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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. RÁCZ (Hungary): Regrettably, we are once again this year being subjected to the discussion of an item which, as now formulated, implies interference in the internal affairs of a Member State, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. To have this item as it is on our agenda contradicts the stipulations of the Charter of the United Nations, and therefore we have to take issue with it.

2. Having said that, I would add the Hungarian delegation's voice to that of others who want to set the record straight: it is not the situation in Afghanistan which should rightly be a matter for our concern but, rather, the continuous foreign intervention which not only is not secret but sometimes is quite heavily advertised, and which is directed from various sources against the lawful Government of Afghanistan. This intervention creates tension in the region, and it is this on which our attention should rightly be focused.

3. Every objective observer would recognize that since the 1978 revolution greater steps have been taken than ever before to eradicate Afghanistan's age-old, inherited backwardness. One of the first measures taken by the revolution was the introduction of a democratic land reform to benefit the peasant masses instead of the few feudal landlords; along with the land reform, a law was approved for the democratic reform of water distribution. Significant results have been achieved in attacking and overcoming illiteracy. As a result of a vigorous campaign against illiteracy, more than a million people have learned how to read and write in the last five years. Education and health services have been expanded and successful efforts are being made to increase the general well-being of the population. People from all walks of life are joining in the National Fatherland Front and are taking an active part in building a new society.

4. History teaches us that victory by the new over the old cannot be won without a struggle; forces of reaction and backwardness have to be overcome. In Afghanistan's case these forces of reaction and counter-revolution are being actively supported from the outside. They get their training and equipment outside Afghanistan and they are sent to that country to destroy peaceful work, to blow up bridges and

power lines, to commit violent crimes, to kill and terrorize the population. They can and they do cause harm, material damage and loss of the most precious value: human life; but they cannot turn back the tide of history. This violence and terror, aided and abetted from the outside, must be stopped. This is the first and foremost requirement for solving the problem around Afghanistan; this is the issue we should be concerned with. And a solution to this problem can and must be found by seeking a just and lasting settlement of relations between Afghanistan, on the one hand, and some of its neighbours, on the other.

5. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly come out in favour of negotiations aimed at the normalization of relations among the countries of the region and has put forward concrete proposals to that end. It is only through negotiations that a peaceful settlement ending foreign intervention in Afghanistan can be reached and a normal situation around it can be restored. The best and most efficient way of reaching an agreement would be the holding of direct negotiations. Unfortunately, initiatives to this end have not succeeded so far.

6. In the absence of direct negotiations, the continuation of the efforts of the Secretary-General to promote a political solution constitutes the only active mechanism of negotiations. Therefore we highly appreciate the efforts of the Secretary-General and encourage him to pursue these negotiations further. Although we are concerned over the slow pace of these negotiations, there are some positive elements. It is important that there should be a sincere readiness by all the parties concerned to reach a political solution. It is encouraging that during the consultations by the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General in Islamabad and Kabul in April this year, a set of understandings could be worked out and a number of specific steps agreed upon to give impetus to the diplomatic process. All in all, discussions held so far have proved to be useful and, mainly because of the flexible approach of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, some progress has been made. We hope that other interested parties will show a similar attitude and that the diplomatic process in search of a peaceful solution will be speeded up and a comprehensive settlement will be reached. Such a settlement not only would end foreign intervention in Afghanistan but also would promote the restoration of peace and stability in the region.

7. We have repeatedly stated on previous occasions that just and lasting negotiated solutions of conflicts can be found only on the basis of respect for one another's interests, respect for the sovereignty of countries and non-interference in their internal af-

fairs. Unfortunately, draft resolution A/39/L.11 does not meet these conditions. It is out of focus, it reiterates the unacceptable elements of last year's resolution and it will impede rather than help the negotiating process. For these reasons, my delegation cannot support this draft resolution and will vote against it.

8. In conclusion, I should like to express our hope that the negotiating partners regarding Afghanistan will realize that they will be able to secure their interests only on the basis of mutual respect for the other side's interests, and will seek such solutions not in futile propaganda exercises but at the negotiating table. Instead of destabilizing the region, such a responsible attitude will contribute to peace and stability in South-West Asia.

9. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): This is the sixth time the General Assembly has considered the situation in Afghanistan. As the foreign aggressor troops have refused to withdraw, the relevant resolutions adopted at previous sessions of the General Assembly have not been implemented to this day, and the Afghan question is far from settled, it is entirely necessary for the current session of the General Assembly to consider this question once again.

10. The Afghan question is the result of the foreign armed invasion of Afghanistan five years ago. That act of armed aggression has not only violated the sovereignty and independence of a non-aligned country and trampled underfoot the Charter of the United Nations and the norms governing international relations, but has also created a hot spot of war in South Asia which threatens the peace and security of the Asian region.

11. The foreign military occupation has brought unheard-of suffering to the people of Afghanistan. In the past five years several hundred thousand Afghans have been massacred and over 4 million people in a desperate plight have been forced to flee to other countries as refugees. Foreign aircraft and tanks have desolated countless villages, orchards, farms and civil facilities, inflicting immeasurable losses on Afghanistan's national economy.

12. However, the Afghan people who cherish freedom and independence have not knuckled under the bayonet of the aggressors. With a bitter hatred of the enemy, they have fought heroically against the foreign aggressor troops, and their fight has developed into a nation-wide war of resistance. Their just struggle has won sympathy and support from all countries and peoples that uphold justice and love peace.

13. Ever since the military invasion of Afghanistan the international community has been gravely concerned about the incident, with one country after another condemning the aggressors for their criminal acts of brutal intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the cold-blooded massacre of innocent Afghan people. The General Assembly has adopted relevant resolutions by an overwhelming majority on five successive occasions, demanding the total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and the restoration of its independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status.

14. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have time and again issued statements and adopted resolutions, respectively, expressing serious anxiety and

concern over the foreign invasion of Afghanistan, a non-aligned Islamic country, and calling for an early solution to the Afghan problem. The Association of South-East Asian Nations, the European Community and many third world and other countries have all condemned the acts of the aggressors. All this shows that today, in the 1980s, a super-Power could make itself most unpopular and isolated in pursuing the hegemonist policy of oppressing the small and bullying the weak by dint of its own size and strength.

15. Over the years the Soviet authorities have repeatedly expressed a desire for a political solution of the Afghan question and support for the peace efforts of the Secretary-General. However, what merits attention is that while they talk glibly about a political solution, they are intensifying the war of aggression, expanding their military bases and building strategic highways, in an attempt to perpetuate their occupation of Afghanistan. By concentrating superior forces last spring and summer, they again launched unprecedentedly large and savage offensives against the base areas of some resistance organizations in the Panjshir valley and elsewhere, pursuing a scorched earth policy and creating a no man's land, in a bid to strangle once and for all the resistance movement of the Afghan people. In the mean time, the Afghan authorities, with super-Power backing, have wantonly bombarded and shelled the border areas inside Pakistan and massed large numbers of troops in areas close to Pakistan's border, deliberately aggravating the situation in Afghanistan and posing a serious threat to the peace and security of Pakistan. These policies and acts of the super-Power have prevented any progress in the proximity talks at Geneva on a political solution of the Afghan question and obstructed the relaxation of the tension in Afghanistan.

16. Afghanistan is a close neighbour of China. The peoples of the two countries maintain an age-old traditional friendship. Since the establishment of formal diplomatic ties in 1955, relations between China and Afghanistan had developed normally on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet armed invasion and occupation of Afghanistan not only seriously menace the peace of the Asian region, but also threaten the security of China. Therefore, China cannot but watch closely the developments in Afghanistan, and it strongly condemns the super-Power's acts of aggression against the country.

17. The Chinese Government has consistently held that the resolutions with regard to the Afghan question adopted at five previous sessions of the General Assembly must be fully implemented, that foreign troops must withdraw from Afghanistan unconditionally, and that the independent and non-aligned status of Afghanistan must be restored, so as to ensure that the Afghan people will determine their own destiny, free from outside intervention, and that the Afghan refugees will return to their homes in safety and honour. Any political settlement of the Afghan question must take fully into consideration and reflect the views of the Afghan people engaged in the fighting. This is the only way towards an early end to the occupation of Afghanistan, the normalization of relations between the countries concerned and a speedy elimination of the source of tension in the region.

18. The Chinese delegation hereby reiterates that after the Afghan question is settled in conformity

with the spirit of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, China is ready to join other countries concerned in an international guarantee against interfering, by whatever means, in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and against occupying Afghan territory or using it to infringe on the independence and sovereignty of any other country in the region.

19. The super-Power's invasion of Afghanistan also threatens the security of neighbouring countries. Around 4 million Afghan refugees have fled to Pakistan and Iran, imposing heavy economic burdens on the two countries. This abnormal state of affairs must not be allowed to continue any longer. Adhering to the basic principles of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, the Government of Pakistan has for five years firmly demanded the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and persisted in its efforts to seek a political settlement of the Afghan question. We appreciate this just stand of the Pakistani Government and support its policies regarding the Afghan question. Likewise, we appreciate and admire the humanitarian spirit displayed by Pakistan in providing various kinds of relief assistance to the Afghan refugees.

