



*President:* Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
(Zambia).

**AGENDA ITEM 28**

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

1. Mr. BAYLET (France) (*interpretation from French*): For the sixth time since January 1980, the General Assembly has before it an item on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

2. Five years after the Soviet intervention, the problem of Afghanistan has still not been resolved. The reasons for the crisis have not disappeared and prospects for a settlement remain uncertain. That is why the General Assembly decided to include this item in its agenda once again.

3. Whatever the arguments might be to justify it, the Soviet act of force in Afghanistan remains a violation of an essential principle of the Charter of the United Nations that makes it incumbent on members of the Organization above all to refrain from the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

4. France condemns acts of this nature. The President of the Republic, Mr. Mitterrand, as well as the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Cheysson, have recalled this firmly on several occasions.

5. Developments in Afghanistan can give rise only to strong disapproval and indignation: more than 100,000 Soviet soldiers are still trying to reduce internal resistance by military means. Large-scale offensives, begun this year in most of the provinces of Afghanistan, are a logical extension of the policy pursued for almost five years. These represent an alarming stage and reveal a regrettable obstinacy. France condemns this increased use of force, which cannot stifle the legitimate aspirations of a people.

6. The use of new and increased military action has heightened the suffering of the civilian population: it is not surprising that 3 million Afghans, in order to escape the war, have sought refuge in Pakistan and Iran.

7. This is the situation as it prevails in Afghanistan today. Several speakers have given additional information in emphasizing the tension on the borders of that country and the risks of an extension of the conflict to the entire region. We cannot fail to be concerned, in this regard, by recent attacks made against Pakistani territory from Afghanistan, causing

casualties among Pakistani citizens and Afghan refugees.

8. The fact that 116 delegations last year lent their support to the resolution on Afghanistan and that this item is once again on the agenda show the continuing concern of the international community. This concern is shared by French public opinion which has spontaneous sympathy for those who choose to resist in order to safeguard their right to self-determination.

9. It is then quite natural that a number of my compatriots should work selflessly to mitigate the sufferings of a population which is paying a very high price for its desire for independence. A similar sense of duty among journalists ensures that we shall not disregard or forget what is happening in Afghanistan.

10. I feel it my duty in the Assembly, which is so greatly concerned with respect for human rights everywhere, to salute such proof of courage and dedication.

11. The French fail to understand how an eminent Member of the Organization, which bears the special responsibilities incumbent on permanent members of the Security Council, could so snub the Charter of the United Nations, or could disregard resolutions of the General Assembly and refuse to withdraw its troops from the territory it is occupying. As has been said in previous years by the representative of France, nobody should count on oblivion, resignation or diversion in order to continue to flout universally acknowledged principles.

12. The international community has spared no effort in the search for a solution, be it in the framework of meetings of the non-aligned countries, of those pertaining to the Organization of the Islamic Conference or those held at the initiative of the European Council, whose proposals remain valid. In this forum, the General Assembly has called upon the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to exercise their good offices.

13. The efforts made should ensure that we shall arrive at a solution in accordance with resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, which I recall, require the withdrawal of foreign troops, self-determination for the Afghan people, the restoration of the non-alignment of Afghanistan and the voluntary resettlement of refugees in their homes.

14. France fully subscribes to these objectives. It believes that any settlement which strays from the framework defined by draft resolution A/39/L.11 would risk leading only to a semblance of a solution. We cannot be confined simply to settling the situation "around" Afghanistan, we must do this "in" Afghanistan itself, because it is in Afghanistan itself that we find both the problem and its solution.

15. We are following carefully the efforts made by Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar and by Mr. Cordovez with a view to seeking a political settlement in what has been called the Geneva "proximity" discussions. As is emphasized in the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/513], this is the only machinery of negotiation currently in operation. But the uncertainty surrounding it has not been eliminated in the course of the past year; for our part, we hope that true progress and concrete results may speedily be announced. If that does not take place, a number of States Members of the Organization will have to question the sound basis of this diplomatic process.

16. The Assembly should show by its vote its determination to bring about a true political settlement. The crisis in Afghanistan is a serious one and will end only if a settlement based on the principles of the Charter and strict implementation of the resolutions of the Assembly is quickly reached. That is how the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Afghanistan will be restored, the sufferings of the Afghan people ended, the concern and mistrust of the international community removed and one of the threats to world peace eliminated.

17. The French delegation supports the draft resolution before the Assembly, as it has similar draft resolutions in previous years.

18. Mr. AMMAR (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Five years after the entry of foreign troops into Kabul, the Assembly still has before it the problem of Afghanistan.

19. The last four sessions of the Assembly as well as the urgent meeting of the Security Council and the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly convened immediately following the military intervention have not made it possible to ease the serious situation that currently prevails in Afghanistan. The many resolutions adopted in the General Assembly by a large majority have not met with a favourable response from some parties.

20. The non-aligned countries have frequently noted their deep concern about the situation in South-West Asia and affirmed that it is fraught with dangerous consequences for peace and stability in the region and could have a serious impact on international peace and security.

21. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs and heads of delegation of non-aligned countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly met in New York from 1 to 5 October last and noted with great concern the situation in Afghanistan. They reiterated the urgent call of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, for a peaceful political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops, full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, and strict observance of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference.

22. The Organization of the Islamic Conference convened a special session in January 1980 to consider the situation in Afghanistan, until then a member of that organization. Subsequent conferences attached great importance to the Afghan crisis and recommended to the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Afghanistan, set up by the Islamic organization, that it work for a political solution of the problem and co-

operate in this connection with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

23. Despite their persistence and the constructive spirit that inspired their efforts, the measures taken by the non-aligned countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and other regional organizations have had no positive results.

24. My delegation regrets that despite these efforts a negotiated solution of the Afghan problem is not yet in sight. We are convinced that the continuation of the situation in Afghanistan can only exacerbate tension in the South-West Asian region and throughout the world at a time when the revival of polarized regional conflicts has frustrated hopes for true international détente.

25. We are particularly concerned about this situation because the problem that we are considering today could prove impossible to solve by peaceful means as long as international relations continue to be marked by tension, greed and the use of force.

26. If the situation in Afghanistan is not the only hotbed of tension in the world, it none the less constitutes a very worrying precedent that could threaten the structure of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

27. The situation has added a dangerous practice to international relations—that of distorting the principles of international law by justifying armed intervention after the fact by political and juridical arguments which do not stand up to analysis. The dangers inherent in this practice threaten small and weak States above all because the only recourse they have is to the Charter of the United Nations. My country cannot endorse the abuse of force on any grounds, nor can it agree to bow to this *fait accompli*. It considers that, whatever the motivation or pretext, the armed intervention in Afghanistan is neither more nor less than a serious violation of the territorial integrity of that country and must therefore be condemned, in accordance with the Charter and the principles of international law.

28. The United Nations was founded following a devastating world conflict precisely to save the world from the scourge of war and contribute to the establishment of an international political order based on law, justice and understanding among peoples. It would have proved an appropriate forum for the settlement of the Afghan crisis if it had been associated early enough in the search for a solution.

29. The trials that Afghanistan has suffered over the past five years, which have undoubtedly damaged the established order in the South-West Asian region, have given rise within the country to a conflict between opposing forces seeking supremacy. This increasingly lethal war puts at stake the very independence of the country, the preservation of its cultural values and its identity.

30. The Afghan people is courageous, proud and dignified. It has demonstrated its fierce nationalism throughout its history and has fought against any interference in its affairs. The military intervention of a foreign Power will not be able to quell a resistance that has already demonstrated the courage and the determination of the people to ensure the independence and non-alignment of Afghanistan. It is this proud independence which is the best guarantee of the neutrality and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

31. We are convinced that with the withdrawal of foreign troops, Afghanistan will regain its status as an independent, non-aligned country, a status which it had for many, many years before its ordeal began and which enabled it to co-operate beneficially with all its neighbours, without exception.

32. But if we wish to be realistic, we cannot be too hopeful that foreign troops will leave Afghan territory immediately. For even if the allegations made by some of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs cannot be verified, it is still in the Afghan people's interest to find some common ground in order to accelerate the departure of foreign troops.

33. Despite the wide ideological differences between the political factions in Afghanistan, we believe that the country's future cannot be built without the participation of all its people in the enterprise of development and renewal. Only a negotiated political solution, in which all the political forces in Afghanistan have taken part, will have any chance of success.

34. It is impossible to govern a country in which a large part of the population has taken up arms or left its homes to live outside the country's borders without realizing that the pacification action taken since the events of December 1979 has definitely failed.

35. We are convinced that the Afghan people, like all other peoples, desires peace, security and development. Its love of independence and freedom makes it the duty of all of us, particularly those who are at the helm in questions of international peace and security, to enable that people to decide freely about its future, without any interference or coercion, from wherever it may come.

36. It will soon be five years since foreign troops entered Kabul, and my delegation would point out that there is some reason not to be too pessimistic. A glimmer of hope has just appeared in Geneva, where proximity talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan have been held under the aegis of the Secretary-General. The third round, held in August last, seems to have made it possible to clarify some controversial questions on the agenda of these talks.

37. We are particularly grateful to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, for having explored all the possibilities for a constructive dialogue by the parties concerned, on the basis of the documents placed before them. It is useful to note that the new formula for the talks has accelerated their pace, which has contributed to some progress, however slow, on the difficult road to a solution.

38. My delegation would point out here the importance of the establishment of machinery for consulting the refugees about the conditions for their return to Afghanistan. We consider such machinery to be of great importance in the achievement of a comprehensive solution.

