



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 25

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

1. Mr. DURÁN-DUSSÁN (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): For the fourth time the General Assembly is considering the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. It is disturbing for law-abiding countries that adhere to the Charter of the United Nations and believe in the effectiveness of the Organization to see how the resolutions of the General Assembly, its decisions and its appeals are ignored sometimes by one or more of the major military Powers, as though the mandates and conclusions of this international forum applied only to small countries and were binding on them alone, while the major Powers reserve the right to heed them or not, according to whether or not it suits their aims of territorial expansion or political domination.

2. It is even more surprising when we see how the economic and political interests of a great Power which is waging war directly or through a proxy in a neighbouring country, in order to impose a particular system of government which is an extension of its own system, persists in maintaining, backed up by a chorus of its satellites using identical language, that this item should not be considered by the United Nations because it is an internal matter which concerns only Afghanistan, as though war and peace were not the very fabric and substance, the *raison d'être*, of the United Nations.

3. The presence of more than 100,000 foreign troops in action in Afghanistan is acknowledged. Since Afghanistan is not, as least not yet, an annexed country or territory, how can it be claimed that the question of Afghanistan is an internal question that concerns that country alone? It is acknowledged that more than 3 million refugees from Afghanistan have fled the war and political persecution and are now in Pakistan, Iran and elsewhere, with all the resulting misery and difficulties that immigration of that nature entails for those countries. How can it be claimed that this is a trumped-up question that should not take up the time of the Assembly because it concerns exclusively the internal affairs of a country? Why go on falsifying the truth? War is raging in Afghanistan. The United Nations has requested the withdrawal of foreign troops in repeated resolutions over the past three years.

The will of the United Nations has been disregarded. Those are the facts.

4. The violation of law, however prolonged, never becomes lawful. And unlawful and armed intervention against a people, in order to compel it through violence and war to accept certain principles of ideology or of government, however prolonged, cannot nullify resolutions of the United Nations that have repeatedly called for the withdrawal of foreign troops and respect for the self-determination of a people to pursue its own destiny, independent of the interests or the aims of neighbouring Powers.

5. The representative of the Government of Afghanistan has spoken in the Geneva Assembly [78th meeting] of the reforms that his country's new régime has been carrying out as the war goes on; among them, he has mentioned, for example, that land has been given to 300,000 peasants. It may be assumed that this is the same land which was taken away from the 3 million refugees who have had to flee the country; this does not mean that land reforms have been carried out, but that acts of plunder have taken place, by changing the ownership of the land and transferring it to the friends of the new Government; it means replacing the many with the few, to the detriment of the economy and of law. Are the other reforms similar? This might not be a subject of concern to the United Nations if these changes reflected a free and sovereign decision of a country and a people, in this case Afghanistan. What is unacceptable is that, with the support of foreign troops, the principle of the self-determination of peoples is being violated.

6. Colombia, as a law-abiding State which is truly democratic and free, has always defended the principles of the legal equality of States and of non-intervention. From its very first statements, both in the Security Council and the General Assembly, my country has therefore upheld the principles which are reflected in draft resolution A/37/L.38, of which my country is a sponsor and which was introduced by the representative of Pakistan at the 78th meeting.

7. It is with deep concern that my delegation expresses the belief that if any of the great Powers can venture to disregard the mandate of the United Nations, it will not be long before this very special forum, founded in the defence of peace and understanding among peoples, is damaged to the point of being unable to accomplish its task. If law does not prevail, force will be the only rule; and that would lead us, perhaps quickly, to world-wide military conflicts which could wipe out the human race.

8. Nevertheless, we believe that we see a ray of light and hope in the report of the Secretary-General [A/37/482] concerning the talks held to seek a political solution of this serious problem. My delegation hopes

that those talks, for the continuation of which we must adopt the draft resolution now before the Assembly, will have a successful outcome.

9. In the meantime, we wish to recall, as a heartfelt appeal to all the peoples of the world here represented, the beautiful words which serve as the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations; we hope they will light the way for the decision of the Assembly:

“We the peoples of the United Nations determined

“to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

“to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and

“to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

“to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

“and for these ends

“to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

“to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

“to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

“to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

“have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.”

10. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since the triumph of the April revolution, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has had to face the constant hostility of the reactionary forces headed by Yankee imperialism.

11. The imperialists constantly interfere in internal Afghan affairs, placing all manner of obstacles in the way of that nation's successful accomplishment of the needed social transformations, and they attempt to complicate the situation throughout the area in order to justify a growing military presence in the Indian Ocean and in South-West Asia, after the liquidation of the Central Treaty Organization with the overthrow of the Shah by the Iranian revolution.

12. The United States imperialists have a long history of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other States. Carried out by violence and wars of plunder, and by covetousness towards others, the territorial expansion of the United States began—after having drowned its own native population in blood—by stripping Mexico of half its territory. Since then, its political, economic and military domination has been extended to all continents.

13. The United States today maintains military bases in 40 countries, on which half a million troops are stationed, and it is the creator and supporter

of the most reactionary and aggressive régimes, from *apartheid* to zionism.

14. Creating and encouraging centres of tension everywhere is the typical behaviour of the imperialists, as part of their scheme for world domination and for the promotion of the arms race.

15. United States monopolies are draining off the wealth of other peoples and are extracting fantastic profits from the unjust international political and economic order they have created and from the poverty and hunger caused by the system of ownership and by their control of the machinery of international trade imposed on the developing countries.

16. In any part of the world where there are attempts to transform the social conditions imposed by the imperialists, the imperialists use every resource available to prevent this attempt.

17. This is the experience of all social revolutions in our day. This is also the case of Afghanistan. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is therefore entitled to take every measure that it deems relevant in order to ensure its defence.

18. Ever since this item was brought before the General Assembly for its consideration, our delegation has denounced the outright manipulation of the events in Afghanistan by the United States imperialists to conceal their cynical support for the worst international forces and to promote their own warmonger policy and make a smokescreen for their own political and moral crisis.

19. We have stated that Cuba would always support—as it has done by shedding its own blood—the right of peoples to sovereignty and that we would never provide grist for the mill of reaction and imperialism. We have made it clear that:

“We shall not vote against socialism and with the accomplices of zionism, which murders the Palestinians and aims at dismembering the Arab nation. We refuse to be counted among the supporters of South Africa and with those who would install 572 new, additional atomic missiles directed against the Soviet Union. Because we are deeply convinced of the meaning of socialism and that of imperialism, because we know the historic role of the Soviet Union and of United States imperialism, we shall vote today against that imperialism and against its policy; and, in so doing, we shall reaffirm our unshakable faith in the right of peoples to their sovereignty, in internationalism and in socialism, the true and definitive future of mankind.”¹

20. As President of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Cuba has from the very outset always been interested in contributing to the decrease of tension in South-West Asia and in the achievement of peace and stability in that region on the basis of the principles and objectives of the policy of non-alignment, particularly respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

21. At the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana in September 1979, the President of the Council of State and of the Government of the Republic of Cuba

promoted a dialogue between the Heads of State of Afghanistan and Pakistan towards that end.

22. Our Minister for External Relations also visited those two countries and Iran for the same purpose.

23. That is why we welcome the talks that were begun last June in Geneva under the auspices of the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Diego Cordovez, with the Foreign Ministers of Pakistan and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

24. We believe that the way to a solution can be found in the continuation of dialogue and that Member States have a duty to promote and support it as a contribution to peace in that region and in the world at large.

25. Because we consider that draft resolution A/37/L.38 does not contribute to that end, my delegation will vote against it.

26. Mr. SAIGNAVONGS (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): This year again, against the will of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a Member of the United Nations, the General Assembly has been forced into a consideration of the so-called situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, thus once again seriously violating paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations, which states that:

“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 or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter;”.

27. My delegation would like to reaffirm once more its position of principle that the internal affairs of Afghanistan concern only the people and the Government of Afghanistan and that no one has the right, on whatever pretext, to interfere in them.

