framework of a comprehensive political settlement of the Afghanistan problem: first, the complete withdrawal of foreign troops; secondly, restoration to Afghanistan of an independent and non-aligned status; thirdly, self-determination for the Afghan people; and, fourthly, the right of Afghan refugees to return home in safety and honour.

254. The draft resolution takes note of the diplomatic process initiated by the Secretary-General and supports his efforts in the search for a political settlement. It is our hope that his initiative and efforts will continue to receive the full support and encouragement of the international community. Norway fully supports the efforts of the Secretary-General. We urge the parties to the conflict to co-operate with him in his efforts to bring about a settlement. May I add here that the Norwegian Government shares the concern expressed by the Secretary-General in his report at the slow pace of the negotiations and at the difficulties encountered [see A/38/449, para. 12]. In our view, an indication of a reasonable time-frame for the withdrawal of foreign troops would give a decisive impetus to the United Nations process.

255. In conclusion, a few words about the refugee problem: over 4 million people, one fourth of the entire population of Afghanistan, have sought refuge in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. The Afghans in Pakistan constitute the largest refugee population in the world, estimated at 2.9 million.

256. In Pakistan alone, more than \$1 million are being spent every day on the upkeep of the Afghan refugees, 55 per cent of this being borne by Pakistan and placing an enormous burden on its limited resources. Permit me in this connection to pay a special tribute to Pakistan. Special recognition should also be given to the humanitarian operations of the United Nations and others for their untiring efforts to alleviate the suffering of the unfortunate Afghan refugees, particularly the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross. It remains our sincere hope that conditions will soon be created in Afghanistan to enable them to return to their homes.

257. Norway has for its part provided 40 million Norwegian kroner—approximately \$550,000—in humanitarian assistance over the last three years. We stand ready to continue and to increase our assistance to the Afghan refugees.

258. Mr. MOUMIN (Comoros): The Assembly is today for the fifth time discussing the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. Considering that all that has to be said on this issue has already been said, it is not the intention of my delegation to be verbose. However, we wish to recall that the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly was

convened early in January 1980, soon after the intervention in Afghanistan by Soviet forces, and a resolution calling for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine its own form of government free from outside intervention, was adopted by that session [resolution ES-6/2].

259. But the foreign Power concerned did not heed the international appeals. The military intervention in Afghanistan, an Islamic, non-aligned country, constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and norms of conduct governing international relations. That violation poses a threat to peace and stability, not only in the region but throughout the world. It has created a dangerous precedent, the result of which the international community recently witnessed in the Caribbean.

260. Recognizing the grave consequences of the intervention in Afghanistan, the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have all expressed deep concern at that intervention and have repeatedly called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan. The crisis in Afghanistan is the direct result of foreign intervention, and its solution lies directly in the cessation of that intervention. We in the Comoros cannot but continue to demand that cessation.

261. Four resolutions have been adopted on this question by the General Assembly, asking for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the creation of conditions favourable to a peaceful settlement, but regrettably up to this date, in spite of the tremendous efforts being deployed by the Secretary-General, very little has been achieved to that end.

262. However, the delegation of the Comoros has not lost faith, and we sincerely hope that the adoption of draft resolution A/38/L.17 will eventually make the Soviet Government come to its senses and realize that its own interests can only be served by a peaceful settlement of this unfortunate problem at the earliest possible date.

263. Mr. KURODA (Japan): It was in December 1979 that the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, and it still maintains a great number of troops there. Although the intervention has taken a heavy toll, the Afghan people are steadfast in their resistance, and they continue to wage guerrilla warfare throughout the country. We hear reports of numerous casualties among civilians, including women and children. Countless homes are destroyed in bombardments and artillery attacks on villages, and millions of people have had to seek refuge outside their country. The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan has heightened tensions not only in South-West Asia but also throughout the world.

264. This outrageous situation has continued for nearly four years. The Soviet Union tries to blame the prolonged fighting on interference from other countries. But the fact is that it is the Afghan people themselves who are fiercely opposing the Soviet military occupation and intervention in the affairs of their country. The Soviet Union must recognize that a military solution cannot work, and, indeed, will never be reached.