39. Finally, I would like to recall that the fate of the millions of Afghans who have been forced to leave their homes and their country is of great concern to us. We must bear in mind the assistance given them by the international community, and particularly by Pakistan, which is bearing the heaviest burden. We hope that this humanitarian assistance will continue to be provided to the Afghan people until a comprehensive solution to the Afghanistan problem has been found.

40. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union completely agrees with the views of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which has strongly objected to a discussion by the General Assembly of the so-called Afghanistan question. Such a discussion is nothing but an attempt to interfere yet again in the internal affairs of a sovereign country and to use the United Nations for this ignoble goal. Behind all this we find the policies of some States which wish to maintain and even whip up tensions both around Afghanistan and internationally. Do the delegations here realize that their support for a discussion of this so-called issue can establish a precedent dangerous to them? Do they realize the possibilities they are opening up for interference in the internal affairs of Member States of the United Nations? Do they realize that the States which are engaging in all this "fuss" about the "Afghanistan question", both within and outside the United Nations, and which attempt to portray themselves as friends and protectors of the Afghan people, are in fact taking Afghanistan back to the Middle Ages, to the status of a backward country subjected to imperialist diktat?

41. It should now be clear to everyone that the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is, in essence, nothing but direct armed intervention by influential outside forces that are enemies of the April revolution. There is no need to prove that without constant intervention from outside, without broad material and military support, the counter-revolution would have long since been dealt a final blow and would have been unconditionally defeated.

42. Disregarding the will of the Afghan people and taking account only of their own strategic interests, some countries are increasing the flow of material and financial resources to the bands of counter-revolutionaries. Recently, the House of Representatives of the United States Congress approved additional millions of dollars of allocations for a new programme of "secret assistance" to terrorists who are carrying out bloody reprisals on the territory of Afghanistan.

43. According to members of the United States Congress, the operations in Afghanistan are the largest of those carried out by the Central Intelligence Agency, apart from the financing of the Somoza bands that have been thrown into Nicaragua.

44. Thus, the whole world is witnessing the United States constantly allocating special funds for military operations in Afghanistan—in other words, for killing and subversion in that country. The Western press unabashedly reports that so-called camps of Afghan refugees are being used as bases for throwing together military formations. In this way, terrorism is being raised to the rank of State policy.

45. The activities and deeds of those who claim to be in favour of the Afghan people's freedom demonstrate that they are not concerned about the tense situation now existing around Afghanistan and that they have no wish at all for a political settlement of that situation. In raising a hue and cry at the United Nations and trying to bring about the adoption of anti-Afghan resolutions inimical to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, those forces, though their words are in favour of a peaceful settlement, they are impeding the process by their deeds, thereby hinder-

ing the efforts being made in that direction by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez.

46. However, the situation is not developing at all in the direction preferred by the enemies of the Afghan revolution. This year the counter-revolution has been dealt a series of major defeats. As a consequence, it appears that supporters of the counter-revolution have joined together and co-ordinated their efforts to make the undeclared war against Afghanistan even more bloody and cruel. To this end, along the roads leading into Afghanistan, there has been a significant increase in the number of caravans carrying deadly cargo. Arms have become more refined. In addition to automatic rifles, machine guns and mortars, the Afghan counter-revolutionaries are now receiving large numbers of artillery, missiles, including ground-to-air missiles, and so on.

47. The ground-to-air missiles are not being used against military aircraft only; indeed, they are being used against civilian aircraft. For example, in September this year there was a barbaric missile attack on an Ariana Afghan Airlines DC-10 flying from Kandahar to Kabul, with 200 passengers on board. It was only thanks to the courage and common sense of the crew that a catastrophe was averted.

48. Ordinarily, the weapons reach their users with their markings removed, but what is being provided for the counter-revolutionary bands, and from where, is well known. It is enough to name the arms factories of the United States, Pakistan and China.

49. Recently, there has been an increase in the major training centres where American, Pakistani, Chinese and other foreign instructors are training counter-revolutionaries in the use of the latest types of weapons, including ground-to-air missiles. In order to train specialists, more than 100 centres have been established for those bands. There are 78 in Pakistan, 11 in Iran, 3 in China and so on.

50. Verifiable data indicate that in the areas of Pakistan close to Afghanistan more than 100 supply centres have been built, with the help of the Pakistani authorities. In those centres are to be found all kinds of weapons and military supplies brought in from abroad. There is now special control over the above-mentioned very refined types of weapons, the security of which is ensured particularly by the Pakistani military authorities.

51. The territory of Pakistan has been turned into a springboard for armed intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and a major base for the supply and training of the counter-revolutionary bands. According to data produced by a research group at Peshawar University, the number of counter-revolutionary organizations founded on Pakistani territory is now 85. It is well known that Peshawar has been turned into a major headquarters for the ringleaders of the counter-revolution.

52. Playing an ever more active role in the intensification of a storm of undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Islamabad is trying to accuse the peace-loving Afghan Government of whipping up tensions in that area. We may refer to a host of propagandist canards about so-called artillery and air attacks on Pakistani population centres being carried out from the territory of Afghanistan. Such reports are usually made on the eve of another round of Geneva talks aimed at

settling the situation around Afghanistan or before a session of the General Assembly.

53. In fact, the armed provocations are being carried out from Pakistani territory. Here I give only a few of the latest examples. On 5 October this year, a number of Pakistani helicopters entered the airspace of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and attacked a number of Afghan helicopters in the area of Birkot, in the province of Kunar. Evidence of this attack was given to the Pakistani authorities. On 24 October there was an artillery attack on a border area of Afghan territory, resulting in the loss of human life.

54. Such are the facts. They convincingly show, again and again, who is really being subjected to aggression and who is simply parading himself as a victim, in order to justify interference in the affairs of others.

55. One might ask how this escalation of armed interference in the affairs of Afghanistan can be reconciled with the talks under way through the Secretary-General's Personal Representative. It is clear that we cannot reconcile one with the other. This is plain. It casts doubt on the sincerity of the statements made by Pakistani representatives about their desire for a political settlement.

56. In turn, the leaders of the United States, including its representatives at the current session of the General Assembly, have stated that they support a policy of talks as a means to settle the problem pertaining to the situation around Afghanistan. However, those statements do not tally with their real policy. In fact, the United States approach to the Afghan-Pakistani dialogue is a negative one. It has been stated in the American press—for example, in *The Washington Post* of 29 December last year—that there is a two-faced nature to the American Administration when it comes to talks. Indeed, the policy of the current Administration boils down in the end to finding justification for a policy of building up a United States military presence in the region.

57. The recent past has once again shown that the armed intervention against Afghanistan is geared to ensuring some sort of recompense to certain well-known forces for the positions they lost along with the Shah's Iran. It is being used to destabilize the situation in South-West and South Asia and serves as a cover for militaristic preparations in the area of the Persian Gulf. Such a policy is a true threat to the independence and peaceful coexistence of the peoples of that region.

58. We regard as outrageous the bombastic statements made by some Western leaders about a campaign against terrorism, when at the same time the terrorists that they are arming are killing people and destroying and burning villages in Afghanistan. The Afghan bandits, whom in the West they like to call "freedom fighters", have destroyed 1,800 schools, 10 mosques and 130 hospitals in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Those so-called proponents of Islam have killed 150 mullahs. They are persecuting and killing representatives of the intelligentsia—teachers, doctors and nurses.

59. Having suffered a number of military defeats, the Afghan counter-revolution and those who protect it have now switched to a policy of economic banditry. They are trying to undermine the development of the national economy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its agriculture and

interfere in the improvement of living conditions for the population. Convincing facts in this regard were given by Afghanistan's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dost, in his statement during the general debate at the current session [12th meeting].

60. What can we say about these criminal attacks by forces that have carried out all kinds of barbaric acts worthy of the Middle Ages? Of course, they are the ones that are making the long-suffering, work-loving Afghan people suffer. They do not spare men, women, children or old people. We can say that many social and economic problems of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan would already have been solved had it not been for the unsavoury activities of the armed bands thrown into Afghanistan.

61. However, in spite of the undeclared war being waged by the forces of imperialism and reaction, headed by the United States, against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, it is making significant strides in its economic development. State enterprises are being established, with an eight-hour working day, and major social problems are being solved in the spheres of land exploitation, health care and education. The revolutionary Government has passed labour legislation designed to eliminate the exploitation of man by man. Through a network of State and co-operative trade organizations the people have been enabled to buy basic foods and other sorely needed products at affordable prices. Other measures are being taken to improve the workers' situation, and it is clear that these programmes and practical activities of the People's Democratic Party and the Government of Afghanistan meet with the understanding of developing countries which have also embarked upon a path of independent national development.

62. On the other hand, an increasing number of Afghans who left their homeland under the influence of fallacious propaganda or under coercion are now beginning to return to their homes. The amnesty that was declared by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in 1981 has already helped many thousands of Afghans, who have for various reasons found themselves either in refugee camps beyond the cordon or forming part of counter-revolutionary bands, to break with the past and return to their homeland and engage in peaceful labour. For example, more than 5,000 inhabitants of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan recently returned to the Spin Buldak and Panjwai areas in the province of Kandahar. A large number of inhabitants of the provinces of Baghlan and Badghis have also returned. They assured the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan that they would protect the achievements of the April revolution and would deliver a worthy rebuff to the forces of imperialism and reaction which are trying to hold back the process of the progressive and democratic development of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

63. Great attention is being paid in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the Islamic religion and its followers. The people's power has shown respect for Islamic traditions among the Afghans; it has guaranteed wide-ranging rights to believers and assisted religious leaders in their daily work.