28. In requesting the inclusion of this item on the agenda of the General Assembly two years ago, the sponsors claimed that the situation in Afghanistan constituted a threat to international peace and security. Hence, it is important, on the basis of the real facts during recent years, to analyse that situation and to see how it constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

29. What has been accomplished by the valiant Afghan people since April 1978 in its national democratic revolution was eloquently and exhaustively explained at the 65th meeting of the thirty-fifth session by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and was reaffirmed by Mr. Zarif in his statement at the 78th meeting of the present session.

30. All that can be said is that the Afghan people, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, has resolutely chosen the path of democracy and social progress in order to rescue its country from backwardness and underdevelopment and to build a new and just society. The primary goal of its struggle is the material and moral improvement of the living standards of the popular masses.

31. The favourable political, economic, social and cultural changes that have taken place in Afghan society, particularly the land reform, the abolition of the vestiges of obsolete feudalism, and the elimination of the remnants of colonialism and neo-colonialism, are completely in keeping with the national aspirations—quite legitimate aspirations—of the popular masses.

32. Thus, the Afghan people is merely putting its own house in order. Is this a threat to international peace and security? The history of the evolution of human society is rich in similar examples.

33. Naturally, such changes are unwelcome not only to the feudal lords and great landowners, and to certain categories of people who yearn to recover privileges unjustly acquired under the old régime, but also to imperialism and international reaction, because they constitute serious obstacles to their sinister designs, which involve maintaining Afghanistan in their sphere of influence and domination at all costs.

34. That is why the forces of imperialism and international reaction seek to oppose these changes by all means, and particularly by overtly assisting the Afghan counter-revolutionaries in their activities of sabotage against the Afghan Government and people. Thus, through these armed bands, whose bases of operation are located in neighbouring countries, imperialist circles and international reactionaries are not merely interfering in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; they are waging an out-and-out undeclared war against that country. These are the acts which threaten the security of Afghanistan and which constitute a source of tension in the region. It was to counter that threat that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan appealed to the Soviet Union for assistance under article 4 of 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.

35. For three years there were constant demands for the unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, while the armed attacks against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and other forms of interference by certain countries in the internal affairs of that country were passed over in silence. The presence of the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan is in keeping with Article 51 of the Charter and international law. Since the establishment of the United Nations, several members of the capitalist camp have reacted in the same way by invoking that Article, and no fuss was made about it. So why this desire to deny Afghanistan a right that was recognized as being possessed by other countries? Why this desire to refuse the Afghan people the right to appeal to its friends to defend its most precious property, that is, its revolutionary advances, while it is accepted that certain countries may declare to be part of their “vital interests” the riches of other peoples thousands of miles from their borders, and into the bargain to arrogate the right to intervene *manu militari* at any time to defend them?

36. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly stated that the presence of the Soviet

military contingent does not constitute a threat to any neighbouring country. It is prepared to envisage the withdrawal of that contingent once the aggression against it has ended and there is a guarantee that the activities of subversion from outside against the Afghan people and its Government will not be repeated.

37. In order to terminate the situation of tension around Afghanistan and to normalize its relations with its neighbours, the Afghan Government, on 15 May 1980² and 24 August 1981,³ put forward certain proposals, on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, good-neighbourliness and mutually beneficial co-operation, to develop agreements envisaging, on the one hand, the prohibition of any hostile activities from the territory of one State against another and, on the other, the granting of facilities for the unimpeded return of Afghan refugees to their homes.

38. In that regard, the Afghan Government has stated, within the framework of a general amnesty, that it will guarantee to Afghans temporarily located in Pakistan and Iran immunity and voluntary return to their homes, and will guarantee them security, the free choice of place of residence and all the conditions that will enable them to participate in the economic and political life of the country. However, in fact, the voluntary, peaceful repatriation of those refugees has been thwarted by certain circles that wish to use them against the new democratic régime in Afghanistan. In this regard, it should be pointed out to the Assembly that for some years these circles, financed by the United States Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] and the Chinese secret services, have specialized in training mercenaries recruited from among the refugees in distress, often with the complicity of the authorities of the country of first settlement, for the purpose of committing acts of sabotage against their country of origin.

39. These proposals of the Afghan Government, which are constructive and realistic and imbued with good will, have met with no response. The Afghan Government has repeatedly reaffirmed its desire to achieve a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and to develop friendly relations with all countries—in particular with its neighbours—as well as its will to pursue a policy of peace and non-alignment.

40. For its part, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, like all countries which cherish peace and justice, is in favour of a political solution of the situation around Afghanistan. It therefore strongly supports these proposals.

41. Thus, the realities of recent years have shown clearly that neither the presence of the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan nor the changes that have occurred in that country constitute any threat to the neighbouring countries or to any other countries of the world.

42. The so-called situation in Afghanistan was artificially manufactured by imperialist circles and international reactionaries for the following reasons.

43. First, in their anti-communist and anti-Soviet crusade, United States imperialism and international reaction wanted to make Afghanistan a military bridgehead against the Soviet Union, as they did Iran

under the Shah, and they refused to admit that a fundamental change had occurred in that country; hence their desperate efforts to reverse the situation.

44. Secondly, the imperialists and international reactionaries, harking back to the time of the "Chile coup", have not forgiven the Afghan revolution for having inflicted a resounding defeat on their attempt to restore the old order in Afghanistan. That is why they have not hesitated to hurl slanders at the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union.

45. Thirdly, the Pentagon, that high place of imperialism, needs a pretext to justify its efforts to undermine détente, stir up the cold war, speed up the arms race and strengthen its military presence in the region of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf; hence its opposition to the convening of the International Conference on the Indian Ocean to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)].

46. Finally, the imperialist circles want to divert the attention of the world public from other pressing matters of the present day, particularly the situation in the Middle East, where they support the Zionists in repressing the Arab people of Palestine and committing aggression against Lebanon and other Arab countries; in southern Africa, where they support the racist Pretoria régime in its perpetuation of the criminal policy of *apartheid*, its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its perpetration of acts of aggression against the front-line African States; and in Latin America, where they assist decadent dictatorial régimes in repressing the popular masses.

47. Despite all these obstacles, it is encouraging to note that negotiations were initiated between the Foreign Ministers of Afghanistan and Pakistan in Geneva last June under the auspices of Mr. Diego Cordovez, the personal representative of the Secretary-General. The results of those negotiations were called positive and constructive by the two parties. In this regard, my delegation wishes to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and his personal representative for their efforts to facilitate negotiations between the two parties in order to achieve a political solution.

48. It is our duty to encourage the parties to maintain the momentum of the diplomatic process in order to achieve a comprehensive solution which would provide a basis for the establishment of good-neighbourliness and co-operation between Afghanistan and its neighbours and the strengthening of peace and security in the region.

49. Draft resolution A/37/L.38, because of its one-sided nature and its lack of objectivity and realism, runs counter to that purpose. Far from helping to bring about *rapprochement* between the parties, its adoption would, on the contrary, rekindle distrust and passions, which in the final analysis would further complicate the political situation. Therefore, my delegation will vote against that draft resolution.

50. Mr. OULD SIDI AHMED VALL (Mauritania) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mauritania follows with deep concern the situation in Afghanistan, not because of the religion and history that bind us to the Muslim Afghan people, but because of our interest in upholding

the principles that have been violated by the invasion of a peaceful, independent, non-aligned country by foreign forces. Like most of the countries represented in the United Nations, Mauritania believes firmly in the need to respect the sovereignty and independence of countries, especially if they are neutral and non-aligned.

51. My delegation has studied the report of the Secretary-General and, although we welcome the talks that have been held, we must note with concern the stagnation of the situation and the inability to reach a political solution of the situation in Afghanistan.

52. The constant increase in the number of refugees indicates the extent of the problems which the courageous people of Afghanistan are facing and the indignities being inflicted upon them. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania appreciates the problems facing the neighbouring countries of Afghanistan as a result of influx of refugees and the constant threat to international peace and security existing on their borders. The Government of my country encourages States and international organizations to continue their humanitarian assistance operations to alleviate the plight of the Afghan refugees.

53. My country has followed closely the situation in Afghanistan, and we have always encouraged the constructive decisions adopted by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries designed to lead to a just political solution. The political solution we envisage would be based upon the following principles: first, safeguarding the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan; secondly, the right of the Muslim Afghan people to decide their system of government and freely to choose their economic, political and social system; thirdly, the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghan territory; and fourthly, co-operation by all the parties in establishing the necessary conditions for the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees to their country in safety and dignity.