265. Voices expressing profound concern and appealing for a settlement of this grave problem have been raised throughout the international community and are echoed in General Assembly resolution ES-6/2, adopted on 14 January 1980 at the sixth emergency special session, and Assembly resolutions 35/37 of 20 November 1980, 36/34 of 13 November 1981 and 37/37 of 29 November 1982. Nevertheless, because the Soviet Union remains

intransigent, there are as yet no prospects of a settlement. The Government of Japan is resolute in its insistence that the Soviet Union end at once its intervention in Afghanistan, which contravenes international law and justice, and withdraw its troops immediately. The situation must be resolved in accordance with the principles of non-interference and respect for the right of self-determination of the Afghan people.

266. The Secretary-General has been making a concerted effort to bring about a settlement of the situation in Afghanistan, as described in his report. His personal representative, Mr. Cordovez, visited the countries concerned last January, and the Secretary-General himself visited the Soviet Union in March. Furthermore, his personal representative made intensive mediation efforts in Geneva last April and June. Japan has been following attentively all of these efforts towards a political settlement of the problem. Regrettably, however, they have not as yet produced any concrete results. The Government of Japan hopes that the Secretary-General will continue to work for a solution, although it realizes that formidable difficulties accompany this problem. The Government of Japan believes that such efforts must be consonant with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. Of primary importance is the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

267. 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 through receiving millions of refugees from Afghanistan. We pay high tribute to the humanitarian efforts it has made in this regard. For its part, Japan has extended co-operation to relief activities through UNHCR and WFP, as well as through other organizations. It is our intention to continue to extend such co-operation for humanitarian reasons as well as from considerations of regional peace and stability.

268. Japan strongly supports draft resolution A/38/L.17, which confirms the basic principles for the settlement of the problem. It is our hope that the draft resolution will be adopted by an overwhelming majority, as were previous resolutions on this question.

269. 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 four years for the withdrawal of its troops without delay. As long as its military intervention in Afghanistan continues, the Soviet Union will be the focus of international criticism. Indeed, how can the international community trust the Soviet Union's appeals for peace and détente while its troops are occupying Afghanistan?

270. It is Japan's firm conviction that only a settlement which is endorsed by the Afghan people and which fully respects their right of self-determination will bring lasting peace and stability to Afghanistan.

271. Mr. GÖKÇE (Turkey): The international community, despite the passage of four years, remains facing a dangerous impasse over the situation in Afghanistan, with no improvement inside the country or any mutually recognized tangible progress in the efforts to bring about a political solution. The people and Government of Turkey are deeply saddened by the tribulations and the endless suffering of the Afghan people. Only two days ago, we are informed, an Afghan pilot of a fighter aircraft defected to Pakistan in protest against the policies of the present Government in his country. This is a clear measure of the serious problems faced inside Afghanistan.

272. The Turkish nation prays for the day when the supreme sacrifices of their Afghan brethren will be

rewarded by freedom and by the restoration of their inalienable right to live in their own land, in peace and honour, and in ways and under a Government of their own choosing.

273. The situation in Afghanistan is today a major source of danger, posing a grave threat to regional stability and carrying wide implications for international peace and security. The persistence of an impasse in and over the issue of Afghanistan does not, in our view, reduce the dangers involved. On the contrary, it makes the problem all the more difficult to resolve, thereby increasing the costs and risks for all concerned; hence the vital importance of finding a political solution for Afghanistan and of finding it without further loss of time. Resolution of the problem would mean a significant reduction in international tension. Its persistence, on the other hand, will further aggravate the difficult international situation.

274. The Afghan people have already proved that they will not submit to alien domination, whatever the military odds against them. The whole world knows that the Afghan people will not be deterred in their heroic struggle until they reach an honourable settlement of the various problems affecting their country. This is why the Government of Turkey has, from the very inception of the Afghan question, always called for and emphasized the need for a political solution as the most feasible and acceptable way of resolving the problem.

275. The 4 million Afghan refugees present a staggering humanitarian task for Pakistan and Iran. This is an unprecedented state of affairs, in which one out of every four Afghans has been forced to leave his country and to seek shelter in neighbouring States which are confronted with very serious problems of their own. This not only results in extremely difficult conditions and untold pain for millions of Afghan children, women and men, but also places a heavy and expensive burden on the economy and society of Pakistan. The same is true of Iran.