64. In such conditions the enemies of the revolution—which have adopted the slogan "protect Islam"—can only advocate a holy war and raise a

hue and cry to the effect that the revolution is allegedly terrorizing and interfering with believers and closing mosques. That is why the crusade against peaceful believers and their spiritual leaders has become a strategic part of the undeclared war that is being carried out against Afghanistan. There are many facts to substantiate this. On 21 March there was an explosion in the Kabul mosque of the Polytechnic Institute in which more than 600 believers were gathered. In May there was also an attack on the holy places and at about the same time the Dahane Ghorī mosque was burned down in the province of Baghlan and in the province of Parwan the Mahkama mosque was attacked.

65. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is carrying out a foreign policy based on the principles of peace, peaceful coexistence, friendship and co-operation with other countries. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which attaches special significance to the establishment of friendly relations with neighbouring countries, has repeatedly called upon the Governments of Pakistan and Iran to accept the reality of the Afghan revolution and change their short-sighted policies with regard to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and heed its appeal to settle problems through negotiation, on the basis of the well-known proposals of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for settling the situation around Afghanistan. Afghanistan's leaders take a positive view of the negotiations with Pakistan that are under way through the Secretary-General's Personal Representative.

66. The positive position of the Soviet Union with regard to these negotiations is also well known and has been stated repeatedly by the Soviet leaders. We express the hope that in the near future the way will be opened for a direct dialogue between the two countries since it is precisely such a dialogue that is the shortest way to a genuine settlement.

67. I should like to emphasize once again that the Soviet Union reacted to the request of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and lent a helping hand to the Afghan people at a critical time for the democratic forces of Afghanistan, when the revolution was mortally threatened as a result of the interference of outside forces.

68. In statements made in the present debate and in the draft resolution an attempt has been made to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the right of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to request and use the military assistance of the Soviet Union. The right of any State to appeal to any other State for assistance in its own self-defence is recognized. It is reaffirmed in the Charter of the United Nations and also in a number of Security Council resolutions. This right has been repeatedly exercised by various States both in the distant past and in recent times. It is especially important for young, independent States which are defending their sovereignty against foreign interference by imperialists and other reactionary forces. It is obvious that those who are trying to deny the right of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to appeal to a friendly State for assistance in resisting an undeclared war that has been under way for more than five years are virtually on the side of the enemies of the Afghan revolution and the Afghan people.

69. It is also clear that the limited Soviet contingent that has been brought into Afghanistan at the invitation of its Government is not threatening anyone. On

the contrary, it is a stabilizing factor and is preventing the situation in the region from becoming even more dangerous. The question of its presence in Afghanistan is one of bilateral Soviet-Afghan relations, and if some would like to depict this contingent as some kind of "threat" to Pakistan, then it is being done for an obviously unsavoury reason, which is to justify the supplies to Pakistan of the latest type of American weaponry and help it aid the enemies of the Afghan revolution.

70. On 17 September, speaking at a meeting of elders in the Andarab district, in the province of Baghlan, 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, Babrak Karmal, emphasized the fact that, when the interference by the forces of imperialism and reaction in the internal affairs of Afghanistan is finally ended and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan receives firm international guarantees that such interference will not happen again, the limited contingent of Soviet forces will return to their homeland.

71. As was emphasized in the statement made at the current session of the General Assembly by the Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, A. A. Gromyko, a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan can be achieved:

"The way to do that is to stop forming, arming and infiltrating into the country from outside gangs of anti-Government bandits and saboteurs and not to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. There can be no doubt that Afghanistan has followed, and will continue to follow, the path it has chosen—the path of independence, freedom, social progress, peace and non-alignment." [10th meeting, para. 160.]

72. As regards the draft resolution which has been submitted under the item on the so-called Afghan issue, the Soviet delegation will vote against it, just as it has voted against similar drafts in the past, since it enshrines outside interference in the internal affairs of other countries—in this case Afghanistan, distorts the real course of events and serves the interests of those forces which are not interested in facilitating a political settlement but, on the contrary, are attempting to maintain a hotbed of tension around Afghanistan.

73. Mr. ROHAN (Austria): The continuing military intervention in Afghanistan remains, almost five years after its beginning, a source of deep and legitimate concern for the international community.

74. Austria considers it an obligation of all States to refrain from the threat or use of force as a fundamental tenet of international order and an essential condition for the maintenance of world peace. Austria's security, like that of all smaller countries in an exposed geo-political position, depends on the strict adherence by all States, in particular the most powerful ones, to the principle of the non-use of force contained in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations. It is therefore with great concern that we observe the growing tendency towards the violation of that vital principle and encroachments upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent countries. It is for the same reason that we remain deeply troubled by the foreign intervention in Afghanistan.

75. In the face of repeated forceful condemnations by the international community the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan continues, and with it the bloodshed, the destruction of the country, and the suffering of the Afghan people.

76. Indeed, the political aspects of the problem should not let us forget its humanitarian dimension. The fighting and the disruption of the economy continue to cause enormous loss of life and bring immeasurable misery and suffering upon the civilian population. The intolerable conditions in Afghanistan have forced nearly one fifth of the population to leave the country, with millions living in poverty and need in vast refugee camps. Through joint relief efforts the international community endeavours to help those people and to alleviate somewhat the heavy burden borne by the neighbouring countries. But notwithstanding that valuable and necessary assistance, the fate of the Afghan refugees will continue to be tragic so long as their desire to return home and rebuild their lives remains unfulfilled. To restore peace, freedom and security in Afghanistan and thereby to establish the conditions for the voluntary return of the refugees must be the central objective of our efforts.

77. An early solution to the Afghanistan problem is not only a humanitarian imperative and a necessary requirement for regional stability; it is no less essential for the improvement of the overall political climate. We must not forget that the military intervention in Afghanistan dealt a damaging blow to the policy of détente and contributed greatly to the frightening deterioration of international relations in recent years. To this day the situation in Afghanistan remains a serious threat to international security and a major obstacle to the re-establishment of co-operation and confidence between the super-Powers. A political solution to the Afghanistan problem therefore becomes all the more urgent and desirable.

78. The main elements of such a solution have repeatedly been emphasized by the General Assembly: the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops, the exercise by the people of Afghanistan of its right to self-determination, international guarantees of non-interference and the voluntary return of the refugees.

79. Of the various valuable initiatives to achieve a political settlement on the basis of these elements, the diplomatic process undertaken by the Secretary-General has emerged as the most promising approach. I wish to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, for the energy and the political acumen they have displayed in the pursuit of a peaceful solution of the Afghanistan problem. Their efforts have led to a large measure of agreement on the substantive contents of a settlement. As we learn from the report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1], submitted by the Secretary-General to the current session of the General Assembly, the consultations and discussions over the past year have again proved useful and have resulted in a widening of understandings in some areas. But, in spite of this valuable work, we are concerned about the extremely slow progress of the negotiations. Now that the foundations of a settlement are laid, it is for the parties to the conflict to prove their commitment to a peaceful solution and bring the process to a positive conclusion.

80. The dangerous security situation in the region and in the world demands that decisive steps be taken towards a negotiated solution of the Afghanistan problem. Austria therefore appeals to all concerned to demonstrate the necessary political will to overcome the outstanding difficulties and to finalize the settlement.

81. The international community for its part must, at the present session of the General Assembly, give a strong impetus to this peace process.

82. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): For six years now the people of Afghanistan has successfully advanced on the road opened up by the April 1978 revolution. Far-reaching social transformations are taking place in order to establish a humane social order.

83. The representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Farid Zarif, yesterday illustrated in a clear, substantiated and convincing manner the positive achievements that his country has realized in all areas of social development since the April 1978 revolution, as well as the endeavours of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan towards a peaceful solution of the problems around Afghanistan. At the same time he gave detailed information about the machinations of imperialist quarters against his country.

84. One can rightly say that the April revolution was a decisive turning-point in the life of the Afghan people; it started a new, significant chapter in the eventful history of the country. The successes achieved in the historically short time deserve the respect of every objective observer. Notable results have been obtained in particular with regard to education, public health and the realization of agrarian reform.

85. The great efforts undertaken by the Government have made it possible for 85 per cent of all medical services today to be provided free of charge. The progress made in increasing the literacy rate—in which many social organizations have had a share—also deserves recognition. There have been good results in supplying the population with basic food at stable prices.

86. The situation in Afghanistan is that of a people on the revolutionary road, a people which has taken its destiny into its own hands, which exercises its sovereign right to self-determination by establishing a society free of imperialist exploitation and tutelage.

87. The people and Government of the German Democratic Republic follow the progressive development in Afghanistan with high esteem and sympathy. The successes achieved by the Afghan people and the growing international recognition of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan reaffirm our belief that nobody will succeed in destroying the revolutionary achievements. We are very pleased to say that relations between our States and peoples have been extended and have successfully developed on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation signed at Berlin on 21 May 1982.

88. Indeed, the development of Afghanistan, which enjoys the support of its friends, is not reversible. However, that development does not fit in with the concept of the strategists of an imperialist global policy, for whom all progress is evil. They kindle fierce resistance and incite terrorist acts of counter-revolution. They draw on their whole arsenal of interference, threat and boycott to block the road of

independence on which that country in South-West Asia has embarked. They cause unrest around Afghanistan and wage an undeclared war against its people. This constitutes at the same time a threat to peace in the entire region and in the world at large. The spending of millions of dollars for counter-revolutionary activities is in the long run detrimental to all the peoples in South-West Asia.