54. In conclusion, we wish to reaffirm our appreciation of and support for the Secretary-General in his efforts to find a just solution to this conflict.

55. Mr. ZHULATI (Albania): For nearly three years now, the undaunted Afghan people have been waging a difficult but just struggle for their liberation and national independence against an imperialist super-Power, the Soviet Union. The Soviet social-imperialists militarily invaded and unleashed a barbarous attack against their small neighbour in order to swallow it up, so as to achieve their neo-colonialist, hegemonist and expansionist aims in Asia and, in particular, in the Persian Gulf region. In his report a year ago to the Eighth Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, the leader of the Albanian people, Mr. Enver Hoxha, pointed out that:

“Afghanistan marked the commencement of the great march of Soviet social-imperialism towards the south, where the world’s greatest resources of energy are found, together with the most important strategic crossroads and fields where the most acute imperialist rivalries collide.”

56. It is therefore quite clear that the Soviet Union’s invasion of Afghanistan is not something that happened

by chance and that it constitutes a serious crime against peoples, peace and world security. The political-military headquarters of social-imperialism planned and cooked it up well and carefully chose its time. As in the past, so now too, all the so-called reasons the social-imperialists have advanced to justify their aggression deceive no one.

57. The aggravation and continuation of Soviet aggression in Afghanistan are clear evidence that Soviet social-imperialism, like United States imperialism, poses a great danger to the freedom and independence of the peoples of the world. The brutal use of armed force constitutes the main characteristic of the hegemonic and expansionist policy of the Soviet Union. Acting on the basis of their position as a super-Power and filled with the spirit of great Russian chauvinism, the Soviet social-imperialists do not have the slightest regard for the interests and legitimate rights of peoples of other countries. They arrogate to themselves the right to undertake armed aggression and to occupy and put under their yoke various regions, even going so far as to expel millions of people from their own hearths.

58. The social-imperialists make a loud but insincere noise about the peoples’ rights, self-determination, the principle of the non-use of force in international relations and similar well-known principles. Even here at the United Nations, they set themselves up as the greatest defenders of principles, but this is in fact hypocritical speculation under the guise of acting as a socialist State. They hypocritically pose as defenders of peace, world security and friendship among peoples. But their aggression in Afghanistan, their military occupation of that country and the crimes they have committed and are still committing against that people that has suffered for so long have badly torn their mask. They are increasingly being condemned as imperialist aggressors in the eyes of the peoples. No matter what they do, even if they adopt a political and diplomatic course and use a lot of propaganda and tricky slogans, the Soviet social-imperialists cannot hide or pass over the fact that they have undertaken armed aggression of a fascist type and have caused and are still causing great suffering and losses and huge damage to the Afghan people.

59. Contrary to what the Soviet social-imperialists and their puppets say, the situation in Afghanistan has not changed. It has not become calm or stabilized, as they so loudly trumpet. In Afghanistan, the Soviet social-imperialists have provided their occupying army with advanced military technology and increased its strength. They have transformed Afghanistan into a testing ground for their weapons, tactics and methods of war in order to undertake aggression against other peoples. They are continuously extending the strategic land and air routes that connect the Soviet Union with Afghanistan. In their own interest, they are building new railroad lines and have set up new military bases there.

60. The quisling régime in Kabul, under Moscow’s diktat, is promulgating new laws to militarize the country and swell the ranks of the army with young Afghan people forced to do their military service. The Soviet invasion forces, along with those of the quisling Afghan army, are stepping up their violence and repression against Afghan villages and towns in order

to establish their control over them and stifle the rising popular resistance. Violence and terror only further increase the Afghan people's hatred. Various reports emanating from Afghanistan show that the resistance forces are continually dealing heavy blows against the invading Soviet troops and the country's mercenaries. The national liberation war of the Afghan people and their resistance have put the foreign invaders in a difficult political and military position. They try by all possible means to suppress the Afghan resistance by violence, acting in the same manner as did the United States imperialists in their aggression in Viet Nam and using the same scorched-earth policy. At the same time, they try to allay the abhorrence of the peoples of the world by various tricks and methods and by trying to impose upon the Afghan people and fighters a so-called solution that would force them to accept the Kremlin's yoke.

61. The tragedy of the Afghan people is also a consequence of the rivalry and intrigues of the imperialist super-Powers—the United States, the Soviet Union and China—for zones of influence and intervention in Asia. This tragedy makes clear the high price that people pay for the intrigues of the imperialist super-Powers and the betrayal by the internal reactionary forces which play the game of the imperialist and social-imperialist enemies.

62. Setting in motion their propaganda machinery, the super-Powers try to deceive the peoples, to impose upon them the so-called solutions and regulations that are consonant with their hegemonic interests in regard to the dangerous situations and acute problems created in a single country or in different regions of the world.

63. To this end, they are now using the question of Afghanistan. The United States and the Soviet Union do not hesitate to accuse one another in order to justify the acts of military aggression they have undertaken against peoples. This is how United States imperialism acted when the Soviet Union launched its aggression in Afghanistan. This is how the Soviet Union is now acting against the United States in regard to the encouragement and support given by the latter to the Zionist aggression against Lebanon.

64. The peoples of the world are able to assess what each party expects to gain from such disagreements. They understand how the super-Powers hatch plots and how they exploit situations on the basis of their hegemonic positions. Although the United States imperialists complain about Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, it was the United States imperialists that did not hesitate to start the military aggression against Iran. It was they that encouraged and supported Israel in launching its fascist aggression against Lebanon.

65. By posing as a good friend to the Arab peoples, Soviet social-imperialism feels in an easier position regarding Afghanistan, especially now that the aggression against Lebanon has taken priority on the agenda. The creation of such situations provides the super-Powers with the possibility of coming to terms over past, concluded actions against peoples and attempting to hatch plots in other regions, in their own interest, and even undertaking new acts of aggression against the peoples. Every act of armed aggression against the peoples whets the appetites of

the super-Powers for new acts of aggression. Therefore, as a result of the dangerous situation created in the Middle East region and the Persian Gulf by the two super-Powers, new aggressive activities may occur. For that reason, it is necessary for the peoples to increase their vigilance and firmly oppose the aggressive policy of the two super-Powers.

66. The delegation of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania once again affirms the solidarity of the Albanian people with the Afghan people in their national liberation war and strongly condemns the continuation of the aggression and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. We are fully convinced that in the final analysis the real solution of the Afghan question lies and will continue to lie in the struggle of this people for national liberation. It enjoys the support and solidarity of all freedom-loving and progressive peoples the world over. Every day, events in that country strengthen the conviction that the real solution of the Afghan question cannot come out of the ideas and plans on the so-called political settlement of this problem, which, in fact, is a game being played by the two super-Powers in this region of the world.

67. We once again express our opinion that the invasion of Afghanistan should be strongly condemned and that support should be given to the Afghan people in the difficult war they are waging against the plots and slanders of the Soviet Union and other enemies of the Afghan people.

68. Mr. LOĞOĞLU (Turkey): The people and Government of Turkey are deeply concerned at the tribulations of the Afghan people and the continuing impasse over the situation in Afghanistan. The strife and suffering inside the country continue unabated. The flight of refugees to the outside, especially to neighbouring Pakistan and Iran, continues on a large scale. The threat to regional stability is grave. The implications of this situation for international peace and security are serious, and the danger they pose is no less imminent today than it was three years ago. It is thus of vital importance that a political solution be found to the problem of Afghanistan.

69. It is now almost three years since Afghanistan was first subjected to massive military intervention from outside. As subsequent events have proved, the underlying aim of that intervention was to subjugate the people of Afghanistan and to interrupt the exercise of the right of self-determination. But the experience of the past three years demonstrates in unmistakable terms that the Afghan people will not surrender their inalienable right to determine their own fate and their way of life.

70. In spite of the increasing and active presence of foreign troops in their country and despite the tremendous odds against them, the Afghan people are as resolute and strong as ever in their determination and commitment to defend their freedom and rights. It is our fervent hope that the plight of the fraternal people of Afghanistan will soon come to an end through a lasting settlement of the problems affecting their country.