276. We must therefore express our appreciation not only to UNHCR and all other humanitarian international agencies for their valiant efforts on behalf of the Afghan people, but also and especially to the peoples and Governments of Pakistan and Iran. Turkey, for its part, will continue to extend humanitarian relief assistance to the Afghan refugees and urges all others to do so also. Pending a political solution in Afghanistan, it is our duty, and the obligatory expression of solidarity with the Afghan people, to try to help alleviate the hardships and the plight of the refugees.

277. The problem of refugees, like all other facets of the Afghan question, can be resolved only through negotiations aiming at a political settlement. At the same time, for a political solution to be lasting it must address itself to the legitimate concerns of all the parties to the conflict.

278. The position of the Government of Turkey on how a just and lasting solution can be found to the Afghan question has been enunciated with utmost clarity and consistency. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country is undoubtedly the principal requisite for any solution. The sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence and the non-aligned status of Afghanistan must be re-established and respected. The Afghan people must be free and allowed to choose their own form of government and way of life without outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint. Still another element of vital importance is the creation of those conditions that would permit the Afghan refugees to return to their country in safety and honour.

279. As I said at the beginning of my statement, the impasse concerning Afghanistan persists. But we take

some encouragement from the fact that all the principal forums of the international community continue to take a close interest in the Afghan problem. The Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries are very keen to make a positive contribution and are actively engaged in this regard. The 10 member States of the European Community maintain a constructive posture, and their expressed readiness and capacity to assist should be utilized by all concerned.

280. We must underline here the particularly significant efforts of the Secretary-General and reiterate our firm support for him in his initiatives. We note with some satisfaction that, according to his report:

“substantial progress was made in the definition of the contents of the comprehensive settlement, its principles and objectives, the interrelationship among its four component elements and the provisions, including time-frames, for its implementation” [A/38/449, para. 7].

We also take heed when the Secretary-General reports to us that

“It did not prove possible . . . to bridge differences of attitude and position regarding a number of issues, including some crucial issues, which were left in abeyance.” [Ibid.]

281. We share the Secretary-General's concern at the slow pace of negotiations. We believe that, the main obstacles having been identified, it is now time to move forward. It is incumbent upon all parties to extend their full co-operation to the Secretary-General and reciprocate the good will already shown in these negotiations. We note again with satisfaction the continued readiness of Pakistan to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General. The diplomatic process initiated by the Secretary-General must continue and we must all encourage him and the parties concerned to bring that process to a successful conclusion. For us, that means a free and peaceful Afghanistan living in security with its neighbours.

282. Mr. THIOUNN Prasith (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): Among the questions on the General Assembly's agenda are two very important ones which constitute a threat to international peace and security and have a striking number of similarities. They are the problem of Kampuchea, which arose from the Vietnamese invasion of 25 December 1978; and the problem of Afghanistan, which arose from the Soviet invasion of 27 December 1979—that is, one year later.

283. On that day, armed forces of the Soviet Union crossed the borders of Afghanistan in the hope of subjugating the Afghan people in a few months. But for almost four years now they have been obliged to wage a war that has lasted even longer than the Second World War, and they have not seen the end of it yet. The Red army—not to speak of the weak, divided and puppet army of Kabul—cannot venture far from the large towns and the main communication routes. The Kabul administration has collapsed and its authority is non-existent in the major part of the country. In Kabul itself, the *mujahidin*, with the help and support of the people, are increasing their activities, which range from passive resistance to an ever-increasing number of attacks.

284. This situation, in which the army of the most expansionist world power has been bogged down, has only exacerbated the divisions and the bloody quarrels between the two puppet factions established in power in Kabul, between the Parcham, led by Babrak Karmal, and the Khalq. There have been many battles between those two factions, leaving hundreds of killed and wounded; the latest, and certainly not the last, of those battles was the one on 17 August last in the town of Herat.

285. Incapable of subjugating the Afghan people, the Soviet Union, like Viet Nam in Kampuchea, is trying to absorb the country through "pacification"—that is to say, the extermination of all opponents—and through "sovietization".

286. This attempt to exterminate the Afghan people was highlighted last March in Oslo during an international hearing organized by all the political parties in the Norwegian Parliament. According to the testimony of Afghans who had been able to flee the country, arrests, imprisonments, torture and summary executions are increasing, with the aim of eliminating all opponents and all those who are capable of heading the opposition. In Kabul there are at least eight torture centres. In the Pul-i-Charkhi prison, in the suburbs of Kabul, tens of thousands of prisoners have been massacred and 15,000 others are still locked up. Outside the towns, in the rest of the country, and particularly where the population is resisting, Soviet troops kill, massacre and destroy; Soviet aircraft and helicopters machine-gun, bomb and raze villages and set fire to harvests and granaries, spreading terror; they do not hesitate, if they feel it necessary, to employ chemical and bacteriological weapons.