20. This year Pakistan and some other countries have jointly proposed a draft resolution entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security", in another effort to seek a fair and reasonable solution to the Afghan question. The Chinese delegation fully endorses this draft resolution and calls upon other countries to give it their full support. It suggests that the General Assembly adopt this draft resolution and hopes that it will be implemented in earnest.

21. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): Many of the crises on the agenda of the General Assembly have been burdening the international situation and jeopardizing international peace for years, even for decades.

22. However, there is general consensus on the need to make a resolute move and to begin the process of resolving them in order to secure the right of peoples to live in independence, freedom and peace and to avoid confrontation of wider proportions with unforeseeable consequences for peace and security.

23. That the international community and the General Assembly have not reconciled themselves to the existence of the crises and that for years they have been seeking their solution by political means, in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, is something positive.

24. Only by resolving crises on the basis of United Nations decisions and recommendations can international developments be directed towards respect for the legitimate and inalienable rights of peoples and towards dialogue, negotiations and universal détente.

25. In that sense, beginning the process of political solution of the issue currently under consideration would open the way to strengthening mutual trust and contribute to the relaxation of tensions and to improving the international situation at large. Continuation of the problem, on the other hand, would inevitably lead to further exacerbation of tensions in international relations.

26. In assessing this and all other similar situations, we in Yugoslavia are proceeding from the principle of the inadmissibility of foreign military intervention and the unacceptability of the imposition of foreign will on sovereign States and peoples. Every people and every country has the inalienable right to self-

determination and the free choice of ways and forms for its social and political development. These principles have been established under the Charter and they constitute the prerequisites for stable international relations, peaceful coexistence and equitable co-operation among all peoples and countries in the world. These same principles have been further developed by the policy of non-alignment and by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in its quest for a new system of international political and economic relations based on the defence of the sovereign rights of all countries and peoples to peace, self-determination and independence.

27. Since the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in 1961, the non-aligned countries have resolutely opposed any form of intervention and interference. Only strict adherence to these basic principles of international relations can constitute the basis for peace and security in the world and be the mainstay of the defence of freedom and independence, in particular of small and medium-size countries.

28. It may be recalled here that the non-aligned countries initiated the adoption of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States [*resolution 36/103, annex*], in which these principles were formulated and some aspects of intervention and interference further elaborated. The Declaration, adopted at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority of States, is completely clear in the provision that no State or group of States has the right to intervene or interfere in any form or for any reason whatsoever in the internal or external affairs of other States.

29. We feel that situations of selective application and arbitrary interpretation of these fundamental principles of international relations are particularly dangerous. To our mind, there can be no justification for the use of force and intervention for so-called reasons of security or through invocation of the provisions of the Charter or multilateral, regional or bilateral instruments.

30. The position of Yugoslavia regarding the situation in Afghanistan is consistently based on the principles of the Charter and the principles of non-alignment, principles to which my country strictly adheres and whose universal implementation in international relations it has always advocated.

31. It is regrettable that there has been no appreciable movement towards a political solution, in accordance with the principles of the Charter, of the situation under review. This, as I have said earlier, can give rise to further tensions in the region and beyond.

32. However, it is encouraging that talks between the parties directly involved have been resumed with the mediation of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez. We are convinced that constructive efforts, and especially political will, could open the road to a peaceful settlement within the framework of the principles of the Charter and the policy of non-alignment and a solution that would take into account the legitimate interests of all countries in the region with regard to security, independence and free development.

33. General Assembly resolutions contain the principles and the framework for a political solution. They include the withdrawal of foreign troops;

respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan; the cessation of any interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan; and the right of every people freely to choose its form of government and economic, political and social system and to create the conditions necessary for the solution of the grave problem of Afghan refugees and their return to their homes.

34. The United Nations has an irreplaceable role to play in the achievement of a peaceful solution of the crisis in Afghanistan, and we in Yugoslavia fully support that role.

35. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): The position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan is well known and has been expressed on numerous occasions in the United Nations. We have always considered, and we still do, that the situation in Afghanistan, a sovereign State Member of the United Nations, is a matter concerning only the people of Afghanistan and its legitimate Government, and that the situation poses no threat to international peace and security.

36. Not only is the consideration of this item by the United Nations inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, but it has negative and politically dangerous implications for the cause of peace, since this kind of discussion has been used by its instigators and initiators to cover up the continuing undeclared war against the Afghan people and to justify the policy of aggravating tensions in South-West Asia and in the world as a whole.

37. That is being done in order to block by all means efforts to find a peaceful and just solution to the problems of the region and at the same time to divert the attention of the United Nations from the really important and topical issues.

38. The total disrespect for the genuine interests of the Afghan people and the concrete actions of the forces hostile to Afghanistan and the Afghan revolution are the very reasons why this question is still on the agenda of the United Nations. Only thus can we explain the fact that the same forces which appeal for respect for the "independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan" have remained blind to the historical significance of the Afghan people's revolution of April 1978.

39. Yesterday we all heard the deep, analytical and informative statement of the representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in which he elucidated the situation in and around that country.

40. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is pleased to note the positive changes that have occurred in Afghanistan during the new stage of the April revolution. Six years ago the Afghan people made a crucial choice by confidently embarking upon profound political and socio-economic transformations in all fields of its social and political life. The revolution of April 1978 opened a new chapter in the history of the Afghan people. In spite of the enormous difficulties, which are either a legacy of the past or the result of counter-revolutionary subversion and the undeclared war, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has been marching triumphantly along the road of eradicating feudalism, backwardness, misery and illiteracy and towards accelerated cultural development and social progress.

41. Under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, agrarian reform and comprehensive social programmes are being implemented; substantial results have also been achieved in the fields of health care and education.

42. It is obvious that this path of free and independent development chosen by the Afghan people impedes the plans of the forces of imperialism and world reaction. Thus the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan since its very inception has fallen victim to unprovoked imperialist aggression. Trampling upon the universally recognized norms of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, imperialist and reactionary forces have mounted a real undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and have spared no effort in denying the Afghan people the exercise of the right to determine their own future themselves.

43. The enemies of the Afghan revolution have continued to send into Afghanistan counter-revolutionary bands which they have trained and armed. Those bands have committed assassinations, destroyed schools and hospitals and have not spared innocent children and civilians. The United States Administration has so far allocated more than \$300 million to finance the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. United States centres of ideological diversion and propaganda have been actively engaged in a hostile campaign against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, deliberately aimed at poisoning the climate in that country and undermining the constructive efforts of the Afghan people. There are others which have followed suit in pursuing the aims of this hostile campaign and refuse to recognize the realities in Afghanistan, a country where the Afghan people have chosen to abandon the imperialist and obscurantist way of life and by sovereign right have decided to build and reconstruct their country.

44. The facts convincingly show that the terrorists used by United States imperialism and world reaction against Afghanistan carry out mass murders and destruction and spread fear and psychological pressure. Can those actions be abetted by the United Nations? Can those terrorists be labeled "freedom fighters" without any remorse by those who support, train, arm and smuggle them into Afghanistan in order to sow murder and destruction? Obviously the only answer to those questions is no.

45. It is also obvious enough that those States which oppose and sabotage the development of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and have intentionally become enemies of the Afghan people bear sole responsibility for the waging of an undeclared war against Afghanistan; they also bear sole responsibility for the lack of will to find a political solution, despite the realistic, reasonable and flexible position taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

46. This campaign is an integral part of the policy of the imperialist forces with respect to South-West Asia and the adjacent area. By aggravating the tensions in the region, the United States is trying to use the events around Afghanistan as a pretext to strengthen its military presence in the region, expand its existing military bases and obtain new ones. For that reason we are deeply convinced that the involvement of the United Nations in a futile discussion of the so-called question of Afghanistan in fact serves

only the interests of those who wish to perpetuate the aggravated situation in South-West Asia for the benefit of their imperialist and reactionary schemes.

47. An objective and realistic analysis of the situation in South-West Asia unavoidably leads to the conclusion that United Nations efforts should be aimed at making the necessary contribution to finding a genuine political solution to the problems around Afghanistan. The road to finding such a solution is clear and open: it is based on the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 15 May 1980¹ and 24 August 1981.² The plan for a political settlement contained in those proposals deals both with the substantive issues and the framework for the proposed negotiations. That plan is a realistic one; it is flexible and takes into account the wishes of the other concerned countries. It is aimed at conducting a constructive and meaningful dialogue—a search for dialogue, not confrontation; for settlement, not whipping up hatred. That is the approach that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has followed persistently and steadfastly in its efforts to normalize relations with neighbouring countries in the interest of strengthening peace and stability in South-West Asia.

48. The People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the proposals and efforts of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. As in the past, my country firmly calls for a peaceful political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan; the complete and unconditional termination and guaranteed non-resumption of armed intervention or any other interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan; the creation of conditions that would preclude any such interference in the future; and normalization of relations between Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries. The attainment of such a settlement, including international guarantees, would furnish the necessary conditions for the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet forces.

49. In this regard, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has been following with interest and hope the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative. It is our deep conviction that, given the goodwill of all interested parties, progress can be achieved in creating the necessary political climate for conducting direct negotiations and for establishing conditions for the normalization of relations and the strengthening of peace and stability in South-West Asia.

50. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has developed relations of friendship and mutually advantageous co-operation with the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. My country has given and will continue to give wholeheartedly its firm support to the people of Afghanistan in their struggle against the forces of imperialism and counter-revolution and against outside interference in their internal affairs. We will continue to support their efforts in resolving the major problems in the political, economic and social areas and in achieving a genuine political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

51. We shall also continue to oppose all efforts which fail to take into account the will and the interests of the Afghan people and which, in effect, impede the process of normalization. Regrettably, in the view of my delegation, both the current discus-

sion and the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly fall under this definition. Therefore, my delegation will vote against the draft resolution.

52. Mr. NATORF (Poland): Once again, the General Assembly is discussing the question of the so-called situation in Afghanistan. There are at least two reasons why we should abandon this futile exercise: first, the members of the most interested delegation in the Assembly, namely the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, have categorically opposed from the very beginning the inclusion of that item on the General Assembly's agenda, as well as its discussion; and secondly, it is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations which, in Article 2, paragraph 7, states, *inter alia*:

“Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. . . .”

53. My delegation joined the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and other delegations in opposing the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the General Assembly as we have always been of the opinion that such a course of action cannot but put further obstacles in the way of a settlement of the problem created around the so-called Afghanistan question.

54. Poland has always demonstrated vital interest in the consolidation of peace in the world at large, in the strengthening of international security and in the promotion of mutually beneficial co-operation among nations. Therefore, we have always participated actively in international efforts to reduce tensions and extinguish hotbeds of conflict wherever they have occurred. Such a view has been reflected many times in official declarations of the Polish Government. That is the position that we, together with our Warsaw Treaty allies, constantly reaffirm.

55. The situation created around Afghanistan and the undeclared war directed against that country are a vivid example of the violation of accepted basic norms of international law and behaviour in international relations which undermines international peace and security. It is another example of brutal interference in the affairs of socialist and progressive States by utilizing the whole arsenal of weapons of political, military and psychological warfare. We strongly condemn all these acts of aggression, undeclared war and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, as well as actions attempting to isolate the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on the international scene, used on the one hand for cynical propaganda purposes and on the other as a pretext by the United States for building military bases in Asia, such as the one on Diego García, to strengthen its naval and military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf and develop their rapid deployment forces there.

56. If we are to respect and abide by the Charter, we cannot allow the General Assembly to be used for purposes contrary to the Charter. Since this matter is being discussed, it should be only to emphasize the necessity for the complete cessation of armed attacks, of support for the rebels and of any kind of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. At the same time, provisions guaranteeing the non-recurrence of such interference in the future should be adopted. In this connection, I should like to recall

that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has made this clear on many occasions. In its statement of 24 August 1981 it said:

“The securing of the complete and reliable cessation of armed and any other intervention in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the creation of conditions making impossible the recurrence of such interference in the future must be the main aim and basic content of the political settlement.”²

57. It has been declared many times by the Afghan and by the Soviet authorities that the achievement of such a settlement, including international guarantees, would create appropriate conditions for deciding, by agreement between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, on the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

58. In this respect Poland duly appreciates the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, with a view to finding a political solution. Their work undoubtedly constitutes a fine example of the constructive involvement of the Organization in the peaceful settlement of disputes, as provided for in the Charter.

59. At the same time, it would be useful if, as the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has proposed on many occasions, direct bilateral negotiations could take place with neighbouring countries with a view to working out mutually acceptable agreements.

60. It should also be recalled that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has on many occasions expressed its readiness, willingness and sincere desire for normal, friendly relations with all its neighbours. As was stated yesterday by Mr. Zarif of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan:

“Our approach to the present situation is extremely constructive and future-oriented. What we earnestly and sincerely desire is a negotiated political solution that will put an end once and for all to all acts of armed and other forms of aggression against our country, our people and our revolution, and to secure sufficient political guarantees that those acts will not be resumed in the future.” [60th meeting, para. 109.]

61. The April revolution in Afghanistan was a decisive turning-point in the history of that country and the success of its progressive forces. It was the resolute and irrevocable choice of the people of Afghanistan itself. In spite of the brutal interference of external forces which, by their nature, could not tolerate those progressive changes in Afghanistan, the achievements and accomplishments of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as we heard in the statement made yesterday by its representative, Mr. Zarif, are unquestionable.

62. Early last summer the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland visited Afghanistan. It gave him an opportunity personally to witness the progressive transformations taking place in that country, whose leaders and people are doing their utmost, in spite of the well-known situation created around Afghanistan, to improve the economic situation and the material, cultural and living standards of the Afghan people, to defend the national democratic revolution, independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan, and to build a society founded on the principles of social

justice, democracy and progress. There is no doubt that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan would have advanced much further along that path had it not been for the undeclared war against free, non-aligned and independent Afghanistan.

63. In the light of all that we have said, we are sincerely convinced that draft resolution A/39/L.11 does not contain any provisions which could help in solving the so-called question of Afghanistan. On the contrary, several years of experience have shown us that such resolutions are rather harmful. For these reasons, my delegation will vote against it.

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

64. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Discussion of the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security is being used by imperialist and reactionary forces, as was their intention from the outset, to fan the flames of the most blatant kind of anti-Sovietism for crude distortion of the policy of the Soviet State and socialism as a whole and to mask their undeclared war against Afghanistan.

65. For that reason from the outset the Mongolian delegation has strongly objected, and it continues to object, to discussion of this question. We have always believed, and we still believe, that discussion of this trumped-up question, disregarding the will of the Afghan people, is crude interference in its internal affairs and an outrageous denial of its right to self-determination.

66. In April 1978 the Afghan people, exercising its right to self-determination, made its choice; rejecting the hated feudal and despotic régime, the people selected that social and economic system which was most in keeping with its interests.

67. It is precisely for that reason—because the Afghan people, relying on the comprehensive assistance and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, is building a new society which is totally distasteful to imperialist, reactionary and hegemonic circles—that those forces have unleashed and stepped up their undeclared war against Afghanistan. As the facts demonstrate, they prepared and began waging that war immediately after the April revolution of 1978.

68. They tried to mask their aggressive actions against Afghanistan by the use of a plethora of high-flown words.

69. Many people must be alarmed by the vehemence with which Washington has gone about praising the enemies of the Afghan people as “freedom fighters” and by the way Washington began, and has continued, to provide broad financial and military assistance.

70. In this context I should like to quote an article from the *International Herald Tribune* of 12 September of this year:

“According to the Federation for Afghan Action . . . \$325 million in CIA funds has been spent on this programme since it began shortly after the December 1979 Soviet intervention. The Afghanistan programme is the largest covert CIA operation, according to a Congressional source.”*

71. Do the freedom fighters of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine receive assistance from Washington on as generous a scale as do the enemies and

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

renegades of the Afghan, Nicaraguan and Kampuchean peoples?

72. Does Washington recognize the right of the suffering Palestinian people to self-determination? Of course, the answer is no. The destinies of peoples, the destinies of freedom fighters, have never been of concern and are not of concern to the American authorities. If any people chooses a social or political system which is not to the liking of the United States, or conducts a policy which is not in keeping with United States interests, then that country will feel the full weight, in a multitude of forms, of Washington's particular interest and attention and of the interest and attention of its special agencies. Afghanistan, Nicaragua and the People's Republic of Kampuchea are obvious examples, not to mention Grenada; that has now become a classic example of how the United States acts with regard to such countries.

73. The Afghan people cherishes the gains of its revolution; it is filled with determination to defend those gains. It was precisely as a result of the April revolution that the people became the true manager of the country and master of its destiny.

74. In the short time which has elapsed since the victory of the revolution the Afghan people has achieved significant success in the social and economic development of the country. It has successfully gone through various stages of democratic land and water reform. It is expanding systems of education and health services. There has been growth in agricultural production and in the volume of industrial production. As compared with last year, there has been an increase in the gross national product of 6 per cent and national income has risen by 4.5 per cent.

75. This is no mean achievement if we bear in mind that Afghanistan is one of the least developed countries of the world.

76. The successes and the achievements of the Afghan people would be far greater and far more significant if the enemies of the Afghan revolution did not impede its peaceful development and constructive work by waging an undeclared war against it. Afghanistan needs peace and calm. It threatens nobody. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is consistently carrying out a foreign policy of peace, friendly co-operation and good-neighbourliness. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Dost, declared in his statement during the general debate at the present session: "The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is a peaceful, non-aligned country and is determined to remain so." [12th meeting, para. 85.] It is precisely for this reason that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is striving for the peaceful settlement of the situation in its country and on repeated occasions has made constructive proposals to this end.

77. The Mongolian People's Republic fully supports these proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and believes that they can serve as an objective basis for the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. My delegation considers the political will, the serious and businesslike approach and the flexibility demonstrated by Afghanistan during the negotiations with Pakistan through the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General to be a most positive sign.

78. The efforts of the Secretary-General also deserve a positive assessment and full support. However, we believe that the political will and a sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the situation around Afghanistan on the part of all the parties involved are necessary if this is to be achieved.

79. Regarding draft resolution A/39/L.11, the Mongolian delegation would strongly object to its adoption, for the same reasons it gave when it voted against similar draft resolutions in the past.