71. One of the most tragic dimensions of the situation in Afghanistan is represented by the ever-growing number of Afghan refugees. There are now many of them in different parts of the world. Iran provides

shelter to hundreds of thousands of Afghan nationals. But it is Pakistan, with nearly 3 million Afghan refugees, that bears the brunt of this tragedy. The Afghans who have been compelled to flee their country because of the conditions prevailing there today constitute the single largest community of refugees in the world. We cannot even highlight here the many hardships the refugees suffer and the complex problems they face at present and will encounter in the future.

72. The presence of millions of refugees is placing heavy strains on the economy and society of Pakistan, while adversely affecting the relations of that country with its neighbour Afghanistan. Iran also carries a heavy burden in this respect. We acknowledge with appreciation the endeavours of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in alleviating the hardship of these unfortunate people. We also register our deep sense of gratitude to the brotherly people and Government of Pakistan for their sacrifices and efforts on behalf of the Afghan refugees.

73. It is of great importance for the international community to continue to provide humanitarian relief assistance to the Afghan refugee population. The lack of a settlement in Afghanistan does not at all reduce the need for aid to the refugees; in our view, it only accentuates the urgency and necessity of this humanitarian obligation of the family of nations.

74. The problem of refugees, like other aspects and dimensions of the Afghan question, will not be resolved until a negotiated political settlement is found. The events of the past three years in that country point to the fact that no military solution can be imposed or obtained there.

75. Military operations seem destined to be inconclusive even though a tremendous price is being paid for them. This is why we have, from the outset, called for a political settlement to be arrived at through negotiations. Only then could we hope for a lasting resolution of the Afghan question that would appropriately reflect the legitimate concerns of the interested parties.

76. We have, on many occasions before and in the Assembly, enunciated what we believe ought to be the principal elements of a fair and lasting settlement for Afghanistan. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country is surely the corner-stone of any solution. The sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan must be preserved and respected. The people of Afghanistan should be free to choose their own form of government and to determine their way of life without outside interference or external constraints. Yet another element of crucial significance is the creation of those conditions that would permit the Afghan refugees to return to their country in safety and honour.

77. The Charter of the United Nations contains the principles that should guide the parties to the desired outcome in their search for a negotiated political settlement.

78. Since the consideration by the General Assembly at the thirty-sixth session of the situation in Afghanistan, new concerted efforts have been undertaken in the search for a solution. The Secretary-General, through his personal representative, has conducted indirect talks with some of the principal parties con-

cerned. Those contacts have been characterized as constructive and useful. All have, to one degree or other, taken positive note of them. It is our sincere hope that the endeavours of the Secretary-General will soon bear fruit and give us concrete grounds for expecting further progress. We cannot, of course, place the whole burden and responsibility of finding a solution for Afghanistan on the shoulders of the Secretary-General alone. If he is to succeed, he must enjoy the support of all of us; but, more important, he must have the co-operation of the principal parties to the question of Afghanistan.

79. We should also like to recall initiatives of other organizations pertaining to the situation in Afghanistan. The Organization of the Islamic Conference plays a leading role in this respect and has our full support. The European Council put forward some constructive ideas in June 1981,⁴ which in our view retain their relevance and usefulness. We also follow with appreciation the interest taken by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. All reasonable avenues to an honourable solution in Afghanistan must be kept open.

80. The situation in Afghanistan remains critical and the need for a political settlement urgent and imperative. While there appear to be some rays of hope on the horizon, we are gravely disturbed over the prevailing situation in Afghanistan. Peace and stability must be restored to Afghanistan in an honourable way, because the valiant Afghan nation deserves nothing less. We hope that by giving our overwhelming approval to the draft resolution now before the General Assembly we shall make a contribution towards that objective.

81. Mr. KIBANDA (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Imagine Afghanistan, a haven of peace in a disturbed region, located at the crossroads of great currents of moral and philosophical thinking that have inspired mankind since time immemorial, a country which made the concept of non-alignment a decisive factor in its foreign policy, with no annexationist or expansionist ambitions, rudely awakened one morning, invaded by foreign troops from one of the biggest Powers in the world, its principal leaders arrested, imprisoned or murdered, and you will understand the deep concern of the Central African Republic.

82. Imagine a State Member of the United Nations, whose sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity—the subject of sacred principles inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations—are brazenly violated and trampled under foot by another State Member and, in addition, a permanent member of the Security Council with primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, and you will grasp the serious concern of the United Nations. This will allow you better to understand the profound significance of its disquiet and concern.

83. This is, in broad terms, the tragic situation now prevailing in Afghanistan, which the General Assembly is now considering for the fourth consecutive time.

84. When we consider this situation, we cannot erase the grim picture of those endless lines of Afghan civilians seeking shelter and freedom, fleeing their homeland, their homes, before the advance of the deadly steamroller of the Soviet army. Nor can

we forget the heart-rending images of those villages that have been bombed, the men, women and children who have been killed, those brave patriots who are fighting the invader with exemplary heroism, sacrificing their own lives to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of their country.

85. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan is inadmissible and unacceptable if the credibility and prestige of the United Nations are to be preserved. It is serious and fraught with heavy consequences because of the rank of the aggressor, one of the biggest Powers in the world, and because of the important responsibilities incumbent upon it as a permanent member of the Security Council. It is dangerous, furthermore, because it constitutes a threat to international peace and security and carries the risk of widespread war in that part of the world. It is dangerous because it is neither an isolated case nor a chance occurrence. It proceeds from a global vision of the contemporary world, based on the primacy of force and power, and is part of the resulting hegemonic and expansionist strategy painstakingly developed since the Second World War. It bears witness to a conscious quest for domination and subjugation in the name of an ideology which proclaims itself the supporter of liberation in all its forms. The history of the past 20 years is strewn with very enlightening cases of the Soviet Union's policy of intervention in the internal affairs of States, which clearly demonstrate its inclination to use force to settle international disputes.

86. Yesterday in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, today in Afghanistan, tomorrow, perhaps, in other parts of the world, its insidious manoeuvres everywhere, the Soviet Union will continue cynically to apply that policy which is a flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations—of which it is one of the eminent signatories—which have inspired its mission and imbued it with its world philosophy. That is why the General Assembly must shoulder its responsibilities by rejecting that policy and categorically condemning any act that violates international peace and security.

87. For us, developing countries and peoples without military might, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is a rampart against the greed of the big Powers that divide the world, sheltering us from their hegemonic rivalry. For us, non-alignment constitutes a balance on the world chess-board. For us, member countries, peace is synonymous with freedom, justice, collective and universal solidarity and development, the goal of which is social well-being. Accordingly, the scope of non-aligned action is global and non-selective; it involves all kinds of action that coincide with its principles, and it determines our own stand. Peace also means strict respect for the sovereignty and independence of every Member of the great United Nations family. It should give sustenance to our faith in the future of mankind and to our determination to contribute effectively to any effort aimed at establishing that peace and guaranteeing it, within the framework of collective responsibility. This is why all non-aligned countries, in a spirit of solidarity and justice, should disapprove and condemn the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Silence would make us accomplices and would encourage the aggressor, which has been pin-pointed with surprising clarity—a clear

departure from the usual rhetoric. The non-alignment of Afghanistan must be respected and maintained at any cost. This is the true guarantee of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, acquired at the cost of enormous sacrifice.

88. In the two years that the General Assembly has been considering the tragic situation in Afghanistan, it has already adopted many resolutions and decisions, all aimed at the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the free exercise by the Afghan people of its right to choose its political, economic and social system without foreign interference, in order to arrive at a final, just and lasting political solution. By adopting those resolutions, the United Nations wished implicitly to reaffirm its role as the guardian of international peace and security by rejecting the threat or use of force in international relations, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. This was a clear-cut and unconditional verdict.

89. Despite the adoption of all those resolutions, the Soviet Union has continued to occupy Afghanistan and the war continues to rage, causing great loss of human life and massive destruction. Every day, villages are bombed, destroyed and razed.