287. By committing all these crimes, the Soviet Union, which always proclaims that it is the apostle of peace and détente and also the "natural ally" of the non-aligned countries, has already emptied Afghanistan of more than a quarter of its population. Several hundreds of thousands of Afghans have been massacred; about 3 million Afghans have taken refuge in Pakistan; and more than 1 million others have taken refuge in Iran. The humanitarian policy of those countries of first asylum, notably Pakistan, deserve the constant support and admiration of the international community.

288. Together with these measures to empty Afghanistan of all those who oppose its invasion, Moscow has begun a process of sovietization in order to absorb the country in the long run. Several tens of thousands of young Afghans are sent to the Soviet Union to receive appropriate indoctrination. A number of agreements linking Afghanistan to the Soviet bloc at every level have been signed, placing education, the economy and the natural resources of the country, among other things, under direct Soviet control.

289. The administration of Kabul only works with several hundreds of Soviet officials and KGB "advisers". As at present in Phnom Penh, where all political, economic and military questions are decided in Hanoi, in Kabul they are decided in Moscow. According to the Vice-Rector of the University of Kabul, Mohammad Haider, who sought refuge a few months ago in Pakistan with his family, four fifths of the Afghan professors have fled the country or have been thrown into prison or killed by the occupiers. They are replaced by Soviet professors who have modified the education programmes to match Soviet models.

290. The invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam, supported by the Soviet Union, has given the Soviet fleet and air force their first military warm-water bases in Da Nang and Cam Ranh in Viet Nam. Thanks to these bases, they can constantly monitor vital communication routes between the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean through the Malacca Strait.

291. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has modified the strategic situation in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The Soviets have created and developed in Afghanistan seven air bases, the most important of which is Shindand. These bases make it possible for them to give air cover to their fleet in the Indian Ocean. Now, Soviet planes are more than 200 miles closer to the Persian Gulf,

and Soviet forces have the capacity for carrying out destabilization activities against Afghanistan's neighbours. Already, Soviet planes frequently violate the airspace of those countries. And like the Kampuchean refugee camps in Thailand which are attacked by the Vietnamese invasion forces in Kampuchea, the refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran are attacked by the Soviet forces and their Kabul puppets.

292. In order to try to side-track and soften world condemnation of its invasion of Afghanistan, and with the hope of gaining time in the process of absorbing the country, the Soviet Union gives the impression that it is seeking a peaceful settlement to the problem and that such a settlement is in sight. It is even implying that it would withdraw its troops if the forces of Afghan resistance no longer received assistance from neighbouring countries and if Afghanistan remained in the hands of what it calls a "friendly Government"—that is, a Government which would accept keeping Soviet "advisers" and would always be ready to "invite" Soviet forces to return to Afghanistan whenever it was felt necessary by Moscow, particularly in the case of events in Afghanistan and its neighbouring countries that Moscow would judge to be "threatening" to its security.

293. We understand why the Soviet Union refuses to conform to the many resolutions of the United Nations, of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which called for the total and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan following a specific timetable; the exercise by the Afghan people of its right to self-determination; and the international guarantee of respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. It is these refusals which have hindered the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative—to whom my delegation would like to pay deserved tribute—to achieve a peaceful solution to the problem of Afghanistan.

294. The situations created in Kampuchea by the Vietnamese invasion and in Afghanistan by the Soviet invasion are very similar, not only now, when the forces of invasion of these two Powers are hopelessly bogged down in wars of resistance of the peoples, but also through their expansionist aims which have been fed and cherished over a long time by these same Powers.

295. Kampuchea, for more than 50 years, has been the strategic target of Viet Nam, which, after having exterminated the Islamic Kingdom of Champa in order to create the present central Viet Nam, and after having absorbed the southern part of Kampuchea in order to make it the present South Viet Nam, has done everything to absorb it within the "Indo-Chinese Federation" destined to become Greater Viet Nam. The same goes for Afghanistan which, for more than 50 years, has been one of the strategic goals of the Soviet Union. In its thrust to the south and towards the warm-water ports, the Soviet Union already absorbed, in 1924, the Islamic States of Khiva and Bokhara, which were then dismembered and incorporated into the "Soviet Socialist Republics" of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan. It is interesting to note that at that time the Soviet Union had also sent to these two Islamic States of Khiva and Bokhara so-called limited contingents of Soviet troops, who have remained there ever since. Today, these two Islamic States have been totally absorbed into the Soviet melting-pot.