80. Mr. ELDEEB (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Once again the General Assembly is considering the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

81. It is regrettable to note that the conditions and circumstances which led to the convening of the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly, following the foreign intervention in Afghanistan, still prevail today with all their serious international ramifications. For the last few years the Assembly has been considering the development of the situation in Afghanistan, yet all the efforts and initiatives undertaken so far to reach a solution to this question, in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations, have not produced the necessary positive results. After the passage of all these years, foreign troops are still on Afghan territory; indeed, the numbers have increased, reaching tens of thousands, thus violating the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan and at the same time posing a direct threat to security and stability in the region.

82. The position of Sudan towards this question is that it is closely related to the principles regulating international relations and the framework of interactions among the members of the international community, under the umbrella of the Charter of the United Nations and international customs and laws, especially the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the non-use of force or the threat of force in inter-State relations. Therefore, the continued crisis in Afghanistan and the perpetuation of the sufferings of the Afghan people are a source of increasing anxiety and concern for my country. In his statement on 4 October 1984 before the Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan said:

"The Sudan firmly rejects the use of force in solving conflicts and appeals for the settlement of differences through dialogue and negotiation. Guided by that principle, we call once again for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and Kampuchea so as to enable the two peoples to exercise their right to self-determination freely and without any external intervention or pressures." [21st meeting, para. 135.]

83. We are all aware of the full range of negative consequences resulting from the continued foreign presence in Afghanistan for, in addition to the danger which the presence of such forces poses to security and stability in that country and in that region, and the harm which it is likely to cause to international peace and security, a large number of the people of Afghanistan have been rendered homeless and have become refugees in neighbouring countries. We in the Sudan, which is a country which has witnessed large influxes of refugees, are fully aware of the magnitude of the problems and difficulties confronting the neighbouring countries of Afghanistan which have to

accommodate those refugees and provide them with basic services.

84. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which my country and Afghanistan are founding members, was established in order to reaffirm the rights of people to independence, freedom, self-determination and the right to choose their own economic, political and social system, free from outside intervention. All the conferences convened by the Movement have not only reaffirmed the importance of those principles but have worked to enhance the basic worth of this Movement, far from international polarization, alliances and military groupings. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, the Movement once again requested that a political solution be found urgently on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of that country.

85. At the same time, the Organization of the Islamic Conference has expressed its great concern about this question. Highlighting the serious implications of the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan, that organization condemned that presence and called for withdrawal of those troops. It also called upon all the parties concerned to respond to the legitimate aspirations of the Afghan people to self-determination and independence.

86. Several times the General Assembly has called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan so as to enable the Afghan people to choose its own Government and its own economic, political and social system, free from outside intervention. We on our part wish to repeat this appeal. We urge the countries directly concerned to work to reach a just and comprehensive solution to this important question. We hope that this will take place very soon, so that the question of Afghanistan will not become a permanent item on the agenda of the United Nations.

87. In his report [A/39/513], the Secretary-General surveyed the efforts which are being made to facilitate negotiations between the parties to the conflict in order to reach a political solution which guarantees to the people of Afghanistan the right to self-determination without any foreign pressure. In this respect, we wish to express our appreciation of the efforts made by the Secretary-General and by his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, as well as for the contacts which they have made with the parties to the conflict, the last of which took place at Geneva in August this year. We hope that the continuation of those efforts will remove the obstacles frustrating a settlement to this question, in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations.

88. My country is one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/39/L.11, which is before the Assembly. The basic objectives of this draft resolution are in keeping with the previous resolutions of the General Assembly. Moreover, those basic objectives serve to reaffirm our belief that any solution to the question of Afghanistan should be based on the following points: first, the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan; secondly, the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; thirdly, 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; and fourthly, the creation of the conditions necessary for the Afghan refugees to return to their homes.

89. Adoption by the General Assembly of draft resolution A/39/L.11 would reaffirm the sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations and would constitute a victory for the international community, which has agreed that all relations among States should be governed by those principles.

90. Mr. LAUTENSCHLAGER (Federal Republic of Germany): The representative of Ireland has already expressed the views of the 10 States members of the European Community on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. The Federal Republic of Germany fully endorses his statement.

91. We have to note with dismay and deep regret that almost five years after the uncalled-for and totally unjustifiable invasion of a peaceful and non-aligned neighbouring country, Soviet troops continue to occupy Afghanistan.

92. We continue to hold the view that this use of force by a super-Power against a developing country represents a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and an assault on the right of the Afghan people to self-determination. The unabating pursuit of this course raises serious doubts as to the credibility of the policies of the Soviet Union, and is bound to shatter confidence in that credibility. Let me quote the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gromyko: "Not words, but only deeds count." The Soviet Union owes a vast majority of the States Members of the United Nations an answer to the question of how its policy of force in Afghanistan can be reconciled with its initiatives for the conclusion of global or regional accords on the renunciation of force. It cannot be expected that such initiatives can be regarded as serious political proposals as long as the Soviet Union maintains its occupation of Afghanistan.

93. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Soviet warfare in that country have brought severe hardship to the Afghan people, with which we share a long tradition of friendship and close co-operation in many fields. An ever-increasing number of refugees has placed a heavy burden on countries with which we maintain friendly relations, especially Pakistan. The need to grant refuge, sustenance and protection to the refugees exposes those countries to constantly increasing strains. We are particularly impressed by the steadfastness with which Pakistan, in the face of these strains and in the face of pressure and threats, continues to champion those principles which the overwhelming majority of the community of nations have postulated for a solution to the Afghan problem.

94. The Soviet Union has proved unwilling so far to abide by this decision of the international community, as manifested above all in the pertinent United Nations resolutions. The efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have also failed to sway it. We know how heavily the situation in Afghanistan weighs on the non-aligned countries, but we are convinced that the Movement will continue in this particular case, too, to stand up for its own principles.

95. The Soviet Union has not only not responded to the international efforts at a solution, but has even aggravated the situation in the past year by taking a number of grave steps and decisions. Mention must be made particularly of the following facts.

96. According to numerous credible reports, the Soviet forces this year engaged in ground combat to an ever-increasing extent, resulting in the depopulation and devastation of vast reaches of the country.

97. Developments caused by Afghan forces at the border with Pakistan give rise to serious concern. This year, the number of border violations by Afghanistan has increased considerably. This development, it must be feared, could lead to a further escalation of tension, and it threatens to result in a dangerous destabilization of the region.

98. Finally, at the last round of negotiations, conducted at Geneva within the framework of the Secretary-General's efforts, the Soviet Union for the first time was not represented by a delegate of its own. The efforts of the Secretary-General—which he himself in his report called “the only active mechanism” [*ibid.*, para. 2] for a peaceful settlement—were characterized in September by Mr. Babrak Karmal as a useful, though small, measure. Is the international community to infer from this development that the Soviet Union has dismissed the concept of a political settlement through negotiations and is relying now on a solution by military force?

99. As a matter of course, increased use of force will be answered by increased counter-force. Thus, the régime in Kabul is obviously less and less secure in its domination, choosing the path of shrill reactions. Among other things, that régime has seen fit to attack my Government in a most brazen manner, in press releases published both in Kabul and in New York, regarding the humanitarian aid my Government provides for the benefit of the victims of the policy of force pursued by Moscow and Kabul. We firmly reject those attacks. In giving humanitarian aid we are responding to the appeals launched in relevant United Nations resolutions. The aid is not the cause, but a consequence, of the situation created in Afghanistan. The Federal Republic of Germany will not be swayed by such unjustified comments in its determination to continue to shoulder its share in mitigating the plight of the suffering people and in lightening the burden of the much-tried Governments. If the Kabul régime were actually threatened, as it claims, by “bandits and murderers”, and not by a large popular movement, it would hardly need for its survival those more than 100,000 Soviet occupying troops.

100. The Secretary-General and his Personal Representative enjoy our support and full confidence in their efforts towards finding a peaceful political solution to the conflict, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. We appeal to the Soviet Union to pave the way towards such a solution by withdrawing its military forces. That solution would have to include a return of the Afghan refugees to their home country in freedom and dignity, and a restoration of the Afghan people's right to self-determination and of the non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

101. For these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.11, sponsored by 46 members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We appeal to other Member States also to cast a

positive vote in order to demonstrate the unrelenting international support for a solution to the conflict, as outlined in the draft resolution.

102. Mr. THIOUNN Prasith (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): In the 1960s, there were those who had begun to glimpse the emergence of a new form of oppression and domination designed to replace the then dying colonialism. That new phenomenon became obvious in all its harshness with the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, my country, on 25 December 1978, and a year later, almost day for day, on 27 December 1979, with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. For the people of Kampuchea, who have experienced and continue to experience the two forms of oppression and domination, that new phenomenon, known today as hegemonism or expansionism, is much more cruel, more cynical and more inflexible than colonialism or any other form of oppression and domination. In fact, that new form soon learned to apply and define the old methods of oppression and domination.

103. Two weeks ago the General Assembly considered the situation in Kampuchea and expressed, for the sixth consecutive year and by a more overwhelming majority than ever before, its total condemnation of the war of aggression and genocide waged for almost six years now by Viet Nam in Kampuchea. Today the General Assembly is considering the situation in Afghanistan—a situation that, by its causes, its effects, its nature and its development, is very similar to that of Kampuchea; this is natural since the authors of the two situations were trained in the same school and use the same means and tactics in their attempts to achieve their common strategic objective.