90. In the face of Soviet aggression, invasion and occupation, in the face of a powerful army provided with the most modern and sophisticated military and strategic equipment, a few Afghan patriots are waging an unequal and desperate battle against the occupier, the invader, in order to preserve the sovereignty and independence of their country, thus once again bearing witness to the invincibility of the fight for freedom. The determination and heroism of those patriots command admiration.

91. The high price which is being paid by the Afghan people for the freedom of its territory is assuredly eloquent proof of its categorical refusal to accept subjugation and Soviet domination. Hence, to affirm that the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan at the request of the people is grotesque deception. The Soviet Union must withdraw its troops from Afghanistan.

92. The Central African Republic, land of dialogue and co-operation, is firmly and resolutely opposed to the threat or use of force in international relations. I have stated this more than once from this very rostrum and I repeat it once again. We are participating in this debate in order to associate ourselves, in the spirit of harmony and determination which characterizes the Organization, with those States that make the noble ideals of the Charter the basis for their foreign policy, in censuring any act that violates the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

93. The responsibility for guaranteeing world peace and security should not rest with a few privileged Members of the Organization, or of any club. It is the business of all, and we are all concerned. That is the basis of the position that my delegation will take on the draft resolution which is now before us. We shall therefore vote in favour.

94. Mr. YONDON (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to express the profound regret of the Mongolian delegation at the fact that the General Assembly has again been embroiled in the unseemly venture surrounding the so-called question

of the situation in Afghanistan. The discussion of this item, which, despite the clear and repeated objections of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, has been imposed on the Assembly, must be viewed as direct interference in the internal affairs of that sovereign, non-aligned State, a full Member of the United Nations. The imperialist and hegemonist circles needed such a discussion merely to distort the thrust of the socio-political transformations in Afghanistan, to prevent the Afghan people from settling their own affairs themselves and to divert public opinion from the aggressive machinations of those circles in South-West Asia.

95. Our delegation believes that dragging the United Nations into a fruitless discussion of the so-called question of Afghanistan, as the experience of previous such discussions has shown, will only further impede a just political settlement of the situation which has evolved around Afghanistan. It will also have a negative impact on the authority of the United Nations itself.

96. In reality, the situation in Afghanistan is the affair of the Afghan people alone. That people made the historic choice four years ago when it carried out the national democratic revolution in April 1978. The Afghan people was thus able to free itself from lawlessness, oppression and exploitation and to proceed towards free democratic development.

97. The Government and people of Mongolia warmly welcomed the victory of the April revolution in Afghanistan and the subsequent steps taken by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to defend and strengthen the revolutionary achievements of the Afghan people.

98. From the statement made by the representative of Afghanistan, Mr. Zarif [78th meeting], it can clearly be seen what important political and socio-economic changes are taking place in the country and what a favourable influence they have on the democratic revival of Afghan society, on improving the living standards of the population. The economy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is being successfully developed, productivity in industry and agriculture and foreign trade are increasing. The situation of the workers is being rapidly improved and their wages are being significantly increased. Through the agrarian reform programme, more than 300,000 peasant families with either no land or very little land received land free of charge, and approximately 800,000 peasant families were exempted from tax debts. In a country where quite recently the overwhelming majority of the population was illiterate, significant results have been achieved in the struggle to spread education and to develop learning and culture.

99. The Mongolian people, which is linked with the Afghan people by close ties of friendship and solidarity, is sincerely glad at the success of that people in building a new life.

100. Naturally, the successes of democratic Afghanistan would be much greater if a cruel, undeclared war had not been imposed on it from outside.

101. It is no secret that the imperialist forces are seeking to suppress the April revolution and to break the desire of the valiant Afghan people for freedom and social progress.

102. In carrying out armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the imperialists are using as their obedient tools the former Afghan feudal overlords and exploiters that were overthrown by the wave of revolution. In more than 80 special camps in Pakistan, gangs of Afghan counter-revolutionaries are being trained to carry out subversive activity against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. An ever-widening stream of supplies of modern weaponry flows to these gangs, which are continually infiltrating Afghanistan and which do not allow the Afghan people to work and live in peace. They plunder, kill and intimidate peaceful civilians. As a result of their action over the last four years, as we have read in the press, more than 1,500 schools and hundreds of bridges, enterprises and houses have been destroyed in Afghanistan.

103. The recent decision of the United States Senate to increase military and financial assistance to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries is further confirmation of the aggressive policy of the Washington Administration of continuing and further escalating that undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which is part of the global strategy for establishing American domination throughout the world.

104. The imperialist circles are using a wide range of propaganda methods and psychological warfare to distort the truth of the events surrounding Afghanistan, to disparage the April revolution and to cast aspersions concerning the assistance provided to the Afghan people by the Soviet Union. It is quite clear that imperialist propaganda, however sophisticated and unbridled it may be, cannot deceive world public opinion and force the Afghan people to depart from the path of social progress which it has chosen.

105. The Mongolian delegation fully shares the view that the primary, indeed, the sole cause of the continuing tension in the situation surrounding Afghanistan is the constant interference in its internal affairs from outside. Therefore, it is quite obvious that only the complete cessation of all forms of interference can guarantee a just settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan.

106. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that the most realistic basis for that settlement and for the normalization of relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours can be found in the constructive proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 15 May 1980² and 24 August 1981.³

107. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has offered to undertake direct negotiations with Pakistan and Iran, during which mutually acceptable agreements would be worked out on the basis of the principles of good-neighbourliness, non-interference in internal affairs and mutually advantageous co-operation. Such agreements would contain concrete undertakings by all sides regarding the inadmissibility of armed action and any other hostile activity from their territories against each other, as well as agreements to promote the free return to their homeland of Afghans who for various reasons are in the territories of neighbouring States. In order to ensure a truly lasting and comprehensive settlement, the idea has

been put forward that third States, primarily the Soviet Union and the United States, should act as guarantors. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is thus constantly showing a spirit of good will and realism. Thanks to its constructive, flexible position, which is necessary when such complicated political questions are to be resolved, contacts have been made possible. Indeed, such contacts took place in June of this year, in Geneva, between the representatives of Afghanistan and Pakistan, taking advantage of the good offices of the personal representative of the Secretary-General.

108. My delegation welcomes the fact that that round of talks was useful and that both sides were in favour of the continuance of the talks. Of course, good will and a constructive approach from all parties are necessary for the success of the talks. It is also necessary that nothing be done which might complicate the progress of this process. This is particularly important as regards so authoritative an organization as the United Nations. In this respect, we must note with regret that the draft resolution before the General Assembly contains provisions which are known to be unacceptable to the principal party concerned, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and which essentially amount to interference in that country's internal affairs. The adoption of this draft resolution would certainly not further the search for ways of normalizing the situation surrounding Afghanistan. On the contrary, it would prejudice the incipient dialogue between the sides. Our delegation therefore opposes draft resolution A/37/L.38.

109. The strong commitment of the Mongolian People's Republic to the cause of peace and international security is well known. It has always believed and continues to believe that the only sensible way to settle disputes among States is through political dialogue and negotiations, which must be conducted in a spirit of mutual respect and on the basis of non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The Mongolian delegation believes that that is precisely how a just, definitive solution concerning the situation surrounding Afghanistan can and must be achieved.

110. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): The situation in Afghanistan is on its way to becoming yet another of the permanent items on the agenda of the General Assembly. Almost three years have now passed since Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan. In spite of several calls and appeals from the General Assembly, those troops still remain in the country. The armed struggle within Afghanistan continues. It is therefore important that in this debate the Assembly take stock of the situation in order to make new recommendations on how the conflict should be settled.

111. The costs of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan have been very high. First and foremost, the continued occupation and the armed resistance have taken a high toll in human lives. Unless a political settlement is found, this toll will in all probability continue to rise. The continued conflict has brought widespread suffering and destruction to the Afghan society, causing millions to flee their homes and take refuge in neighbouring countries, particularly in Pakistan.