296. Abdurrahman Khan, Emir of Afghanistan at the end of the last century, described Russian expansionism thus:

"The Russian policy of aggression is slow and steady but firm and unchangeable . . . Their habit of forward



movement resembles the habits of the elephant, who examines a spot thoroughly before he places his foot upon it and when he puts his weight, there is no going back and no taking another step in a hurry until he has put his full weight on the first foot and smashed everything that lies under it.”

297. Viet Nam in Kampuchea and the Soviet Union in Afghanistan thought they could triumph in a few months. They underestimated the will and the determination of the Kampuchean and Afghan peoples to defend their freedom, their dignity and their national entity, nor did they expect the determined and almost unanimous opposition of the international community.

298. To speak only of Afghanistan, after four years of heroic struggle the Afghan people and their *mujahidin* have become stronger than ever. Their forces control virtually all of the countryside where the invaders can no longer move in safety. They are launching attacks within the major towns such as Kandahar and even in Kabul. They have support and sympathy throughout the administration, the army and the puppet police force and even in the KHAD, the puppet secret police modelled and led by the KGB. The officials in all the civil sectors, the soldiers and officers of the army and the police of the puppet Kabul régime continue to join the national resistance. The day before yesterday, on 20 November, a pilot of the Kabul régime landed in Pakistan with his aircraft, a Soviet Su-7, and declared that he had decided to abandon the puppet Kabul régime to show his firm opposition to that régime. From year to year, the position of the Afghan patriotic resistance is strengthened in the country and in the international arena. It can be affirmed without fear that whilst the struggle of the Afghan people is still long, complex and difficult, it is no less true that that struggle will end in triumph. Over the last four years the Afghan people has proved that it cannot be mastered and that it is determined not to undergo the fate of Khiva and Bokhara.

299. The people of Kampuchea, who share and endure the same misfortunes and sufferings sowed by the same enemies, warmly congratulate the fraternal Afghan people and their *mujahidin* for their heroic example and on the success which they have gained in their just struggle. Kampuchea and Afghanistan are separated from each other by several thousands of kilometres. However, their peoples are united by strong links forged in a common struggle against a common enemy. The victories of the Afghan people are also encouragement for the Kampuchean people.

300. It is with these feelings that my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/38/L.17, and it calls on all representatives of peace and justice-loving countries to give even greater support to it this year.

301. For four years the General Assembly has been the faithful spokesman of the international community by always making it clear by the massive support given to the resolutions on the situation in Afghanistan—like the resolutions relating to the situation in Kampuchea—that it will never yield to threat or force, and accept a new Munich.

302. It has shown that we must encourage the Afghan people who, through their just, resolute and stubborn struggle and through firm and solid resistance, are successfully defending their national freedom, dignity and identity, while at the same time thwarting the expansionist ambitions of the Soviet Union. This expansionist super-Power hopes that, as in the past, time will work in its favour and that, with its rhetoric on peace, détente and disarmament, it will make people forget its invasion of and crimes in Afghanistan, so that it will ultimately be

able to absorb that country *de facto*. It will then be able to take another step forward and put its elephantine foot on another country neighbouring on Afghanistan.

303. It is thus important that the General Assembly support draft resolution A/38/L.17 with a massive vote in order to make it quite clear that the international community will never accept the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union and will not permit this super-Power to take another elephant's step forward. In so doing, the Assembly will be expressing once again the determination of all countries and peoples which cherish peace, justice and freedom to defend the Charter of the United Nations and world peace and security.

*Mr. Scotland (Guyana), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

304. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): From the time when the United Nations first began to discuss the question of the situation in Afghanistan, almost from December 1979, Ecuador has maintained a clear and unswerving position in accordance with the principles that shape our international policy—those same principles that guided us in rejecting other cases of the use or threat of the use of force in international affairs, as well as in all situations in which Ecuador's voice has joined the voices of other free countries in calling for the withdrawal of foreign occupation forces so that the peoples themselves, free of any outside pressure, may decide their own destiny.