104. In its struggle for a noble and just cause during the Second World War, the Soviet army achieved a great, historic victory which was acclaimed and admired by all. But that is not the case with its adventure in Afghanistan, where—like the Vietnamese army in Kampuchea—it has come not as a liberator but to oppress and destroy.

105. In Afghanistan, it has launched many mop-up operations, with a brutality and barbarism rarely known in history, making no distinction between the *mujahidin* guerrillas and civilians. Coming directly from bases located in the Soviet Union, waves of bombers, often carrying out more than 100 sorties a day, have razed villages, destroyed farms and irrigation systems and massacred civilians suspected of aiding the national resistance. Chemical and bacteriological weapons have been used where conventional weapons have proved to be ineffective. As in Kampuchea, the aggressors are waging a genocidal war against the Afghan people, in a vain attempt to eliminate all national resistance. It is estimated that since the Soviet invasion 1.5 million Afghans have been killed and hundreds of thousands have been seriously wounded. The prisons are filled with political prisoners and resistance fighters who are tortured and then executed without trial.

106. The intensive Soviet air raids and mop-up operations have led to the displacement of people within the country itself and have changed the country's demographic map. Millions of persons have left the rural areas and taken refuge in liberated towns and zones. The population of Kabul has grown from 800,000 to 2 million.

107. More than 4 million Afghans have sought asylum in Iran and, especially, in Pakistan, which for five years now has had to bear the very heavy burden of the largest concentration of refugees in the world. Like the aggressors in Kampuchea, who bomb and kill hundreds of refugees each year in the camps established on Thai territory and repeatedly violate Thailand's territorial integrity, killing many Thai civilians, the aggressors in Afghanistan bomb and kill Afghan refugees in the camps established on Pakistani territory and violate Pakistan's territorial integrity, killing many Pakistani civilians. Powerless to stop the struggle for national resistance by the force of weapons, they are resentful of the neighbouring countries because the latter remain determined to fulfil their humanitarian duties and abide firmly by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

108. Moreover, totally disregarding the appeals repeatedly made for almost five years now by the international community to withdraw all its forces from Afghanistan, the Soviet Union continues to send more men and supplies, especially to the Panjshir valley, which is both a fortified zone of the Afghan resistance and a junction of vital transport routes between the Soviet Union and Kabul. The so-called limited Soviet contingent in Afghanistan has increased from 100,000 to 150,000 men and its firepower has considerably increased as well. In 1979 there was one Soviet soldier for every 180 Afghans; today, taking into account the departure of 4 million refugees and the death of 1.5 million persons who have been killed in the war, there is one Soviet soldier for every 80 Afghans.

109. During the past five years of the national liberation struggle, the Afghan people and its *mujahidin* have closed ranks. The various forces of national resistance have gradually developed better co-ordination and cohesion and greater military operational unity. They have transformed local attacks into a general war of national liberation. All the Soviet offensives designed to destroy the resistance forces, and in particular those launched to drive them out of the Panjshir valley, have failed. The Panjshir valley has become the symbol of the unity and courageous struggle of the national resistance. The forces of that heroic resistance are unanimous in emphasizing that the invaders may destroy villages and massacre the inhabitants but they will never destroy the determination of the Afghan people to struggle against them for the independence of Afghanistan.

110. This determination has borne fruit. The patriotic struggle of the Afghan people is evolving very favourably. The resistance forces control 75 to 80 per cent of the rural areas and have established their administration in many places there. They are increasingly active and effective in the towns and on the strategic communication routes.

111. The forces of aggression in the towns and on the main communication routes are not safe. Even the Soviet Embassy in Kabul cannot escape the rocket attacks of the *mujahidin*. The morale of the invaders gets worse with each passing year, as they become increasingly and endlessly bogged down in Afghanistan. Desertions are increasing. Deserters have said that before being sent to Afghanistan they were told that they were going there to help the Afghan people and "Government" to fight against the invasion of foreign troops. But in Afghanistan they have only seen Soviet armed forces killing Afghans. They have stated that "the morale of the

Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan is very low and that more than 50 per cent of them are drugged from the use of hashish."

112. The Kabul army has been reduced by two thirds as a result of mass desertions and losses inflicted by the resistance forces as well as by bloody mutinies. Forced inductions are unable to make up the losses and, still less, to raise morale. Fourteen-year-old children are beginning to be seen in the ranks.

113. The Kabul régime has no social base, and would crumble without the Soviet presence. Dissensions, liquidations and political assassinations dividing the two factions, the Khalq and the Parcham, continue to worsen and are the despair of the occupiers. The number of Soviet advisers is continually growing in order to take direct charge of the ministerial departments of that puppet administration, weakened and paralysed by the defection of a growing number of its officials. A few months ago the former Chargé d'affaires of the Afghan embassy in Moscow, Abdul Mangal, who was a member of the Kabul delegation to the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly in January 1980, took asylum in Pakistan. He has stated that

"every service in the Soviet Union directs the work of similar services in Afghanistan through Soviet advisers who have been installed there. Even the statements and speeches that have to be made by Afghan officials are prepared by Soviet advisers. . . . The foreign policy of Afghanistan is totally subjected to the will of Moscow and all power is in the hands of the Soviets. . . . The Soviets enter Afghanistan without a visa. The Afghan embassy in Moscow has virtually no other functions than those relating to entertainment and protocol."

114. If in that statement we replaced the words "Soviet Union" and "Afghanistan" by "Viet Nam" and "Kampuchea", it would be as if we were listening to the officials who have deserted the Phnom Penh régime describe the situation prevailing in that administration, which is also a puppet administration.

115. Despite its repeated military, political and diplomatic failures the Soviet Union obstinately persists in its efforts to conquer Afghanistan. It is strengthening its military presence there and developing and consolidating its military infrastructures. It is intensifying its repression and massive air raids as a means of blackmail through terror against the Afghan people, ordering them to submit or be massacred. It is actively pursuing the political, social and economic sovietization of the country. Soviet experts and advisers are in all the key posts of the administrative machinery and the army. Mass organizations of youth, women, workers and so on are exact copies of Soviet models. The Russian language has become obligatory everywhere. The University of Kabul has been sovietized. More than 20,000 young Afghans are sent to receive their ideological training in Soviet universities and in those of the Eastern European countries. The Afghan economy has been integrated into the economy of the Soviet Union and the other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

116. At the same time as it is making these efforts to dig itself in permanently in Afghanistan and to make that country an integral part of the Russian

empire, Moscow ceaselessly declares that it is in favour of a political solution to the Afghan problem. But the hopes placed in the worthy, patient and tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to bring about some progress in the "indirect negotiations" at Geneva have melted in the blazing crucible lit by successive Soviet offensives against the Panjshir valley. Indeed, for Moscow those "negotiations" are simply a tactic to gain time, which it hopes to use to sow division between the forces of national resistance, to confuse world public opinion about the true Soviet objectives and to create a weariness that will end in acceptance of the Soviet *fait accompli* in Afghanistan. This tactic calls to mind Hanoi's manoeuvres to get its *fait accompli* in Kampuchea accepted.

117. However, the past five years have shown the indomitable will of the Afghan people to pursue its heroic struggle to regain its independence and freedom, whatever the cost. Those who believed that the Afghan people would finally submit to brute force were mistaken. Those who believed that the international community would tire of supporting and assisting the just struggle of the Afghan people were also mistaken.

118. The Afghan people and its *mujahidin* have shown that the Soviet Union will never be able to annex Afghanistan as it did the Islamic States of Khiva and Bukhara, just as the Kampuchean people has shown that Viet Nam will never be able to annex Kampuchea as it did the Islamic kingdom of Champa and the territories of lower Kampuchea. The Afghan and Kampuchean peoples have shown their will and ability to thwart the expansionist policy of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam.

119. All peoples and countries that cherish peace and justice have repeatedly given proof of their resolute support for the just struggles of the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea and their strong opposition to the policy of hegemony and expansion. Just as it has given its massive, continued support to the resolutions on Kampuchea, so the General Assembly will not fail to give its massive support—as it has always done to similar resolutions—to draft resolution A/39/L.11 on Afghanistan. The draft resolution reiterates yet again the call for a political settlement based on the total, unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces and respect for, and the provision of guarantees of, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea will again on this occasion give its support to the just struggle of the brother people of Afghanistan, just as it will on all other occasions until the inevitable victory of the Afghan people.

120. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Once again, despite the just protests of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the General Assembly is discussing the so-called Afghan question. It has already been stated here on many occasions that the imposition of a discussion on this question represents crude interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign Afghan State. It diverts our attention from the search for a political settlement of the situation in South-West Asia and plays into the hands of those who arrogate to themselves the right to declare Governments legitimate or illegitimate and to overthrow them on the criteria of their own political tastes.

121. It is in this context that we should consider the undeclared war being waged against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

122. The April revolution of 1978 in that country, which swept away the decaying feudal régime and enabled the Afghan people, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party, to embark on implementing radical socio-economic changes and to conduct an independent foreign policy, went against the grain in imperialist circles—above all, in the United States. The organization of armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan became part of the official policy of the United States Administration.