89. The forces which are spending these millions are the same forces holding out their hands to the racist régimes in South Africa and the Middle East requesting strategic partnerships. They are the same forces which have deprived the people of Grenada of its freedom and today are threatening Nicaragua. They are those which are advocating the arms build-up and confrontation and have dangerously aggravated the international situation by the deployment of new United States nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

90. Those in imperialist and reactionary quarters continue their attempts to misuse the United Nations as a cover for the continuation of this undeclared war and for open interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. This impairs the role and importance of the Organization in the solution of the urgent problems of our time.

91. Past experience has made it clear that the debates and resolutions on Afghanistan have in no way improved the climate in South-West Asia. They have not made any contribution to solving the situation around Afghanistan—which, by the way, would not have been possible since they have been contrary to the interests of the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and of the other peoples of South-West Asia.

92. To be more explicit, the tensions in the region did not arise in the mountains and valleys of Afghanistan. They were generated by those in Western secret service centres, above all in the United States. They were stirred up from outside and taken into the region. The peaceful, diligent Afghan people does not threaten anybody, but it is faced with constant interferences in its internal affairs. This outside imperialist interference deprives the States of the region of normal relations of peace and mutual co-operation. The dangers emanate solely from those aggressive forces which seek to stop and reverse the advancement of the democratic development in Afghanistan by means of subversion and interference.

93. Furthermore, this year's debate, forced upon the United Nations, is an additional burden for the already complicated situation in the region. It serves exclusively the hegemonic drive of the forces of confrontation and the arms buildup. This applies also to draft resolution A/39/L.11. That draft resolution is fully in keeping with the efforts of those in imperialist and reactionary quarters to continue to misuse the United Nations in the future also. Therefore my delegation firmly rejects the draft resolution and will vote against it.

94. Under the terms of the draft resolution a sovereign State would be denied the right temporarily to deploy a limited contingent of troops of a friendly State with a view to protecting its justified security interests—a question which, by the way, must be settled exclusively on a bilateral basis between the Governments concerned. Obviously this presumptuous demand is meant to divert attention

from the fact that the main imperialist Power, the United States, concentrates, at its discretion, troops and naval contingents wherever it believes its so-called vital interests are threatened, be it in the Persian Gulf, at Nicaragua's borders, in the Indian Ocean or in the Caribbean.

95. History teaches that the imperialist policy of distorting facts, of threat, aggression and oppression, has always put obstacles in the way of the struggles of the peoples for independence and self-determination.

96. The German Democratic Republic consistently advocates the self-determination and independence of peoples, the prohibition of the threat or use of force and the peaceful settlement of conflicts in relations among States. We therefore support the initiatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which are designed to bring about a political solution of the problems which have developed around Afghanistan. We consider the mediating mission of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General for negotiations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, as well as the proximity talks between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan at Geneva, to be steps in the right direction, but direct talks between the sides concerned continue to offer the best possibility of speedily reaching a political solution. The German Democratic Republic shares the view that between Afghanistan and its neighbours there are no problems whatsoever that could not be solved by peaceful means.

97. The fundamental principle of the foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is its striving for peace and peaceful coexistence. That principle becomes evident not least in the endeavour of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to solve the problems existing in the region of South-West Asia by peaceful means and to support actively the mediating mission of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Cordovez. In submitting pertinent proposals on 14 May 1980 and 24 August 1981, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan took steps conducive to the political solution of the situation around Afghanistan. These steps include the commitment of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to peace, détente and security in Asia and its active co-operation in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

98. We also wish to take this opportunity to assure the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Afghan people of the steadfast friendship and solidarity of the German Democratic Republic in its devoted struggle against the imperialist policy of interference in the internal affairs of the country. Pursuant to its consistent policy of solidarity with the people's struggle for the implementation of its legitimate rights, the German Democratic Republic will also in the future firmly side with the Afghan people fighting for peace and social progress.

99. Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): For the fifth consecutive year the General Assembly is considering the situation in Afghanistan. Afghanistan, that Moslem, freedom-loving and proud country which has never surrendered to an invader in the past, is now involved in a ferocious war to defend its territory, religion and independence. Throughout its long history, the people of Afghanistan has had to endure many wars

against superior Powers and was able to achieve victory through its adherence to its religion and to its right to life.

100. Today we are turning to a new page in the Afghan tragedy, a page which unfortunately is becoming darker every day, as town and village, mountain and valley, are being subjected to a merciless war causing great material and human damage.

101. This is not the first tragic war of its kind in history. But this epoch of our era is the first of its kind in history. It is the epoch of the United Nations. It is the epoch of artificial satellites and telecommunications which can carry any individual to the theatre of events in any place in the world. The world of today is an open world in which ideas and news interact immediately and distances are no longer a barrier to realizing the truth, to knowing the facts and to promoting a sense of responsibility.

102. In December 1979, within hours of the entry of foreign forces into Afghanistan, the details of this invasion were known in every household, so that peoples all over the world became aware that armies of a super-Power, a Power at the helm of international responsibility for the preservation of peace, had crossed the frontiers of its neighbour and friend, the State of Afghanistan, and marched into the interior of that country in order to impose upon the seat of power puppets who have usurped power in the darkness of the night, and consequently have been rejected by the Afghan Moslem people because of all that they represent and all that they adhere to.

103. We in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are linked to Afghanistan, to the people of Afghanistan, by the strongest bonds of religion, history, heritage, culture and common interests. We believe that what is taking place in Afghanistan today is an encroachment upon those bonds and a threat to the stability of the region as well as a challenge to all the norms of the Charter in this era of the United Nations.

104. While we appreciate the stand taken by the Soviet Union for Arab rights in Palestine and the Middle East, which shows the extent of its consideration for responsibility and rejection of invasion and colonization, we have to repeat that the principle of right is indivisible, that justice does not have several scales and that, moreover, international principles have no geographical boundaries.

105. I should like to reaffirm our strong opposition to the invasion of Afghanistan and reiterate our call to the Soviet Union to end its military presence there, withdraw from Afghanistan and terminate the threat that this presence poses to its neighbours as well as to the security of the region. We further reaffirm our clear stand in support of the right of the people of Afghanistan to exercise absolute sovereignty over their country and to conduct their affairs in accordance with their fundamental heritage and experience, and in conformity with the norms and necessities of their social and political structures. The country will inevitably return to its people. This is a reality that the Soviet Union knows very well, owing to its long experience, and one which we know very well, too.

106. Although, in earlier decades, some conquests have succeeded, they were eventually swallowed up by the ocean of time. The second half of the twentieth century put an end to these colonial conquests of the past and revoked them. Although we



are witnessing some remnants of them floating to the surface of international events, as is now taking place in the Zionist occupation of Palestine and neighbouring Arab countries, history will inevitably correct and reinstate the rights of their people in this era of human rights and of the Charter of the United Nations. That age of invasion and conquest is nevertheless gone forever, with all its constituent material, psychological and political elements.

107. The world has rejected the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Under the very eyes of the United Nations, it is still continuing to this day by a State which bears a great international responsibility, with all its implications, a responsibility that goes far beyond the limits of the colonization of previous centuries and challenges the conventions and commitments regulating relations between States in this day and age.

108. The whole world knows that the people of Afghanistan at all levels have risen to defend the sanctity of their country, the sanctity of their religion and the sanctity of their right to live freely and independently as masters of their own destiny. They have proved to the world that they are a people capable of achieving its freedom. We all know that the occupying forces have no control except over the positions on which they stand and only for so long as they remain there; that the people of Afghanistan are paying the price of their freedom with their own blood; that it is they who control most of the lands of Afghanistan; that it is they who march as martyrs to victory day after day, confident not only of themselves but also of the support of all peoples committed to justice and freedom.

109. The Muslim States have declared their full support, at the highest levels, for the rights of the people of Afghanistan and their rejection of the invasion of Afghanistan. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is firmly committed to this stand. We join the rest of the world in supporting the rights of the free and proud Afghan people and we salute the Afghan *mujahidin*, believing in the complete righteousness of their cause and admiring their great sacrifices.

110. We hope that the Soviet Union will reconsider its position and set a historic example in self-restraint and commitment to its great responsibilities by withdrawing from Afghanistan and leaving the country to its own people, so that they may once again enjoy good-neighbourly and friendly relations with their big neighbour.

111. As is known, the efforts for a peaceful solution of the problem of Afghanistan continue to be exerted relentlessly by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We hope that the Soviet Union will respond to the appeals of the world and take advantage of such open channels to end a crisis that violates rights, values and interests, and is fraught with dangerous consequences. We are confident that the Soviet Union will ultimately realize that its gains will be greater than its losses if it reassesses its position and leaves the country to its own people. On the other hand, it will have to bear a grave human and political responsibility if it should insist on continuing to follow this path which, internationally and regionally, is a human tragedy.

112. I should like to express here the appreciation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and of the entire Islamic world to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for

the great humanitarian role it is playing in hosting almost 4 million Afghan refugees—mostly women, children and the elderly—granting them refuge and bearing great economic sacrifices, which is one of the consequences of a war imposed on its borders. Indeed, I know of no other State in modern times which has borne such sacrifices under such circumstances as Pakistan is now bearing in fulfilment of its duties of good-neighbourliness and Islamic brotherhood, in spite of its difficult economic circumstances. We request the United Nations and all its organs, as well as the international community through all its bodies, to share this heavy burden and responsibility with Pakistan.