305. This has been the position of principle maintained by Ecuador in the case of Afghanistan, as well as in the cases of Lebanon, the Middle East in general, Cyprus, Kampuchea, Namibia, Chad, Grenada, and the Malvinas.

306. What we call for is a return to the rule of law and a correction of the illegitimate situation of Governments created and maintained solely by the action of occupation forces, whose imposed presence disproves the fiction that the *ad hoc* Government called for those troops.

307. The valiant Afghan people is countering with its scarce forces foreign armed occupation. The exodus of that people and the alarming number of refugees, amounting to 4 million—which constitutes the clearest rejection by the people of foreign occupation, even at the cost of what is most precious to any individual, the right to live in one's own country—is a terrible consequence of the military situation created by those foreign forces, in flagrant violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

308. For these reasons, Ecuador associates itself with the representatives of those countries that have appealed from this rostrum for the super-Power to withdraw its forces of occupation from the territory of Afghanistan and for the Afghan people to choose its system of Government in free elections without any outside pressure. We also associate ourselves with the representatives of countries that have affirmed that a negotiated political solution should be sought to the problem rather than the military solution that has been attempted by force, so far unsuccessfully.

309. Among the principles of international coexistence embodied in the Charter, of which the Government of Ecuador is a loyal defender, are those of the prohibition of the use of force in international relations, respect for the sovereign equality of States and their territorial integrity, non-intervention of any type in internal or external affairs, and the self-determination of peoples. This is why we condemn armed aggression, wherever it occurs, and occupation by foreign forces, which can only aggravate the already critical world situation. Hence, my country urgently appeals in each of these situations for an end to

foreign intervention and for the creation of the necessary conditions for the people of the respective countries to exercise their sovereign right to choose the political system and Government that they desire.

310. Mutual respect among nations large and small is a fundamental element of the tenets of the Charter of the United Nations, as it is of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which rejects all forms of aggression, occupation, domination, interference or foreign hegemony, as well as all forms of direct or indirect, overt or covert, intervention, and all political, diplomatic, economic, military and cultural pressure in international relations, in the terms supported by the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries when they defined the role of non-alignment at their Seventh Conference, held in New Delhi last March [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 11].

311. The delegation of Ecuador, for all these reasons and guided by its principles, will support draft resolution A/38/L.17 and hopes that the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, will bring the desired results, so that the question of Afghanistan may at last be resolved in an equitable and democratic manner.

312. Mr. STRUČKA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Czechoslovak delegation notes with regret that the General Assembly is again involved in a discussion of the so-called question of Afghanistan, contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which do not permit interference in the internal affairs of States—in this case, against the wishes of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

313. The main reason for the extraordinary situation around Afghanistan is the armed aggression and other forms of interference from outside in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Imperialist interference took place even before the revolution and increased when the Afghan people, in April of 1978, decided to build a new, just society in their country and to take operation of the Government into their own hands. The revolution gave rise to opposition not only from internal reaction but also from the leading circles of imperialism and hegemonism. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, faced with increasing threats to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of its country, acting on the basis of the Afghan-Soviet treaty of 1978 and in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, was forced to ask the Soviet Union to give international assistance.

314. The enemies of the Afghan revolution, headed by the United States and its Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], continue to send counter-revolutionary groups to Afghanistan and to finance, train and arm them. Those groups have destroyed hundreds of schools and scores of hospitals and they murder and plunder the populations. Over the past five years, the United States Government has allocated \$218 million to finance the Afghan counter-revolution; this year alone it has allocated \$105 million. American imperialism is waging an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, not only by means of Afghan counter-revolutionaries from the territory of neighbouring Pakistan but also by means of secret operations on the territory of Afghanistan itself. Building up the hostile campaign also involves American centres of propaganda and ideological sabotage, which make use of dozens of radio transmitters to attempt to poison the atmosphere and disrupt the creative efforts of the Afghan people. Open support of the

counter-revolution has been elevated to the level of official policy in the United States and in certain other States. Those States are in the lead among those which at the same time are attempting to abuse the United Nations in order to discuss a problem the resolution of which falls totally within the competence of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

315. But despite all the armed attacks, the Afghan people have achieved impressive successes in promoting the gains of the April 1978 people's democratic revolution. They have put an end to the powers of the feudal lords and are developing agrarian reform. They are expanding and strengthening the public sector of the economy. They are implementing a broad range of social programmes and strengthening achievements in the area of health. Already more than 90 per cent of medical services are provided free of charge. Vaccinations against tropical diseases are also free, as are both curative and preventive medical treatment services. Industrialization is taking place in the major cities and provincial centres. The State organs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are devoting attention to the development of rural areas as well. The goal of all these measures is a higher standard of living for the entire population.

316. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is also making sincere, systematic efforts to resolve the question of Afghan citizens living abroad. It is not creating obstacles to their return, and will not create any. It has proclaimed an amnesty for all Afghans who return to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The senior representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Babrak Karmal, in his statement to citizens living abroad, made on 16 October 1983, once again reassured those citizens that in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan no one will be subjected to persecution on account of his religious or political convictions if he does not participate in unlawful subversive activities against the State.

317. In its foreign policy, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan bases itself consistently on the Charter of the United Nations and on the principles of non-alignment, and it is striving to strengthen unity and solidarity with the peoples of the world in the struggle for peace, détente, disarmament, democracy, freedom and social progress. Since the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the Government and the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have displayed their readiness to build a new life in an atmosphere of good-neighbourliness, friendship and co-operation with all States.

318. Thanks to its foreign policy and its positions of principle, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is making a significant contribution to the advancement of progressive trends in international relations, in the struggle to strengthen peace, in the struggle for the independence of peoples, and in efforts to achieve general progress. It is striving tirelessly to achieve a political settlement of the situation in South-West Asia through negotiations amongst all parties directly concerned. To that end it put forward constructive and realistic proposals on 15 May 1980<sup>2</sup> and 24 August 1981.<sup>3</sup> Those proposals still show the way to the elimination of the consequences of imperialist interference and of the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. That Government is co-operating in the search for a political settlement with the personal representative of the Secretary-General, and is thus actively helping to achieve progress in the negotiations being held through his intermediary with Pakistan. In this way it is confirming by its deeds its adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and

to the concept of peaceful coexistence, and is manifesting its desire to put an end to counter-revolutionary attacks from outside and to build a new society in conditions of peace.

319. The people and Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have been following with sympathy the efforts of the Afghan people to strengthen and defend their revolutionary achievements and their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity in the face of the aggressive attacks of imperialism and internal and external reaction. We highly appreciate the results achieved by the Afghan people under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan with the support and co-operation of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community and progressive forces worldwide in the cause of implementing the gains of the April revolution. We respect the peace-loving policy of non-alignment pursued by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and we greatly appreciate the constructive, flexible and realistic proposals made by its Government, which are aimed at achieving a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan. We share with the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan relations of friendship and fruitful co-operation, the foundations of which were laid, first of all, in the treaty of friendship and co-operation signed between our countries in 1981, during the visit to Czechoslovakia of the President of the Revolutionary Council, Babrak Karmal.

320. The development of traditional relations of friendship and co-operation serves not only the interest of both our countries. We also consider it to be at the same time our common contribution to the cause of peace and progress in the world.

321. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is one of those States that from the very beginning have opposed, and continue to oppose today, consideration of the question of the situation in Afghanistan in the United Nations. We condemn it as a manifestation of interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State and as an action undermining the authority of the United Nations and in no way helping efforts aimed at a political solution to the situation in Afghanistan. We condemn it as an action which is at the same time aimed at deceiving peoples and

creating a smoke-screen for the aggressive actions of imperialism, led by the United States, with a view to encouraging hostility towards the Afghan people and its revolutionary forces. We are convinced that the road to a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan lies only through halting the undeclared war being waged against this country and through political negotiations in accordance with the will and desire of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. We welcome the negotiations being carried out by the personal representative of the Secretary-General and consider them as an integral part of the process which must lead to direct negotiations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and neighbouring countries. We appreciate the readiness of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to begin direct negotiations with representatives of Pakistan and Iran at any suitable level and in a place chosen by mutual agreement. These negotiations would no doubt permit—to a significant extent—reaching a speedy, constructive and realistic settlement to the situation in Afghanistan.

322. We strongly reject any retrograde steps which do not take into account either the will or the desire of the Afghan people and which constitute interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

323. Since draft resolution A/38/L.17 relates to a number of such steps, my delegation will vote against it.

*The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.*

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1980*, document S/13729.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Supplement for April, May and June 1980, document S/13951.

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

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, and three Protocols.