123. That Administration periodically sends inflammatory messages to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. The White House receives the ringleaders of the counter-revolution with solemn ceremony. Last December the State Department organized an inflammatory get-together, with the participation of the top brass of the bandit-like rabble who have entrenched themselves in military camps on the territory of Pakistan, and discussed the stepping up of military, financial and political assistance to the bands of mercenaries.

124. Secretary of Defense Weinberger, Secretary of State Shultz and other American officials never fail during their visits to Pakistan to visit camps for the recruitment and training of bandits in the Peshawar region. In statements there, they call for ever broader and more active steps to be taken against the people's régime in Afghanistan and promise all kinds of assistance and support.

125. In May of this year, such a pilgrimage was undertaken by United States Vice-President Bush; and, placing a check for \$14 million in the hands of the bandits, he stated, "I experience great pride in shaking your hand. . . . You are not alone". I quoted these words from *The Washington Post* of 18 May 1984.

126. In July of this year, the United States Congress allocated an additional \$50 million for assistance to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. These millions will go to purchase new lots of weapons, which will reach these so-called "freedom fighters" through Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] channels by way of Pakistan.

127. New weapons mean new casualties among the champions of the Afghan Revolution and the civilian population. Once again we see here serious evidence regarding the relentless expansion of blatant United States interference in the internal affairs of independent countries, their dangerous policy of fanning the flames of military conflict in hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world. Even the newspaper *The Washington Post*, quoting officials of the United States Congress, pointed out that "The operation in Afghanistan is possibly the largest scale CIA operation, second to which is the financing of the counter-revolutionary forces fighting the Sandinist Government in Nicaragua."

128. To co-ordinate armed raids against Afghanistan, the latest technological means are used, including spy satellites.

129. Recently there was brought to light a memorandum on the situation in Afghanistan, prepared in September 1983 by the CIA, which reveals that the United States is interested in maintaining tension in this region.

130. According to reports, bands of mercenaries are being trained now not only in the territory of Pakistan. Camps on Chinese territory as well are being made available to them.

131. The undeclared war against Afghanistan has resulted in enormous damages, accounting for nearly 34 billion afghanis, which is equal to three fourths of the total investment made during the 20 years prior to the April revolution. The counter-revolution, which has recently suffered crushing setbacks, has turned to bloody terror directed against the civilian population.

132. However, despite continuing armed interference, the Afghan people is constantly building a new life and achieving impressive successes. The policy carried out by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan of radically restructuring the life of Afghan society, improving the national economy and the material and cultural standard of living of the people, has the approval and support of broad masses of the working population.

133. The Ukrainian people, like all Soviet peoples, is in solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its struggle against aggression unleashed by imperialism and international reaction. It whole-heartedly supports the efforts aimed at the development of the national economy and culture and at ensuring peaceful living conditions. We highly value the persistent efforts of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan towards achieving a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan and a normalization of relations with neighbouring States. A realistic and constructive basis for such a settlement is found in the proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 15 May 1980¹ and on 24 August 1981.² As is stressed in those proposals, the goal of a settlement must be a full and guaranteed cessation and non-recurrence of armed and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

134. It goes without saying that a political settlement and normalization of relations can be achieved only through negotiations between the parties directly involved. The proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are filled with concern for defusing the situation in the region and in South-West Asia and are gaining ever broader support and understanding on the part of the world community, including countries of that region.

135. The negotiations that are being conducted through the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General between Afghanistan and Pakistan deserve our approval.

136. As was stated in the debate at the present session by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Dost, his country "has . . . conducted earnest and serious negotiations with Pakistan through the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, with a view to finding a negotiated settlement to the outstanding problems between the two countries. . . . We have full proof of our flexibility and political will to achieve an early solution of the present appalling situation around my country. We are for concrete actions." [12th meeting, para. 88.]

137. It is precisely along these lines that we see a broad field of activity for States interested in normalizing the situation in Afghanistan and not through fruitless discussions in the United Nations on the so-

called question of Afghanistan and interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. On this basis the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will vote against the draft resolution that has been submitted to us.

138. Mr. KURODA (Japan): Almost five years have passed since the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and it still maintains a great number of troops there. There are even reports that the number of troops has increased. The Soviet Union tries to blame the prolonged fighting on interference from other countries. But in fact it is the Afghan people themselves who are fiercely opposing the Soviet military occupation and intervention in the affairs of their country. Although the fighting has taken a heavy toll, the Afghan people are steadfast in their resistance, and they continue to wage guerrilla warfare throughout the country.

139. The Soviet Union should recognize that a military solution cannot work and, indeed, will never be achieved. On the contrary, the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan has increased tensions not only in South-West Asia but throughout the world.

140. This summer, Afghanistan intensified its attacks on Pakistani territory, violating the international border. Many countries condemned these attacks, and Mr. Abe, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, issued a statement in which he called for an immediate cessation of attacks on Pakistani territory. Such attacks must not be repeated.

141. The discussions of the Afghanistan problem at international forums, such as the United Nations, conferences of the non-aligned countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, provide a clear indication of the international community's harsh but accurate evaluation of the Soviet policies in this regard. The voting on General Assembly resolutions shows that criticism of the Soviet Union is increasing year by year.

142. But the Soviet Union remains intransigent, ignoring the appeals of the international community for a peaceful settlement while it pursues a military solution. However often the Soviet Union may claim that it behaves with peaceful intentions in international relations, such claims cannot be believed as long as it continues its armed intervention in Afghanistan.

143. The Government of Japan is resolute in its insistence that the Soviet Union end at once its intervention in Afghanistan, which contravenes international law and justice, and withdraw its troops immediately. The situation must be resolved in accordance with the principles of non-interference and respect for the right of peoples to self-determination. We believe that such a solution is a realistic possibility.

144. In this connection, Japan strongly supports draft resolution A/39/L.11, which confirms basic principles for the settlement of the problem. It is our hope that that draft resolution will be adopted by an overwhelming majority, as were previous resolutions on this question.

145. The Secretary-General has been making great efforts to bring about a solution to the Afghan problem. His Personal Representative, Mr. Cordovez, visited the countries concerned last April, and the Secretary-General himself visited the Soviet Union in July. Furthermore, mediation efforts were

made in the proximity talks at Geneva last August. Japan has been following attentively all those efforts towards a political settlement of the problem. It sincerely hopes that the resumed meetings scheduled for next February will bring about concrete results. We trust that the Secretary-General will continue to work for a solution, although we realize that his efforts will be confronted with formidable difficulties. The Government of Japan believes that such efforts must be consonant with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. Of primary importance, of course, is the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

146. Afghan citizens continue to flee to neighbouring countries. It is reported that at present there are approximately 3 million refugees, or one fifth of the Afghan population, in Pakistan; in addition, there are reportedly 1.7 million Afghan refugees in Iran. Because the fierce fighting continues unabated, there are at this time no prospects for the return of those refugees to their homeland.

147. Afghan refugees in Pakistan represent the largest concentration of refugees in the world. This not only imposes an enormous burden on Pakistan but is also a gravely destabilizing element in the region. My country sympathizes with Pakistan—which is experiencing manifold difficulties owing to such large numbers of refugees—and we pay great tribute to the humanitarian efforts that the Pakistani Government has made to cope with the situation.

148. For its part, Japan has actively extended co-operation to Afghan refugee relief activities in Pakistan through UNHCR and WFP, as well as through other organizations. It is our intention to continue to extend such co-operation, out of humanitarian concern as well as for considerations of regional peace and stability. Furthermore, Japan will consider extending similar co-operation to Afghan refugees residing elsewhere.

149. The Government of Japan reiterates its strong appeal to the Soviet Union to heed the calls which the international community has been making during the past five years to withdraw its troops without delay. As long as its military intervention in Afghanistan continues, the Soviet Union will be the focus of international criticism.

150. It is Japan's firm conviction that only a settlement which is endorsed by the Afghan people and fully respects their right of self-determination will bring lasting peace and stability to Afghanistan. Together with the majority of the countries of the world which share this conviction, Japan intends to work for a prompt and complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, for the restoration of its independent and non-aligned status, for the restoration of the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny, and for the creation of the necessary conditions to enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour.

151. Mr. CÉSAR (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): This year once again the General Assembly has included in its agenda an item concerning the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. Moreover, this has been done against the will of a sovereign State, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which is a Member of the Organization and is directly affected by this item. Discussion of the so-called Afghan question can only be considered inadmissible inter-

ference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and runs counter to the fundamental norms and principles of international law. This in no way serves the interests of peace and security. On the contrary, the situation around Afghanistan and in all South-West Asia, which is an extremely sensitive region of the world, is deteriorating even further as a result.

152. Discussion of the so-called Afghan question has once again been imposed on the General Assembly by forces hostile to the Afghan people and which ignore its interests and will. I have in mind the forces of imperialism and reaction which are waging an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in order to reverse the process of development in that country. This is the major, key reason for tension around Afghanistan and in South-West Asia as a whole.

153. More than six years have elapsed since the Afghan people successfully completed its anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

154. Despite the undeclared war which is being waged against Afghanistan by the forces of imperialism and reaction, the Afghan people continues its successful effort to overcome the adverse consequences of the former régime. For example, last year the gross national product grew by 6 per cent and the national income as compared to last year rose by 6.3 per cent.