112. The conflict in Afghanistan has had serious implications for international peace and security. It has

caused further uncertainty and destabilization in one of the most potentially explosive regions of the world. It has had serious and long-lasting effects on the whole climate of international co-operation and has caused damage to the negotiating process regarding agreements on arms control, which is of vital importance in the efforts to halt the nuclear arms race. East-West relations in general have suffered badly. Here in the United Nations we have seen how the conflict in Afghanistan has affected the relationship between the major Powers, a development which hampers the effectiveness of the whole Organization.

113. It is difficult for the Norwegian Government to see how continued occupation of Afghanistan could be in the long-term interests of the Soviet Union. Unless there is a renewed commitment to finding a political solution, we fear that this item will continue to be on our agenda for a long time; we fear that this conflict will continue to sow acrimony and discord in international relations.

114. The Norwegian Government urges the Soviet Union to consider seriously what the positive effects of a political settlement in Afghanistan would be. We cannot promise that all remaining problems in that part of the world would disappear. But in an international situation where almost everybody is talking about a crisis—in the United Nations, in East-West and North-South relations, in the world economy and in other fields—we can think of few other events that would have a more positive effect on the spirit of co-operation and compromise that is necessary in order jointly to overcome these crises.

115. We already have a basic framework for a political settlement. We have this framework here in the United Nations. Thanks to the Secretary-General and his personal representative for Afghanistan, to whom I should like to pay special tribute, four issues have been identified as central to the efforts to find a political solution to the conflict in Afghanistan. These elements include: the withdrawal of foreign troops; non-interference in the internal affairs of States; international guarantees of non-interference; and the voluntary return of the refugees to their homes.

116. My Government urges all parties to the conflict to use the opportunity of the forthcoming consultations with the personal representative of the Secretary-General to make a new effort to find a solution to the conflict in Afghanistan as soon as possible. Norway fully supports the important mission of the personal representative of the Secretary-General.

117. I should like to conclude by saying a few words about the refugee problem. Approximately 3 million people have now fled the conflict and the war to seek refuge in Iran and Pakistan. At present, this is the largest and most serious refugee problem in the world. It places a tremendous burden—social, economic and political—on the receiving countries. Pakistan, which has received by far the largest number, has been particularly affected. I should like, on behalf of the Norwegian Government, to pay special tribute to the people and Government of Pakistan for the way in which they have handled this problem. In the same way, I express our gratitude and admiration to the humanitarian relief organizations working in the area,

in particular UNHCR, for their efforts to alleviate the plight of the refugees.

118. For its part, Norway has provided more than 50 million Norwegian kroner in humanitarian assistance during the last two years. My Government intends to continue and increase this assistance in the future.

Mr. Cinéas (Haiti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

119. Mr. TRUCCO (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Chile, together with 44 other nations, is sponsoring draft resolution A/37/L.38.

120. Since that ill-fated month of December 1979, when Soviet troops, armed with tanks and with enormously powerful military equipment, crossed the borders of Afghanistan, occupied its territory and carried out a complete and systematic operation of territorial conquest, the document which we are studying today is the fourth draft resolution which the highest forum in the civilized world—as the General Assembly could be called—has had before it on this serious and pressing situation.

121. It is a serious situation because nothing could be graver than a flagrant violation of the basic principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter itself: those of non-intervention, the non-use of force and territorial integrity.

122. It is a pressing problem because the flow of refugees into Iran and Pakistan, where there are already more than 3 million, is assuming increasingly dangerous proportions.

123. The historic conscience of humanity cannot fail to be aware that the 1979 invasion was facilitated by another event which also constituted open and cruel violation of other equally valuable principles of international law.

124. Hence, it is essential to continue this protest as we condemn and recall the infamous deed and as we make efforts to find a prompt political solution which would restore to Afghanistan and its people their identity as a free, sovereign, non-aligned nation.

125. We wish in particular to note the efforts that have been made in the quest for that political settlement by the Secretary-General, who, ever since he took office, has himself and through his personal representative striven to bring about an understanding between the parties concerned. In this connection, we are pleased that, as can be seen from his most recent report, the Secretary-General sees a certain degree of initial progress, at least at the diplomatic level, although he points out that the critical stage of implementation has not yet been reached. We sincerely hope that his efforts will continue and bear fruit, although we are fully aware of the formidable political obstacles that remain and we have taken note of the discouraging words of the representative of Afghanistan, who insists on the irreversibility of the process.

126. In the light of the serious and responsible efforts being made by the Secretary-General and his personal representative, Mr. Cordovez, it is impossible for anyone to continue to hide behind facile words that are now so time-worn that they have become the object of scorn and disdain.

127. We protest once again today and call for a political solution through the efforts of the Secretary-General, because in its 37 years of existence the United Nations has rarely been so shaken by military action so disproportionate and so damaging to its own character as an Organization dedicated to the service of peace. The invader is one of the permanent members of the Security Council, endowed by the Charter with special responsibilities in the maintenance of international peace and security and with special privileges. The victim is a small developing nation, a founding member, since the meetings at Bandung and Belgrade, of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

128. What had seemed to be a simple act of annexation, like many other such acts carried out by that super-Power in other corners of the world, has become a genuine war of national liberation in which an entire people has risen up against the aggressive Power and the puppet régime that it protects.

129. Unfortunately, that valiant struggle against vastly superior forces has exacted an enormous toll of human life and material goods. Entire villages have been razed, the economy of the country has been devastated and more than half a million Afghans have been wounded or have died.

130. Various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly—one after the Security Council had been prevented from acting because of the use of the veto—and others adopted by the non-aligned and Islamic countries and at a number of meetings of international organizations have repeatedly condemned the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and have demanded the immediate withdrawal of the aggressor troops. So far, all those appeals have been publicly disregarded and all that remains is the hope we draw from the tireless work of the Secretary-General in the search for a peaceful solution and from the example of the indomitable valour of the people of Afghanistan.

131. The Soviet troops, which were initially said to number approximately 85,000, now number more than 105,000, and recent information indicates that work has been undertaken at various airports in the country so that the strategic positions of the occupation troops can be consolidated.

132. Of course, the international community cannot stand idly by in the face of such defiance, and this explains the attitude taken in the statements made in this debate by many delegations, including mine, which continue to note with great concern the evolution of the situation in Afghanistan and its serious implications for international peace and security.

133. We have before us, in fact, not only a problem of tragic human dimensions but also a political crisis whose impact on the peaceful coexistence of all States is incalculable. We are aware that our inaction today could be fatal for the future of many nations, particularly the smallest and weakest. Therefore, we are duty-bound to prevent the triumph of violence.

134. On the basis of these considerations, my delegation has once again sponsored, along with 44 other delegations, a draft resolution [A/37/L.38] which offers a realistic and pragmatic alternative for resolving this serious international crisis. We hope that all

peace-loving countries will join us in supporting this initiative which is inspired only by the desire to ensure full respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter which all our Governments have solemnly pledged to fulfil.

135. I wish, in particular, to underscore the generous assistance afforded and the sacrifices made by the Government of Pakistan and also the invaluable contribution of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. These humanitarian efforts should, of course, continue to be supported by the entire international community.

136. Chile rejects the use of force, regardless of the country using it. We do not refrain from condemnation out of any considerations of friendship or bonds of solidarity, however valuable they may be. In that same resolve, my country advocates, first and foremost, a peaceful settlement of disputes by any of the means established in the Charter and enshrined in international law.

137. We know that those are also the objectives of the Secretary-General in his difficult undertaking, and we share his sentiments when he states that his own overriding concern will continue to be that the Afghan people be given the opportunity to build their future in peace, and when he assures us that he will not cease to exert his best efforts to achieve that end [see A/37/482, para. 11].

138. Mr. LA ROCCA (Italy): The views of the 10 member States of the European Community on the situation in Afghanistan have been expressed in detail by the representative of Denmark in his statement on behalf of the Community [79th meeting]. My delegation fully shares those views.

139. In speaking today, I wish to stress the deep concern of my Government, of all political forces in Italy without exception and of our general public over the prolongation of a situation which is a clear violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and which constitutes a major source of tension both in the region affected and in international relations as a whole.

140. Afghanistan's military occupation by the Soviet Union, which has now lasted almost three years in spite of repeated appeals from the Assembly and from other authoritative international bodies, indeed represents a grave violation of the universally accepted principles of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign countries, of respect for their independence and territorial integrity and of the non-use of force in international relations.