113. The invasion and occupation of Afghanistan caused great dismay; and after five years it still continues to shake the foundations of international relations and of good-neighbourliness, especially those between a big State and a small State. Indeed, this undermines the very Charter of the United Nations. We all know that when a State violates the Charter and threatens the security of another—a State which is one of the guardians of peace and one of the authors of the Charter—it has unforgivably shirked its responsibility and violated commitments going far beyond the words of the Charter.

114. In concluding, I should like to reiterate our support for the stand and the rights of the people of Afghanistan and to express our admiration for their jihad. With pride they have lifted the banner of Islam high and have set one of the greatest examples of self-sacrifice and strong conviction in history. We shall support them until their rights are reinstated and until stability is restored to this important region of the world.

115. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): The Assembly is once again considering the agenda item concerning the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

116. My delegation fully shares the concern of the international community at the prevailing situation in that country. We are particularly distressed to note that, despite various relentless efforts, no solution to this problem has been found and it continues to pose a serious threat to the maintenance of regional and global peace and security. The developments in that area, particularly the recent violations of Pakistani airspace and territory, have demonstrated once again the urgency of the situation and the need to adopt concrete measures for a comprehensive solution of the problem.

*Mr. Gbeho (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

117. The Assembly has before it the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/513]. My delegation takes this opportunity to record its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his ceaseless and unremitting efforts towards a political solution of the problem. We also commend the valuable role played by his Personal Representative, Under-Secretary-General Diego Cordovez, who visited Kabul, Islamabad and Teheran last April for consultations with the respective Governments. My delegation has consistently attached the utmost importance to the efforts of the Secretary-General, as they constitute "the only active mechanism of negotiations, towards the achievement of a political settlement" [*ibid.*, para. 2].

118. Bangladesh's position on the question of Afghanistan has been firm, consistent and unequivocal. It has been based on Bangladesh's deep commitment

to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of the sovereign equality of States, territorial integrity, non-use of force, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, the right of every nation to self-determination, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. It is in this context that we have consistently reiterated our firm conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan is a *sine qua non* for a just and lasting settlement of the Afghan problem. Accordingly, in his statement in the general debate, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh called upon a country that is a friend of ours, the Soviet Union, to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. For, in fact, it is their presence in that country that is the crux of the problem besetting the brave, noble and freedom-loving people of Afghanistan. We are equally convinced that the Afghan people should have restored to them their inalienable right to choose freely their own political, social and economic system, without any outside interference or intervention. It is regrettable that, although in the past the General Assembly has adopted comprehensive resolutions on the subject emphasizing these two basic elements, the people of Afghanistan are still denied their inalienable right to determine their own destiny, because of the continued presence of foreign forces in their country.

119. Preceding speakers have correctly underlined how the persistent problem in Afghanistan has jeopardized regional and global peace and security. There is also the humanitarian aspect of the problem. The exodus of Afghan refugees, which now run into several millions, into the neighbouring countries has further aggravated the security problem of the region. The magnitude of the refugee problem is indeed a legitimate cause for the concern of the international community. We commend the valuable efforts by the Office of UNHCR in this regard. We also commend the efforts of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, which is bearing the responsibility of looking after the vast majority of these refugees. At the same time, we should like to emphasize the need for the creation of necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

120. Bangladesh, in the light of the existing situation in Afghanistan, remains firmly convinced that there is no alternative to a comprehensive political settlement. Such a settlement must be based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and it should be reached through a process of genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation. The General Assembly, at preceding sessions, has clearly identified the following components of a comprehensive solution of the Afghanistan problem: first, the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan; secondly, the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; thirdly, the reaffirmation of the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their political, economic and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever; and, fourthly, the creation of necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

121. As to the current initiative of the Secretary-General, my delegation attaches particular impor-

tance to the set of understandings worked out during the visits of Mr. Cordovez to Kabul, Islamabad and Teheran from 3 to 15 April 1984. We share the perception of the Secretary-General that this set of understandings provides "a good basis for the continuation of negotiations" [*ibid.*, para. 6].

122. While we note with satisfaction the positive developments as contained in the Secretary-General's report, we should like to emphasize the need for a demonstration of greater political will by all the parties concerned for a comprehensive settlement of the Afghanistan question. The momentum of the present diplomatic initiative, therefore, should be stepped up, for the early solution of the problem in accordance with the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

123. It is in this spirit that Bangladesh has sponsored draft resolution A/39/L.11. We hope that this draft, which encompasses all the elements of a comprehensive solution of the Afghan problem, will receive the strong and firm support of this body.

124. The Secretary-General, in his report, has noted that a "comprehensive settlement was from the beginning conceived as the most effective way to resolve all the issues that have brought about the present situation and to lay solid foundations for good-neighbourly relations in the area" [*ibid.*, para. 6]. Let us then act firmly and decisively in our common endeavour to that end.

125. Mr. ZHULATI (Albania): It is five years now since the Soviet socio-imperialists launched their aggression against Afghanistan, and freedom-loving peoples and countries continue to raise their voice and condemn the occupation of that sovereign country. The use of military force by the Soviet Union against a small and peace-loving people, the Afghan people, after the shameful aggression it undertook against Czechoslovakia in 1968, is another demonstration of the pronounced military character of its policy.

126. The occupation of Afghanistan is, at the same time, a serious threat to all peace-loving peoples of the region and of the world in general and to international peace and security. This demonstrates that the Soviet socio-imperialists, like the American imperialists, constitute a great danger and threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples of the world at large.

127. The Soviet socio-imperialists dispatched their army against the Afghan people, counting on a quick end to the operation and easy subjugation. The brave and freedom-loving Afghan people, although facing an enemy greater in number and armed to the teeth with the most modern weapons, from the very outset took up arms to fight for freedom.

128. The Afghan people did not, and will not yield to the invader, even though the Soviet army, as is already well-known, is using scorched earth tactics. The Soviet army is not only burning down everything and causing great destruction, but is even committing barbarous crimes against children and undefended men and women, thus acting as atrociously and harshly as do all occupiers.

129. Despite such conditions, the brave Afghan people are continuing their struggle and stepping up their determined resistance to the occupiers, dealing them heavy blows all over the country. This resistance is compelling Moscow continuously to increase

its military power in the country, even after five years of occupation.

130. The Soviet socio-imperialists do not fail to hatch plots and various intrigues in the diplomatic field, also. Within this framework, they speak, time and again, of a so-called political solution of the Afghan problem, according to which a gradual pull-out of the Soviet occupying troops would allegedly become possible and foreign intervention would be prevented. This kind of peaceful solution offered by Moscow is nothing but a demagogic manoeuvre, which cannot conceal the real motives. Its aim is, first, to deceive the Afghan people and put down its armed resistance, perpetuate the occupation and turn Afghanistan into a springboard for new aggressions against other countries of the region.

131. The puppet Government of Kabul is also engaged in this plotting manoeuvre, asking for international guarantees, and thus playing the Soviets' game in order to paralyse the struggle of the Afghan patriots against the foreign invaders.

132. The socio-imperialist Soviet Union cannot conceal the aims and ambitions which led to the aggression and the occupation of Afghanistan, just as it cannot cover up its general expansionist and hegemonistic policy by the use of such slogans as those that pretend it is a socialist and peace-loving country fighting for international security, for respect for and in defence of the norms and practices of international law, and so on.

133. Even here at the United Nations, it uses such propaganda and tries to present itself as the greatest defender of the people's rights to self-determination or the principle of the non-use of force in international relations. But world public opinion cannot easily be deceived by such propaganda.

134. The occupation of Afghanistan is another case showing how valueless are such declarations when put forward by the super-Powers. The occupation of Afghanistan cannot be taken out of the general context of the rivalry between the Soviet socio-imperialists and the American imperialists, nor of their goals for world domination and expansion. It should not be overlooked that the tragedy of the Afghan people took place against the background of that rivalry and various intrigues of the imperialist super-Powers.

135. The situation in that region of Asia, and especially in the Persian Gulf zone, is charged with grave consequences to its peoples. The rapacious ambitions of the two super-Powers and the clash of their imperialist interests in this important strategic region constitute great dangers and threats, which are continuously increasing.

136. Statements proclaiming certain regions as zones of vital interests are accompanied by large concentrations of the means to make war—as in the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean basin—by the two super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Therefore, it is clear to everybody that they serve not the peace and security of the peoples but the super-Powers' aggressive policy.

137. The Socialist People's Republic of Albania has always condemned the Soviet socio-imperialists' aggression against Afghanistan, the continuation of their occupation and the intense terror and violence to which the Afghan people are submitted.

138. The Albanian delegation is fully convinced that a just solution of the Afghan problem will be achieved only through the struggle for national liberation of the people of Afghanistan against the Soviet invaders, and not through the peaceful solution offered by the Kremlin. It is absurd to speak of a solution—and, what is more, a peaceful solution—at a time when the Soviet occupying army is brutally slaughtering the people of Afghanistan and imposing the law of occupation there.

139. The Albanian people and its Government are convinced that the Afghan people, who have a long tradition of fighting against foreign invaders in defence of their country, will be able to win real freedom and independence by carrying on the armed struggle to the end. As in the past, now too, the Afghan people will not yield to the invader's force of arms.

140. In the recently published book, *Reflections on the Middle East*, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has pointed out:

“The Afghans are poor but proud and with traditions of valour. Therefore, neither the large number of the occupying forces, their modern weapons, nor their savage terror can subjugate the Afghans.”

141. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, established as a result of the April 1978 revolution of the Afghan people, is an independent and sovereign State. The General Assembly is committing a gross interference in the domestic affairs of a Member State when it once again discusses the so-called item concerning the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, despite the firm opposition of the Afghan Government. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam once again wishes to express its strong disapproval of this persistent violation of the Charter of the United Nations, a violation that can only set an unfortunate precedent in relations between States and in the conduct of the United Nations itself.

142. In truth it was the work of the combined forces of imperialism and reaction at both the international and the regional level which was and remains the root of the crisis and tensions that currently prevail around Afghanistan and in South-West Asia. After having thus created this so-called question of Afghanistan, the same interventionist forces from outside the region have attempted by every means possible to foster tension and confrontation at the international and the regional level, in the hope of distracting the attention and averting the condemnation of public opinion from their frenzied efforts to step up the arms race and preparations for a nuclear world war, on the one hand, and acts of aggression against and subjugation of peoples in various parts of the world, on the other.

143. The emergence of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as a result of the victorious revolution of April 1978 was welcomed by progressive forces as constituting a major contribution both to the cause of the independence and freedom of peoples and to the cause of peace and stability in South-West Asia. For the forces of imperialism and reaction this was a new and crushing failure, coming as it did after the humiliation of Washington in Viet Nam and Iran and the defeat of the Chinese aggression in Viet Nam. It

is therefore not surprising that the United States, together with its North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] allies, speedily prepared and carried out plans for intervention and aggression against the young Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, beginning in the middle of 1978. Those plans were designed to undermine the revolutionary achievements and progressive changes, to bring down the new people's régime and to restore the former pro-American régime in Afghanistan.

144. It is an extraordinary fact that the United States benefited, from the start of these undermining efforts, from the collusion and close and active co-operation of those in Chinese hegemonist circles. The expected result of such diabolical collusion is a merciless but undeclared war, a war of attrition that was imposed immediately following the 1978 revolution upon the young Democratic Republic and people of Afghanistan. The deeds and actions and the military, political, economic, psychological, diplomatic, direct or indirect means that were used were all completely characteristic of the dangerous policy of State terrorism, and the damaging consequences of this war are already only too well known to us. The representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan took care to remind us exhaustively and with great conviction of these facts yesterday [60th meeting] here in the General Assembly.

145. My delegation therefore considers it unnecessary to go into the details of this criminal war that has been imposed upon our Afghan brothers and sisters, a war that is in many ways similar to the war waged in South-East Asia against the people of Viet Nam and two other peoples of Indo-China by the same hegemonist circles in collusion with the same imperialist circles and other reactionary forces. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has frequently denounced these abominable crimes committed against the Afghan people in the course of the past six years before the international community. From this rostrum we must again vigorously condemn the policy of intervention that lies at the root of the present suffering of the Afghan people and the serious tensions surrounding Afghanistan, to the detriment of peace and security in South-West Asia and in the world.

146. In an attempt to distort events and put responsibility on the very victims of their acts of intervention, those in the warmongering circles of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction continue to make much of the so-called question of Afghanistan. On the one hand, they shed crocodile tears over the fate of many Afghans condemned to become "refugees" against their will, to become mercenaries trained on Chinese territory and elsewhere, and operating from sanctuaries not far from the Afghan borders against their own people and their own homeland. On the other hand, they continue to question the justification for the sacred struggle undertaken by the people and Government of Afghanistan, with the aid of the Soviet Union, to defend the sovereignty, independence, national unity and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

147. To shed further light on the true position and the real culprits, it would appear useful to recall a few facts. A Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation was concluded between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in December 1978. The

undeclared war and armed intervention against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, launched in the middle of 1978 by imperialist and reactionary forces, culminated in an unsuccessful *coup d'état* in September 1979, which its authors intended to use to draw Afghanistan once again into the American orbit. In order to avoid a national catastrophe which threatened to nullify all the achievements of the April revolution, the Afghan Government had recourse at the last moment, at the end of December 1979, to assistance from some contingents of Soviet troops, in accordance with the Afghan-Soviet Treaty that had been concluded a year earlier and in strict conformity with the natural right to self-defence laid down in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

148. The Afghan and Soviet Governments have frequently stated that the Soviet contingents would withdraw completely from Afghanistan as soon as the armed aggression against Afghanistan ceased. Thus the outcries about "the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan" are simply designed to serve as a smokescreen and make it possible for the imperialists, hegemonists and other reactionaries to conceal their policy of inciting confrontation and intensifying the arms race. In particular, it is designed to support the plans of the United States to maintain and reinforce its military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf regions, and more specifically their military bases in Diego García.

149. In this connection, let us recall that the United States invariably invokes the so-called question of Afghanistan as a pretext to reject the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, a Conference designed to make that Ocean a zone of peace, in accordance with relevant General Assembly resolutions. The idea of such a conference was proposed and endorsed in 1971, and the events in Afghanistan took place only at the end of 1979. It would therefore be extremely unfortunate and in obvious bad faith were one to attempt to connect the two matters, in particular to make the convening of that Conference dependent on the settlement of the so-called question of Afghanistan.

150. In the course of the past six years the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have successfully grappled with the multifarious, undeclared war being waged by their enemies. The democratic and progressive achievements of the April 1978 revolution have been preserved. The people's power has been reinforced; reforms and achievements have been made in various areas—political, economic, cultural and social; living standards and work conditions have been improved. The policy of clemency and of widespread national reconciliation which has been consistently and vigorously practised has been favourably received by Afghan citizens who had been corrupted or deceived and, indeed, has gathered them in increasing numbers back to their own people.

151. The Afghan people is striding confidently forward in order to build its new, free, independent, democratic and happy life. The revolutionary process in Afghanistan is irreversible.

152. At the same time, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan soon evinced its goodwill by putting forward proposals on 15 May 1980<sup>1</sup> and 24 August 1981<sup>2</sup> constituting the basis for a just solution to the situation in South-West Asia. On the one hand, those proposals are designed to put

an end to all armed and other acts of external intervention perpetrated against Afghanistan and, on the other, to eliminate the tension that surrounds Afghanistan as a result of the intervention and to normalize relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours on the basis of mutual respect for the independence and sovereignty of each country. The Afghan Government has demonstrated remarkable patience in its sustained efforts to achieve this legitimate aim by means of dialogue with the parties directly concerned. In this connection, it has shown a constructive spirit of co-operation towards the Secretary-General in order to promote the negotiation process. However, it is most regrettable that the imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary forces hostile to dialogue and to a just and equitable settlement of the situation in South-West Asia are stubbornly continuing their obstruction.

153. However, it is already obvious that all the attempts and efforts to halt and destroy the Afghan revolutionary process are doomed to failure, as occurred in the case of similar efforts and manoeuvres deployed yesterday against Cuba and Viet Nam and today again against the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Fortunately, in this regard history can quite correctly be implacable witness and judge alike.

154. Since it is still the victim of a war of attrition being waged by the expansionist and hegemonist circles of Asia, the people of Viet Nam can identify closely with the fraternal Afghan people in its current trials; it stands in full solidarity with that people in its complex and arduous struggle—which will certainly be victorious—to preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. The conviction of the two peoples in their final victory is well founded because it is in keeping with their unshakable common determination to vanquish common adversaries.

155. At the same time, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam firmly supports the just position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan regarding a negotiated settlement of the situation in South-West Asia in the interest of peace and stability in that region.

156. We call upon the aggressive and warmongering forces of the United States, China and other countries to put an end to their support of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries and any intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

157. In so far as the international community is concerned, rather than attempting to impose on the Afghan people erroneous solutions that would undermine its fundamental national rights, it should do its utmost to eliminate obstacles and promote constructive dialogue between Afghanistan and its neighbours—the only realistic approach that can normalize the situation around Afghanistan and redound to the interests of all the countries concerned and of peace and stability in the entire South-West Asian region.

158. It is unfortunate that draft resolution A/39/L.11 proposes a solution that is still incompatible with the vital interests of the Afghan people, a solution based on a profoundly erroneous assessment of the situation in and around Afghanistan. Hence my delegation will have to reject it.

159. Mr. MAXEY (United Kingdom): The representative of Ireland has already expressed eloquently

and comprehensively the position of my Government and of our partners in the European Community on this item. I myself shall focus on certain specific aspects of the tragic situation in Afghanistan from the viewpoint of my Government.

160. I would like first to pay tribute to the representative of the Soviet Union, who spoke this morning. It is to his credit that he did not follow the deplorable example of his colleague from Viet Nam, who in the comparable circumstances of the debate on the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia chose to remain silent. How ironic that the representative of Viet Nam should have so much to say about Afghanistan and so little about Cambodia.

161. To the Soviet representative accordingly fell the thankless task of defending the totally indefensible. I would wager that there is not a single person in this Hall who in his heart sees justification for the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan or who finds remotely convincing the sadly predictable thesis which we have once again heard from the Soviet representative this year.

162. Are we achieving anything by holding such a one-sided debate every year? I firmly believe that we are, for the following reasons: first, this Assembly has a moral responsibility to the people of Afghanistan, who have been deprived of their freedom and of their own Government. We have an obligation to the Afghans to take stock of their plight and to review the year's developments; secondly, the debate offers us an opportunity to give support and advice to those, notably the Secretary-General and the Government of Pakistan, who are engaged in the search for a peaceful settlement; thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the debate enables the international community to convey an unequivocal message to the Soviet Union—a message which cannot easily be conveyed by individual Members bilaterally to an overbearing and heavily-armed super-Power.