155. Afghanistan is pursuing a consistent process of eradicating illiteracy. At present in Afghanistan approximately 14,000 courses have been organized for this purpose and several hundred thousand persons are enrolled in them. A historic step has been the introduction of a system of fellowships for students in secondary and higher educational institutions. This will provide a broad stratum of the Afghan population with access to education.

156. A great deal of attention is being devoted to the rights of workers. This year, for example, a new law has been passed guaranteeing the right to work of all citizens, regardless of their origin, race, nationality, sex, education or religion, as well as certain important rights of women and mothers. Afghan workers are provided with free medical services, the right to purchase food products at reduced prices and the right to special leave from work to travel to Mecca.

157. The constructive efforts of the broad masses are impeded by subversive actions undertaken by counter-revolutionary forces. Armed with the newest kinds of weapons, they are carrying out terrorist attacks on industrial enterprises, plants and agricultural centres and destroying schools and medical centres. In addition to committing acts of violence, they are trying to spread fear and intimidate the population. Despite the fact that they act under a screen of religion, they do not hesitate even to attack mosques.

158. The terrorist activity which they carry out, primarily from bases on the territories of other States, would be impossible without the comprehensive support of the forces of the United States, forces of international reaction and of imperialism which spare nothing in financing counter-revolution in Afghanistan. To this end they have already spent hundreds of millions of dollars. Through inflammatory statements from radio stations they are carrying on violent propaganda campaigns directed against Afghanistan. Thus, they are trying to eliminate the

revolutionary Government in Afghanistan and all of its revolutionary gains. These efforts are also pursued to achieve a broader strategic aim: to destabilize the situation in South-West Asia and strengthen their military presence in the region of the Persian Gulf, which is declared to be a sphere of so-called vital interests.

159. Regarding the presence of limited Soviet military contingents in Afghanistan, we want to recall once again that those contingents are in Afghanistan at the request of the Government of that country, in full compliance with the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, of 5 December 1978. It has been repeatedly stressed that Soviet military assistance is temporary and limited. We are speaking here of essential defensive measures taken during a state of emergency.

160. We in Czechoslovakia have great respect for the efforts undertaken by Afghan workers to strengthen and defend their revolutionary achievements, their independence and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country in the face of the aggressive attacks of imperialism and domestic and foreign reaction. We value highly the results which have been achieved by the Afghan people under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party, with the support and co-operation of the Soviet Union, the other countries of the socialist community and the progressive forces of the entire world.

161. We are convinced that possibilities exist for a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan. This belief is based on the proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 15 May 1980¹ and 24 August 1981.² The content of those proposals is well known. A political settlement must first and foremost put an end to armed or any other form of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and guarantee that there will be no recurrence of such interference. This would promote the achievement of stability and peace in South-West Asia as a whole.

162. We appreciate the fact that negotiations are continuing between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the good offices of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Diego Cordovez.

163. The American imperialists' hope in vain that they will be able to dictate their will to the Afghan and other peoples. Despite the fact that foreign intervention and the undeclared war create a difficult ordeal for Afghanistan, the Republic is growing stronger and the Afghan people are steadily and persistently building a new life. What has already been accomplished and is being accomplished in the social, economic, cultural and other spheres is in keeping with the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the population of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It is for this reason that the policy of the Government of Afghanistan has the support of ever wider sections of the population.

164. It is time to abandon the illusion that historical development can be stopped. The revolutionary process in Afghanistan is irreversible. The Afghan people have staunch friends. Attempts to deal with Afghanistan from a position of force are irrational; the only way is through negotiation and a political settlement.

165. However, this process is in no way served by the draft resolution submitted for our consideration. Therefore, we consider it unacceptable and shall vote against it.

166. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Between January 1980 and today, the General Assembly has adopted by an overwhelming majority five resolutions on the situation in Afghanistan and its consequences for international peace and security. All those resolutions call for the safeguarding of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. They also emphasize the right of the people of Afghanistan to choose its own form of government and its economic, political and social system free from outside intervention. They call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan. They appeal to all the parties concerned to do everything in their power to find a peaceful settlement to the Afghan question and ask the Secretary-General to use his good offices with a view to the achievement of such a settlement.

167. The United Nations resolutions have established the fundamental basis for the political, equitable, lasting settlement of the Afghan question. The entire international community longs for the day when the suffering of the Afghan people is ended by the withdrawal of foreign military forces from its territory, for the cessation of interference in its internal affairs, for the recovery of its legitimate rights, and for the return of Afghan refugees, in particular the children, to their homes within their country.

168. Egypt was one of the first States to support the cause of the Afghan people, because of its dedication to the rules of international law, the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, all of which condemn interference in the internal affairs of other States and the use of force in international relations and guarantee the right of peoples to freedom, independence and self-determination.

169. Egypt reaffirmed this position by supporting all the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Today we reiterate our request that these resolutions be implemented, so that the situation in Afghanistan may be settled on a just basis.

170. Once again, Egypt reaffirms its solidarity with the brother Afghan people in its legitimate struggle to recover its inalienable rights. It rejects completely the attempts to make the Afghan problem an internal matter in which the United Nations has no right to become involved. As everybody knows, it is a question of a people whose country has been the victim of military intervention by one of the super-Powers. Its negative political effects still pose a threat to international peace and security.

171. It is obvious that the adoption of resolutions on Afghanistan in the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority is the best proof of the determination of the international community to continue to reject the policy of *fait accompli* imposed by foreign military forces on the people of Afghanistan, which continues to experience untold suffering in extremely difficult circumstances, resulting in

thousands of Afghan refugees living in the neighbouring countries.

172. In this connection Egypt associates itself with the many others that have expressed their appreciation for the position taken by the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, which was explained by its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Yaqub-Khan, before the Assembly yesterday [60th meeting].

173. My delegation has taken note of the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/513] and we want to express our support for his untiring efforts to contribute to finding an equitable solution to the Afghan problem. The Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, have spared no effort in their contacts with all the parties concerned with a view to achieving the stated objective. Egypt supports their efforts on the basis of its conviction that recourse to force only complicates matters. The Secretary-General's report includes a detailed account of his contacts and we wish him every success in removing the obstacles keeping the matter unresolved.

174. Egypt welcomes the talks scheduled for February 1985 and wishes them every success. Similarly, we support the conclusion of the Secretary-General's report reminding the interested parties that an overall settlement is the best means of resolving all the problems that have created the present situation, with the establishment of sound bases for good-neighbourliness among all.

175. In this connection Egypt cannot fail to emphasize, with appreciation and gratitude, the important contribution of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to alleviate the sufferings of the Afghan refugees. In this context we appeal to all States and international, national, governmental and non-governmental organizations and urge them to continue rendering assistance to the refugees.

176. In supporting the international efforts aimed at finding a political solution to the Afghan problem, Egypt has joined again with 45 States in sponsoring draft resolution A/39/L.11 submitted at the current session, which, in our view, includes positive overall elements as a sound basis for the settlement of this problem.

177. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As long ago as 1980 Honduras expressed its concern at the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. Our position in this connection is already well known in the Organization and was reiterated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras in his statement here on 9 October last [26th meeting].

178. On this occasion we are participating in the debate because what is at stake is the inescapable applicability of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. No exception can be made to the applicability of such principles in any confrontation anywhere in the world.

179. In previous statements on similar situations in other geographic areas, Honduras stated that negotiated, just and honourable solutions should be sought in all controversies, recourse to force should be abandoned and replaced by reasonable dialogue, and an end should be put to the occupation of territories and to the unlawful presence of foreign troops and security elements which could destroy the identity of peoples and are an affront to their sacred right to self-determination.

180. We have emphasized that negotiation, as a basic element in international relations, and all other peaceful settlement procedures should prevail in any unresolved situations and conflicts in all regions of the world in order that those peaceful solutions may exclude forever the possibility of recourse to force.

181. We cannot fail to sympathize with the suffering of the Afghan people and to support its right to preserve its national identity and international choice of non-alignment.

182. The size of the Afghan resistance organizations, the intensity of their action against foreign troops occupying Afghanistan and the repressive actions of the occupying Power have resulted in more than 140,000 deaths and in the exodus of over one fourth of the population. In order to stop this destruction of life and total disregard for the rights and fundamental freedoms of the people of Afghanistan, it is necessary in this conflict to achieve national reconciliation between the national authorities and those resistance organizations in order to restore the internal unity required for preserving the independence of Afghanistan.

183. To that end there is an urgent need to find a negotiated political solution among all the parties concerned which, prior to the withdrawal of foreign occupying troops from Afghanistan—which, we hope, will take place shortly—will restore respect for and facilitate the full application of the principles and norms of general international law and others which, with sufficient guarantees for their being carried out, may result from those negotiations in order to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and internal and international free choice of Afghanistan, as well as the security of neighbouring States.

184. Within the essential framework of the peaceful settlement of disputes, a noteworthy diplomatic procedure was put into effect by the Secretary-General, whose constructive actions have won the applause of the international community, as have the efforts made by countries directly involved in the region, in their co-operation with the highest official of the Organization, through his Personal Representative.