141. The increasing number of Afghan refugees, now over 3 million, their suffering and the heavy economic, social and political burden they place on neighbouring countries, as well as the massive violation of human rights reported to occur in Afghanistan as a consequence of the repression of the legitimate aspirations of the Afghan people to freedom and independence, constitute a tragedy which the international community cannot, and does not, ignore.

142. In its resolution 35/37, the General Assembly clearly indicated the elements on which a solution should be based in giving the Secretary-General a mandate to seek such a solution. The resolution

was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations and can legitimately be considered the expression of the clear opinion and deep feelings of the international community with regard to the Afghan crisis.

143. In this spirit, we welcomed and supported the efforts made by the Secretary-General and his personal representative, Mr. Cordovez, in accordance with the provisions of that resolution. While we wish to express our deep appreciation of those painstaking efforts and of the Secretary-General's report, we cannot but strongly voice our concern at the lack of response so far shown by the Soviet Union and the consequent absence of real progress towards an acceptable solution.

144. Accordingly, my delegation will lend its full support to draft resolution A/37/L.38, which reiterates the principles providing the basis for a political solution of the Afghan problem.

145. In this framework, my Government will also continue to extend full support to the Secretary-General's mission, while confirming its belief, as already stated by the representative of Denmark, that the convening of an international conference on Afghanistan such as the one proposed by the European Council on 30 June 1981,⁴ could usefully supplement the efforts of the Secretary-General by providing a framework for the achievement of a just and comprehensive political settlement.

146. The grave violation of the Charter of the United Nations still going on in Afghanistan demands a solution of that problem, which can be based only on the principles laid down in the resolutions already approved by the Assembly: namely, withdrawal of foreign troops; recognition of the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future freely and without foreign interference; and the creation of appropriate conditions for the return of the refugees to their country and their homes.

147. While we debate here, the suffering of the Afghan people, the massive violation of their human rights and the repression of their legitimate aspirations continue unabated.

148. The Italian Government is convinced that the international community must again state its firm opposition to such a situation and must clearly confirm that it cannot accept or acquiesce in *faits accomplis*.

149. We therefore urge the members of the General Assembly to show once more the same determination as in the past by calling for a just settlement of this tragic crisis in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

150. Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The debate by the General Assembly on the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan is basically interference in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. However, the imperialist forces, through their propaganda and political campaign against the Afghan people and their aspirations, have initiated this debate in order to question the national options of the Afghan people, as they have done earlier by their policies towards other progressive régimes of national liberation. This is an overt attempt by the imperialist

forces to find justification for their presence in the area, as well as for their aggressive acts aimed against the peoples of the region in general and the liberation movement in particular.

151. World imperialism, and United States imperialism first and foremost, has a long record of acts of aggression and the use of force, along with flagrant intervention in the domestic affairs of nations and peoples. It cannot deceive our peoples by shedding tears over Afghanistan and the insecurity and instability in the area or by creating an imaginary enemy. The real danger facing the peoples and nations of our region is the intervention in their internal affairs by foreign imperialism and the imperialist and Zionist conspiracy aimed at imposing imperialist domination in the area and repressing the national causes of the peoples of the region, foremost among them the national cause of the Palestinian people.

152. The Afghan people, as they marched along the road towards the achievement of their goals, as embodied in the principles of the April revolution, and as they constructed their new society, faced many imperialist conspiracies, which manifested themselves in aggression, subversion and coercion, as well as in large political and propaganda campaigns undertaken by the machinery of imperialism in an attempt to destroy that revolution of the Afghan people. This caused the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to ask for aid and support from the Soviet Union in order to confront the imperialist conspiracy and aggression and to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

153. Democratic Yemen confirms its support for the Afghan people, led by the People's Democratic Party, in their struggle to preserve their national independence and sovereignty and to advance along the road of independent social progress. We see the escalation of tension in the area as a disservice to peace and security and as an obstacle to concerted efforts to ward off the imperialist threat to which our region is exposed.

154. We do not believe that draft resolution A/37/L.38 serves the cause of reducing tension in the region. We reaffirm that it is in the common interest of all the nations of the region to turn to dialogue as an important means of contributing to the establishment of peace and security. However, dialogue cannot take place unless all parties refrain from any action that could exacerbate the situation, unless the necessary conditions exist for settling common problems and improving relations among the States of the region on the basis of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and unless there is a common commitment to refrain from aggression and intervention.

155. In this connection, we commend the proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and reaffirmed in the General Assembly during this debate. We maintain that a favourable response to those proposals by the other States of the region would be conducive to the settlement of common problems and to securing agreement on them.

156. Mr. van WELL (Federal Republic of Germany): At the 79th meeting, the representative of Denmark, Mr. Ulrichsen, outlined the position of the 10 member States 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.

157. The thought-provoking report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, which drew our attention to the serious deficiencies of present United Nations practice in the maintenance of international peace and security, starts with a reference to the past year's "alarming succession of international crises as well as stalemates on a number of fundamental international issues". [A/37/1, p. 1].

158. The Afghanistan conflict, which is now before the General Assembly for the fourth time, is one of those crises which undermine the world's confidence in the ability of the Organization to maintain or restore international peace and security. It is particularly serious because it involves, on the one hand, a permanent member of the Security Council, which under the Charter of the United Nations bears special responsibility for international peace and security, and, on the other, a small, non-aligned country.

159. We were shocked when the Soviet Union used its overwhelming military power to invade Afghanistan, a traditionally non-aligned country and one of the least-developed countries, which never in its history has used its freedom and independence for hostile purposes against the Soviet Union. We are alarmed that almost three years after the invasion, in disregard of three consecutive resolutions of the General Assembly, [resolutions ES-6/2, 35/37 and 36/34], each adopted with a greater majority of votes, the number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is increasing rather than decreasing. The Soviet Union continues to impose its hegemonic will and communist ideology on a traditionally independent, proud and courageous people.

160. Nevertheless, the war of resistance against the occupying forces continues undiminished. In spite of the heavy toll of human life, the will for freedom of the Afghan people has not been broken. This fact, more than anything else, reveals the fallacy of arguments put forward in an attempt to justify the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

161. The world will not acquiesce in the *fait accompli* established by violation of the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. This debate demonstrates once again that the world has not forgotten the brutal assault on Afghanistan. It emphasizes that the overwhelming majority of the world Organization is in solidarity with the oppressed Afghan people and will relentlessly call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and for a political solution enabling the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social systems, free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever.

162. Afghanistan has become a test case of the Soviet Union's respect for the independence and national integrity of third-world countries and for its recognition of genuine non-alignment. The continued occupation of Afghanistan is a dangerous viola-

tion of fundamental principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, such as those of the freedom, independence and self-determination of non-aligned countries.

163. The Federal Republic of Germany stands by the non-aligned countries. Together with them, we urge the Soviet Union to set out as soon as possible on the path to a political solution of the Afghan crisis on the basis of respect for non-alignment, which implies sovereignty, independence and national and cultural identity. We recognize the particular responsibility and commitment that the Islamic and non-aligned States have towards Afghanistan. We will continue to support them. We encourage them not to relax their endeavours.

164. Afghanistan is, furthermore, a test case for the future of a genuine policy of détente based on restraint in the pursuit of national interests, on responsibility and on a policy of promoting peace through co-operation. The longer the Soviet Union refuses to respect the rights and aspirations of the people of Afghanistan, the greater will be the suspicion that it follows, wherever this seems possible without major risk, a strategy of expansion and domination. The lack of restraint demonstrated by the continued occupation of Afghanistan is a challenge to the stability and integrity not only of the region concerned but of the whole family of nations. Apart from affecting the Soviet Union's relations with the non-aligned States, it has had and continues to have serious repercussions on East-West relations as well.

165. In the meantime, the tragic plight of the Afghan people continues. It finds its most visible expression in the unending flow of refugees from Afghanistan into neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. The resources of those countries are under a great strain as a result of their provision of food, shelter and security to the Afghan refugees. We appreciate the sacrifices which both countries are making in extending their hospitality to a sorely afflicted people. As an expression of solidarity with the Afghan people, the Federal Republic of Germany made available, in the 1981 budgetary year, approximately 60 million deutsche mark as relief for refugees and as funds for refugee-related projects. In addition, my country contributed about \$28 million to the emergency aid provided by the European Community.