163. I should like briefly to expand on those three themes.

164. The state of the conflict has been described by previous speakers. This year, 1984, has seen a further increase, both in quality and in quantity, in the Soviet Union's military actions against the Afghan people. The latter have continued to demonstrate extraordinary bravery and to endure enormous sacrifices. The people of Afghanistan have expressed their allegedly fraternal welcome to the Soviet invaders in such a way as to oblige the Soviet army, five years into a campaign in which it enjoys an immense preponderance of military power, to continue to bring in additional reinforcements. Some welcome indeed. Attempts to dragoon young Afghans into fighting on the Soviet side against the mass of their compatriots have been conspicuously unsuccessful: casualties and desertions to the resistance have overridden the results of conscription drives to such an extent that the rump of the former Afghan army now numbers no more than half its numerical strength before the invasion.

165. The renewed Soviet attempt to subdue the Panjshir valley in the spring of 1984 was a particularly savage example of the lengths to which the invaders will go to impose their will on Afghanistan. In this long-lasting seventh Panjshir campaign, Soviet forces have for the first time employed high-level bombing. As the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the European Community noted in their statement of 14

May, such bombing could lead only to increased suffering and destruction and swell the ranks of the homeless and the refugees. The statement pointed out that such aggravated recourse to force confirmed the steadfastness of the resistance and the difficulties encountered in overcoming it.

166. A further testimony to the failure of the Soviet Union's attempted subjugation has been the marked increase during the past year in fighting in and around the capital city of Kabul itself. The Soviet invasion has lighted a fire which now burns from one end of Afghanistan to the other. The suffering of the civilian population in this conflagration has been enormous.

167. A further ominous development has been the spread of the fire into the territory of Pakistan. As a series of letters from the representative of Pakistan to the Secretary-General has informed us, since 13 August this year forces from Afghanistan have been responsible for over a dozen violations of Pakistan's territory and airspace. Attacks have been carried out in which Pakistani citizens and Afghan refugees have been killed. Once again, such behaviour is indefensible. It cannot but reinforce the international community's support for Pakistan in its efforts to cope with the consequences of a savage war in a neighbouring country.

168. As this Assembly knows, around 3 million refugees have already been forced to flee to Pakistan—where they constitute the largest single such group in the world—and up to a further million to Iran. As the Soviet occupying forces continue to mount attacks on innocent civilian villagers, so the forlorn stream of new refugees continues to leave Afghanistan, forced by the threat of death or injury or the destruction of their homes, their crops and their livestock, to decide that life where they belong can no longer be endured. The host Governments in Pakistan and Iran, with formidable assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the international community, have thus far coped remarkably well with this huge and tragic influx. Those who flee abroad are only part of the problem. We must not forget the many hundreds of thousands of internal refugees and displaced persons.

169. In the past year further details of the Soviet Union's maltreatment of the Afghan people have become available and have sharpened international concern about the violations of human rights in that country. This concern was reflected in the decision by the Commission on Human Rights at its fortieth session, in 1984, to recommend for the first time that a special rapporteur should be appointed to examine the human rights situation in Afghanistan. The recommendation was approved at the first regular session of 1984 of the Economic and Social Council by the overwhelming majority of 33 votes to 3.<sup>3</sup>

170. A further important development was the publication in May of a report on the threat of famine in Afghanistan by Ms. Frances D'Souza of the International Disaster Institute. Over the past five years, Soviet operations have severely disrupted the precarious economy of Afghanistan and caused untold damage to the country's infrastructure. There has been widespread devastation of buildings, both in villages and in towns, such as Herat and Kandahar, where damage has been particularly heavy. Irrigation systems have been destroyed and agricultural land has been razed. Using scientific methods,

Ms. D'Souza has provided the first methodical survey of some of the consequences of this destruction. She has found classic pre-famine indications and evidence of serious food shortages. In some parts of Afghanistan there is a high incidence of malnutrition and in certain areas the rural economy is reverting to subsistence level. The effects have been particularly severe in the provinces of Badakshan and Parwan, which have suffered repeated bombing and other attacks.

171. My Government stands firmly by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, in their continuing efforts to achieve a negotiated solution. They have shown great skill and patience. They have enjoyed full co-operation from the Government of Pakistan. We are therefore all the more disappointed that another year has passed, with its mounting toll in casualties, without any forward movement—or even any hint of forward movement—on the Soviet side.

172. It is clear from the Secretary-General's report that many elements of the proposed settlement have now been formulated. The settlement would embrace the four crucial principles embodied in successive General Assembly resolutions on this subject: the immediate withdrawal of all foreign 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 could return in peace and honour.

173. The Government of Pakistan has made it clear that it would accept a comprehensive agreement based on those principles. What was evidently lacking during the Secretary-General's discussions in the Soviet Union during July, and again during his Personal Representative's proximity talks at Geneva in August, and what is still lacking now, is a decision by the Soviet Government to implement the first of those principles. As soon as such a decision has been taken, a settlement may be concluded in very short order.

174. The message we are conveying to the Soviet Government is very simple. The present rulers of the Soviet Union must long since have come to the conclusion that the decision to invade Afghanistan was an appalling blunder. Afghanistan presented no threat, actual or potential, to the Soviet Union.

175. The invasion ranged the international community against the Soviet Union as never before. The subsequent war of attrition has cost the USSR dear. The Soviet people do not understand why they should be sacrificing their sons and bearing this burden. It is a war which the USSR should not have started, and cannot win.

176. It is very hard for any Government to accept that it has made a catastrophic mistake, and to face up to the consequences; but sooner or later, the Soviet Government will have to accept this, and will have to withdraw its forces.

177. The message from the Assembly must surely be: do it now. Do it before more innocent lives are lost. Do it before a generation of Afghan children is blighted by disablement and malnutrition. A just agreement which will incorporate your withdrawal is within sight. Take the offer while you can, for these negotiations cannot drag on indefinitely. Take it in the interests of the Soviet people. Take it in the interests of your standing in the world. Above all,

take pity on the people of Afghanistan, whose country you are destroying. Take your troops and your helicopters, your tanks and your bombers out of their land.

178. That is the message which rings out from this debate. We must pray that, even at this late stage, the Soviet Government will heed the voice of the international community, and by withdrawing its forces from Afghanistan without delay, make a major contribution to peace in a troubled region.

179. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): The occupation of Afghanistan approaches the end of its fifth year. In the succession of special sessions and debates, the General Assembly has time and again called for an end to the occupation of this beautiful land of ancient caravans. Time and again we have called for the withdrawal of invading forces, for the right of the people of Afghanistan to determine their own future. Yet, even after five years and all these efforts, the situation remains virtually as it was in the first year of occupation, a human disaster and a military impasse.

180. The Soviet war against the Afghan people, the Afghan nation, has now lasted longer than the Second World War. But still the Afghan people are not subjugated. So, after five long and difficult years, the struggle continues. But we should not be too surprised at the will and determination of the Afghan people. Since at least the time of Alexander the Great, they have demonstrated their extraordinary willingness to bear hardships and make sacrifices in long and bitter resistance against foreign invaders from all directions. They are perhaps the original national liberation movement in the true and most meaningful sense of that term. Their struggle to liberate their nation will go on.

181. What has happened in Afghanistan during these five tragic years? The régime of Babrak Karmal—installed by the Soviet Union during the December 1979 invasion, after another communist Prime Minister, Hafizullah Amin, and all his family had been killed—that régime has remained unpopular, weak, divided within itself. It has been able neither to increase its support throughout the country nor to win the allegiance of the Afghan people. When Babrak Karmal assumed the leadership of the Government in Kabul, his strategy appeared to be to seek to gain public sympathy by blaming the evils endured by the Afghans on the previous Government. Yet, he was increasingly rejected by the Afghan nation and its leaders personally. He also sought to reconcile the estranged Parcham and Khalq factions within the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, to institute conciliatory domestic policies, to release many political prisoners and ease political repression, to downplay the role of Soviet armed forces and advisors, to strengthen the Afghan army and to lay the foundation for the transformation of Afghan social and economic systems by Sovietizing the educational system and sending Afghans as exchange students to the Soviet Union for training. The goal, it would appear, was to produce a docile client state.

182. What has happened in Afghanistan in the past five years? At the most general level, we may see that the goal of the occupying forces and of their puppet Government has not been achieved and that few of the strategies of that Government have had any success at all. Hostility to the régime of Babrak Karmal has grown rather than diminished. The

overwhelming majority of the Afghan people oppose the alien system he seeks to impose.

183. The tide of resistance continues to rise. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the political facade behind which the Soviet Union attempts to exercise political control of the country, remains fractured. Political intimidation and assassination remain facts of political life in Kabul, and they are often blamed on the resistance in an effort to cover up the inability of the leadership of the Party to bring the two factions together and to govern effectively.

184. No matter what domestic policies are adopted, the Government of Afghanistan is unable to implement them beyond Kabul and a few other cities. The city of Kabul itself remains under virtual siege, despite the enormous concentration of troops there. The authority of the Government of Afghanistan simply does not extend beyond a few strongholds. In fact, in one major city it is reported that the Governor, to go to his office for a few hours a day, must travel in a convoyed armoured personnel carrier.