185. We believe therefore that positive attitudes in the negotiations, such as those initiated in the "proximity" talks in August 1984 and those expected to be held in February 1985, should be promoted, in order to find a permanent solution through an overall comprehensive and simultaneous settlement which the Secretary-General describes 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. 9].

186. The mass outflow of millions of Afghan refugees to the territory of neighbouring States, the sufferings of those refugees and the magnitude of the social and economic problems which, as we know from our own experience in Honduras, are created for the States of first asylum, in this case Pakistan and Iran, are most alarming.

187. Honduras believes that when the situation is propitious those refugees should be able to return voluntarily and soon to their homeland, in conditions of safety and respect for their honour.

188. In the mean time, we cannot but associate ourselves with all those who have expressed gratitude to the people and Government of Pakistan for the

shelter and protection they have given to what has been described as the greatest concentration of refugees in the world. We also join in the appeal addressed to all States and organizations to continue to render humanitarian assistance in order to alleviate the plight of the Afghan refugees and displaced persons, wherever they may be.

189. Peace as a lofty ideal, and its corollary, the right of peoples to peace, are universal principles and ideas which, as we said in our statement on the International Year of Peace [54th meeting], we must progressively strengthen in our hearts and in our minds so as to make them prevail in all parts of the world.

190. Yesterday [60th meeting] the representative of Oman said that that same concept of peace and its aforesaid corollary are applicable in Central America, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and any part of the Earth where those principles do not prevail.

191. Honduras believes this, too, which is why we voted in favour of the resolution on the International Year of Peace [resolution 39/10] and the resolution containing the Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace [resolution 39/11, annex] believing as we do that on this question no one should be guided by ideological prejudice or tendentious ideas, since what we seek is peace indivisible and universal, and not an ideologically committed peace.

192. It is to be hoped therefore that those of us who think of peace as the right of mankind as a whole will support the present draft resolution.

193. For all of the aforementioned considerations, Honduras has sponsored draft resolution A/39/L.11 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

194. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): How many times have we heard in this forum delegations proclaim their dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter! However, this is now the fifth year in a row that some delegations, for reasons which they do not hide, have put this item on the agenda of the General Assembly, despite the formal opposition of the major party involved, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. But are those delegations aware that in proceeding in this manner they are committing an act of flagrant interference in the internal affairs of a Member State, and in so doing are violating one of the fundamental principles of the Charter which they claim they wish to defend?

195. Mention is often made of a loss of prestige and credibility of the Organization and of the ineffectiveness of its resolutions and decisions. But how can we hope to see the prestige of the United Nations enhanced and its resolutions properly applied if those who complain of this are among those who most actively give their backing to a question which, by its very nature, represents a violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter?

196. Various reasons, each more superficial than the last, have been invoked by those who blacken the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to justify their own interference in the internal affairs of that country.

197. First of all, there is the alleged "armed Soviet" intervention. The representative of Afghanistan on numerous occasions has already explained to us the situation in his country which culminated in the victory of the national democratic revolution in April

1978, and the circumstances which brought his Government to appeal for assistance to the Soviet Union under the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the two countries, of 5 December 1978.

198. My delegation believes that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as master in its own house, has a right to appeal to any friendly country to safeguard the revolutionary gains of its people. Moreover, such an appeal conforms to Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

199. What is most unfortunate is that those who blacken the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan refuse to distinguish between the causes and the consequences of the presence of the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan. Furthermore, it is claimed that the military presence violates the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country and represents a threat to the peace and security of the region.

200. Suffice it to recall briefly the historical record to see whence comes the threat to Afghanistan's independence. In fact, from the nineteenth century onwards, an imperialist Power has tried on numerous occasions to bring that country to subjection in order to defend its own colonial possessions in India; and, starting in 1918, it tried to turn it into a hotbed of aggression against Soviet Russia. After the Second World War, particularly after 1955, the date of the signing of the Baghdad Pact establishing the Central Treaty Organization, the imperialist Powers tried to impose on Afghanistan a pro-imperialist attitude to force it to adhere to that military bloc. To that end, they used all possible ways and means, including economic pressures, and it was Soviet Russia which was the first State to recognize the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan. It was also the Soviet Union which helped it several times to escape from the imperialist stranglehold and to maintain its active neutrality.

201. It is, therefore, ironic that those same Powers which once tried to subjugate this country are now trying, along with some of their allies, to set themselves up as ardent champions of its political independence, sovereignty and non-aligned character—all qualities which Afghanistan continues to possess.

202. In the same way, the Soviet military presence in no way poses a threat to peace and security in the region. Undoubtedly the reactionary régimes in the region fear that the Afghan revolution will spread like an oil slick in their own countries, where democratic and progressive forces—wary of the corruption, exploitation, oppression and obscurantism which are causing the decay of their societies—are ready to explode, given the least chance to do so. Thus, joining in the chorus with imperialism and international reaction, these régimes busy themselves in decrying the "Soviet threat" in order to divert the attention of those forces.

203. The real threat to the countries of the region is interference in their internal affairs, by imperialism and international reaction, interference which seeks to draw them into the "world crusade against communism" and exacerbates international tension, from which only the arms race benefits.

204. We might well ask why certain countries carp so much at the Soviet presence in Afghanistan—which was requested by the Government of that country for its defence—while they remain silent

about the presence of United States forces in certain countries of Western Europe, which has lasted since the end of the Second World War, even though those countries have never been threatened.

205. They also demand the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Afghan people. But the Afghan people has already exercised its right of self-determination by liberating itself from the old régime and establishing a progressive régime of people's democracy. Revolution is the handiwork of oppressed and exploited peoples; it is not a product that can be exported. Similarly, socialism is not a political régime imposed from outside; but a socialist country has the internationalist duty to protect the revolutionary gains of its friends if they ask it to do so.

206. Imperialism and international reaction cannot stomach the fact that the victory of the April national democratic revolution struck a severe blow to their policy of expansion and hegemony. That is why they are now carrying out against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its courageous people increasingly bloody subversive actions, which take the form of an undeclared war similar to that being waged by the United States imperialists against Sandinist Nicaragua.

207. As in Nicaragua, Afghan counter-revolutionaries—trained, financed, equipped and fed by the CIA and by some of its Islamic friends—are attacking civilian targets, killing children, women and old people, and destroying economic and social projects carried out by the revolution to improve the people's living conditions.

208. The forces of imperialism and international reaction are demanding the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops so that they may have a freer hand in their subversive activities. We do not think that is very realistic. In this regard the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has said several times that those troops will be withdrawn if the undeclared war being waged against it is ended.

209. It is for the parties directly concerned to reach agreement on this matter. The Lao People's Democratic Republic supports the constructive efforts of the Afghan Government to reach a peaceful settlement of its disputes with its neighbours. My delegation also commends the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to find a solution to this problem, and we appeal to the parties directly concerned to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General's Personal Representative and to demonstrate greater flexibility and realism.

210. As for draft resolution A/39/L.11, given its one-sided, unbalanced and unrealistic nature, it is unacceptable to my delegation. For that reason, my delegation will vote against it.

211. Mr. HARLAND (New Zealand): It is now five years since the armed forces of the Soviet Union entered Afghanistan. Their presence is deeply resented by the Afghan people. Their activities in Afghanistan continue to cause death and destruction. The damage is not confined to that unhappy country. As a direct consequence of Soviet policy, millions of Afghan people have fled into Pakistan or Iran, where they live for the day they can go home. Afghanistan remains an open sore on the world's body politic.

212. The views of the international community on this matter have been expressed clearly and unambiguously. The new Government in New Zealand made its views known to Soviet leaders at the first available opportunity. Ours is one of the many countries shocked at the indifference of the Soviet Union to the human suffering it has caused.

213. We are also deeply concerned at the wider implications of the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Deeds, not words, it has been said, must be the measure of any country's commitment to international peace and security. Five years ago, when the Soviet Union made its fateful decision to embark on this course of action, the impact on the overall climate for peace was immediate and damaging. This is a factor that does not diminish with the passage of the years; rather, it helps to reinforce the continuing distrust that impedes progress. The Soviet Union has the opportunity in Afghanistan to show by deeds that it is committed to creating a climate conducive to decreasing international tension.

214. The Secretary-General's report on the situation in Afghanistan [A/39/513] clearly expresses the principal concern of the United Nations in this context: to end the suffering of the Afghan people. We deeply appreciate the efforts made by the Secretary-General and by his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to achieve that goal. As the report observes, this is the only serious effort that is still being made to create the basis for the political settlement that we all recognize is necessary. The actions of the Afghan people indicate that they will never capitulate to the imposed régime in Kabul. The Soviet Union must know by now that it will never achieve its objectives through a military victory. It is distressing that these simple truths should not have been reflected in greater progress towards a political solution.

215. The international community has a responsibility to continue to state its views in clear and strong terms. The draft resolution before us reaffirms the fundamental principle of the Charter that Member States must refrain from the use of force in international relations. Most Member States of this Organization, like New Zealand, are small countries. Understandably, they attach great importance to that fundamental principle of the Charter. When one of us is invaded in clear breach of that principle, the security of us all is diminished. It is no wonder that year after year the overwhelming majority of Member States express their grave concern at the continuing foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan. The draft resolution before the Assembly again provides that opportunity. New Zealand strongly supports it.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

NOTES

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

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