185. After the release of some political prisoners in the early months of 1980, the repression in Afghanistan is again intensified. There are more political prisoners than ever before. The secret police, known as KHAD, are ubiquitous. The role of Soviet advisers in every aspect of the Government of Afghanistan has increased to the point that every major decision appears to be made by Soviet advisers, not by Afghans. During the heavy fighting in the summer of 1984, the Soviet forces were forced to take over an increasingly large share of the fighting, largely because the Afghan Army, rent by disloyalty, desertions, defections, and failing discipline, lacks the will to fight.

186. What has happened to Afghanistan? Its economy has been virtually destroyed. That economy was already stagnating after the April 1978 *coup*, but since then Afghanistan has experienced wrenching economic disruption and destruction. Two years ago, in April 1983, Prime Minister Sultan Ali Kistmand admitted at an economic seminar at Kabul that about 24 billion afghanis, equivalent to some \$432 million, in damage had already been done to that country. This is one half the total amount set for developing the country's economy during the 20 years before April 1978. Agricultural production has also declined, necessitating the importation of large amounts of grain. Severe food shortages exist in various areas of Afghanistan, in part because food has been deliberately burned and livestock destroyed. Most educated and skilled Afghans have fled, along with millions of their countrymen, as refugees to Pakistan, Iran and other parts of Afghanistan. Valleys and villages have been deserted; factories are idle and the agricultural infrastructure, developed over centuries, has deeply deteriorated.

187. The effects of all this destruction are now emerging throughout the country. Afghan Aid, a charitable organization, recently provided the results of its investigation of over 5,000 children in 30 Afghan provinces. The report estimates that half a million Afghans are in imminent danger of starvation. According to Ms. Frances D'Souza, director of the study, conditions in the developed areas of the country have been severely damaged, the standard of living for most Afghans has fallen drastically, malnu-

trition is widespread. Still, Afghans have not given up their fight to rid their country of foreign domination.

188. The human devastation more than equals the economic devastation. Violations of human rights abound. The régime has continued its attempts to control political expression and also the flow of information. It has relentlessly pursued its efforts to sovietize Afghan political life and the social fabric of the country. Arbitrary arrests, detention and torture continue to be commonly practised by the ubiquitous security and police forces. Due process is completely absent for persons accused of political crimes. Homes are searched and robbed by armed soldiers without warrants. Press gangs roam the streets looking for recruits for the Afghan army. Kabul saw a new wave of executions of suspected *mujahidin* in the summer. In the countryside the Soviets have increased their policy of arbitrary retaliation against villages suspected of harbouring *mujahidin*. Tales of brutality to children, to ordinary civilians, are ubiquitous, too.

189. What has happened in Afghanistan? Information is not easy to come by. No humanitarian organizations are permitted to operate in Afghanistan. The International Committee of the Red Cross has not been allowed in Kabul since 1982. Selected journalists who report favourably on the Soviet Union and the Afghan régime are permitted; other journalists do not fare as well and are subject to capture and imprisonment without the usual international norms of trial and consular access. The experience of the French journalist Abouchar has recently demonstrated the hazards of attempting to function as a journalist in this environment. Two other French journalists were told in Islamabad only last month:

“I warn you, and through you all your journalist colleagues, stop trying to penetrate Afghanistan with the so-called guerrillas. From now on, the bandits and the so-called journalists accompanying them will be killed.”

190. Since last spring Soviet forces have launched major operations throughout the country. In late April the sixth major offensive in the Panjshir valley was launched, using, for the first time since the Second World War, high-level saturation bombing from airplanes based in the Soviet Union, driving out inhabitants, emptying valleys, swelling the tide of refugees already forced to flee their homes.

191. What has happened in Afghanistan? As of 1983 there were 1.5 million Afghan refugees in Iran. Some 4 million others have fled to Pakistan, and an estimated 2 million more are displaced within Afghanistan itself. Thus, in five years almost half the population have fled from their homes and sought refuge in internal or external exile. What accounts for this mass exodus, which one member of the International Rescue Committee called a “refugee movement that is historically unparalleled”? What accounts for it is what has happened in Afghanistan. Throughout the country, fighting and skirmishes of heavily armed occupation troops against virtually unarmed civilians continue. But in spite of Soviet air power and increased involvement of Soviet military forces the will of the *mujahidin* has not been broken.

192. Intense fighting raged throughout the summer. Recent visitors describe Kandahar, Afghanistan's second largest city, as a living cemetery, Herat as a ghost town. But nowhere has the strength and resilience of the Afghan resistance been more appar-

ent than in Kabul, where during September and into October the *mujahidin* have become increasingly effective in challenging Soviet control of the Afghan capital, a virtual armed camp. Kabul remains under seige.

193. In Afghanistan we see confirmed the truth of political philosophers who have observed that conquest cannot serve as a stable base for the possession and exercise of political power. Rousseau said it: “The strongest man is never strong enough to be always master unless he transforms his power into right and obedience into duty.”

194. Conquest is achieved by force and violence, by armies wielding weapons, by invasion and occupation. But the transformation of might into right is achieved by persuasion, by persuasion of a claim to legitimate rule. In Afghanistan we see again that rulers may achieve power by force but that simple possession of power does not obligate submission. It may even obligate resistance.

195. The Afghan people—invaded, overrun, murdered, occupied—resist. Their resistance is a modern legend. Slated for incorporation, absorption and secularization, the Afghan people refuse to acquiesce in the destruction of their society, their culture and themselves as a nation.

196. What has happened in Afghanistan? Why were the Afghan people subjected to this terrible suffering to begin with? Why did the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan anyway? Obviously, the people and Government of Afghanistan constituted no threat to the security of the USSR. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how an independent Afghanistan could conceivably have posed a threat to the Soviet Union. For decades, relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan had been a model of the peaceful coexistence of two countries with different social and political systems. Afghanistan, a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, had no ties to other Governments which might have caused concern to Moscow. It neither sought nor received weapons from Soviet adversaries. It did not seek to proselytize a fundamentalist revolution among neighbouring peoples. Violence and anarchy in Afghanistan do not threaten the peace of the region—indeed, there was no turmoil in Afghanistan before 27 April 1978, when a violent *coup* marked the beginning of the effort to impose on the people of Afghanistan a foreign ideology and an alien way of life.

197. There was no invitation, no request for Soviet help from the Afghan Government, whose leader was murdered by invading forces. There was no welcome from the Afghan people. But five years later there has been no withdrawal of occupying forces. Why did the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan in the first place? Perhaps history best explains it. Those who believe the Soviet Union is, at base, a contemporary embodiment of historic Russian goals see its Afghan policy in that light. Since the time of the Tsars, it is said by those who argue along that line, Russian leaders have pursued the dream of a warm-water port on the Indian Ocean. Domination of Afghanistan is thus essential to the fulfilment of historical territorial aspirations.

198. A century ago Afghans recognized these territorial aspirations. Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan, wrote:



“The Russian policy in Asia is that, in any way, rightly or wrongly, friendly or unfriendly, with peace or war, the Islamic kingdoms should be washed away. . . .”

199. If contemporary Soviets do—as some people believe—live out age-old aspirations in Afghanistan, so do contemporary Afghans live out historical Afghan predictions in their resistance to conquest. Rahman also wrote of his people 100 years ago:

“Whether trained soldiers or simple peasants, [they] would all sacrifice every drop of blood till the last man was killed, in fighting for their God, their Prophet, their religion, their homes, their families, their nation, . . . their liberty and independence.”

Day after day, contemporary occupying armies experience the fulfilment of Rahman’s prophecy that, day after day, contemporary Afghans realize.

200. For five long years the Afghan people, who are surely among the most courageous and independent in the world, have demonstrated their determination to remain a people. What can the rest of us learn from this harsh experience? We can note and remember the incredible courage and endurance of the Afghan people. We can affirm that their battle is not lost, that their struggle is alive in Afghanistan’s valleys and mountains and in this world body.

201. The proposed draft resolution and the expected vote in the Assembly are a reflection of the views of us all against the outrage that continues in Afghanistan. What can we do to help? We can remember the needs of the Afghan people, of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan; we can remember what the Government of Pakistan and its people have done to ease the plight of the Afghan refugees. We can applaud the humanitarian work of the UNHCR, WFP and of private voluntary agencies—all those who labour without recess to assist the millions of refugees. We can support their efforts. We can note and appreciate the contributions of all those volunteers, of the Government of Pakistan and of the United Nations and other bodies to the survival of the Afghan refugees huddled on the borders. We can vote for the draft resolution that is offered here in this body. It is not too difficult to conceive a solution for Afghanistan’s problems. In fact the basis for a solution is present in the draft resolution on which we shall vote in this body.

202. The United States supports the draft resolution on Afghanistan before the Assembly. We believe

its four major elements offer the basis for a negotiated settlement that will be just and viable, one in which the legitimate security interests of all the parties will be protected. These elements are the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops, the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan, 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, and the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes. We believe that this is a basis for an honourable solution which serves the interests of all parties.

203. What else can we do? We can support the steady and untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez. They have made progress in defining a settlement and how it might come about. As President Reagan said in his address to this body on 24 September of this year [*4th meeting*], United States strongly supports the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative. We welcome the announcement that those efforts will resume in 1985. We support, too, the strong efforts the Government of Pakistan has made to seek a solution through this medium. We believe that these efforts offer the basis for hope that a negotiated political settlement can be found which will end the terrible war against the Afghan people. We believe that the people of Afghanistan, the people of Pakistan and the people of the Soviet Union would profit greatly from such a peaceful solution. We very much hope that the processes here in the General Assembly will contribute to that end.

*The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, *Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14649, annex.

<sup>3</sup>Economic and Social Council resolution 1984/37.