166. A real solution of the humanitarian problems in Afghanistan presupposes, of course, a just and durable political solution. We follow with great interest the persevering efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative. They enjoy our full support in the search for a political solution in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

167. The blueprint for such a solution is contained in the draft resolution before us. We shall therefore vote in favour of it. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, said on the occasion of Afghanistan Day, on 21 March 1982: "No one who speaks of peace, who calls for peace, can remain silent about the war in Afghanistan. Peace for the Afghan people is synonymous with peace for all of us".

168. In view of the crucial importance of efforts to bring about a political solution of the Afghan crisis, we appeal to the Soviet Union to reassess its stand and realize that the present deadlock, which is due to Soviet lack of flexibility, is not in the Soviet interest either.

169. Mr. SARRÉ (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): It is almost three years now since Afghanistan was added to the list of pockets of tension whose persistence has contributed to the growing deterioration of the international climate.

170. On three occasions, the General Assembly has defined and reaffirmed the nature of the problem: that the situation which has prevailed in that country for three years concerns, on the one hand, violation of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and, on the other, failure to respect the principle of the sovereignty of States.

171. Afghanistan was invaded by foreign troops in December 1979 and continues to this day to be subjected to military occupation. The continued presence of those troops and the massive exodus of more than 3 million Afghan nationals to neighbouring countries constitute a threat to peace in the region and to international security.

172. At its three previous sessions, the General Assembly, recalling the principles that have been challenged, set out the measures that were necessary for the restoration of peace and stability to that sorely tried country. It called in particular for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from that country, the restoration to the Afghan people of their inalienable right to determine their own future without outside interference or constraint, and the creation, through negotiations among the parties concerned, of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes. The Assembly thus defined the best framework within which to seek a just and comprehensive solution to this painful problem. We are forced to note, however, that the situation has hardly improved since then, for the Afghan people continue to pay a high price for recognition of their right to sovereignty and peace.

173. It is true that, at the diplomatic level, some positive signs can be discerned. Indeed, in the past two months the consultation machinery established by the Secretary-General—whom we congratulate on his efforts and initiatives—has made possible the beginning of a process which we should all welcome. Furthermore, the support voiced by all the parties concerned for the continuance of the Secretary-General's efforts to facilitate negotiations for a political settlement is encouraging.

174. The fact that the Secretary-General has noted a common understanding among the parties concerned on the principles that should underlie the comprehensive settlement, on the interrelationship that should obtain among its component elements and on the measures that would be required to ensure its effective implementation doubtless indicate the beginnings, albeit timid, of progress. However, major divergences still exist, for example regarding the formula for the negotiations and the structure and content of a comprehensive settlement.

175. In the opinion of my delegation, we must, in the interests of peace, maintain the momentum gained by facilitating the continuance of dialogue, within the framework, of course, of the relevant principles of justice and international law.

176. Senegal has always opposed interference in the internal affairs of other States, particularly when this interference takes the form of foreign armed intervention. We should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm our solidarity with the fraternal people of Afghanistan at this difficult time. My country will continue to support, as it has in the past, the peace efforts undertaken at various levels, because it remains convinced that persistence in seeking a solution by force will only exacerbate the conflict and increase tension in the region.

177. We hope that the pursuit of these efforts will enable us to break the present deadlock and to make real progress towards the political solution that the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly have always advocated.

178. It is on the strength of these considerations that, this year again, Senegal has co-sponsored draft resolution A/37/L.38, which we believe represents a constructive effort to bring about a peaceful solution of the Afghan problem. Indeed, it contains elements which are likely to facilitate negotiations among the parties concerned, and the whole draft is based on the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Adoption of the draft resolution would be an expression of our desire for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the problem. It would demonstrate our concern to preserve peace in this region. Finally, it would show our determination to ensure the primacy of right, justice and legality over force and the interests of power.

179. Mr. PELLETIER (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): It is cause for profound regret and concern that it is necessary for the General Assembly again to consider the situation in Afghanistan. It is tragic that all the international efforts to achieve a just solution to this crisis have so far produced no concrete results. In his statement in the General Assembly on 27 September [6th meeting], the Canadian Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Relations noted, as have most other representatives, the sharp contradiction between the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet troops. The Soviet Union continues to violate the sovereignty of Afghanistan and ignore the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and other international organizations. It is my Government's profound hope that the new Soviet leadership will heed the voice of world opinion and move positively to resolve a situation which is so damaging to the cause of peace, good order and international détente.

180. We are all familiar with the history of this subject, which began in late 1979 with direct armed intervention by the Soviet Union. That intervention has since met with the sustained resistance of the Afghan people to this attempt to impose an alien system of government upon it. The Soviet Union has sought to expand its sphere of direct control by mas-

sive armed intervention in an independent non-aligned State on its border. Since then, the level of military activity has continued and intensified, signifying beyond doubt that neither the present régime nor the Soviet presence can be sustained without constant resort to force and the suppression of fundamental human rights. The people of Afghanistan has a proud and independent heritage, and it has shown that its will to resist will not be broken, in spite of the sophisticated military apparatus which great Powers can employ in pursuit of their objectives.

181. The number of Afghan refugees now living in exile in neighbouring countries serves as a measure of the tragic situation within their own homeland. There are now approximately 3 million refugees in Pakistan, and more in Iran. Of a population, according to an official Afghan estimate in 1978, of 15.5 million, some 20 per cent are now refugees, and hundreds of thousands have died as a result of the violence within Afghanistan. Soviet efforts to crush popular resistance have succeeded only in creating the most serious refugee situation in the world today. The rising death toll and the destruction of the homes and crops of the civilian population only increase the misery of the people and lead to a further exodus.

182. The draft resolution now before us stresses the hardships suffered by the refugees and the considerable social and economic problems confronting Pakistan and Iran owing to the continuing increase in their numbers. My Government supports the renewed appeal in this draft resolution for an increase in humanitarian relief assistance to alleviate the suffering. Canada has already made substantial contributions to the assistance operations for Afghan refugees and during the current fiscal year will contribute some \$18.5 million in food and other forms of humanitarian assistance.

183. It is clear that only a political solution can end the Afghan problem. Such a solution must involve recognition of the traditional independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan and the right of the Afghan people to choose their own political, social and economic system. The call in the draft resolution for withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan is clear recognition that the Soviet occupation must end, as the pre-condition of any satisfactory political solution and of the voluntary return of refugees to their homes in safety and honour. In assessing the prospects for a political solution, we must recognize the relevance of the comment of the Secretary-General that, while the Geneva round of discussions on Afghanistan gives cause for encouragement, "the most critical stage of the diplomatic process undoubtedly lies ahead, and major differences must be bridged for these efforts to bear fruit" [see A/37/482, para. 10].

184. It is the sincere hope of my Government that the new Soviet leadership will recognize the realities of the Afghanistan situation and will make a genuine effort to seek a political settlement. It is clear that the Soviet armed intervention has been unsuccessful in reconciling the people of Afghanistan to a fundamentally alien system of government. In fact, popular resistance continues to grow, exacting a high toll not only among the Afghans but also among the

Soviet forces of occupation. This suffering must come to an end.

185. In our view, the options available to the Soviet Union are perfectly clear. They could continue to sustain a régime totally devoid of international credibility and with no significant internal support. But this would require the continuing commitment of large numbers of Soviet troops and the maintenance of a rigorous apparatus of oppression within Afghanistan. The result would inevitably be continued bloodshed and turmoil, as it is quite obvious that the Afghan people would continue to resist. Moreover, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan not only will continue to endanger the peace and stability of the region but will also reduce the possibility of an overall reduction in international tensions.

186. The Afghanistan issue has damaged the general climate of international relations. East-West relations have suffered and will continue to suffer as long as the Soviet Union maintains its troops in Afghanistan. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Commonwealth and other international organizations have all strongly called for a withdrawal of the foreign forces and the restoration to the Afghan people of its right to self-determination. My Government urges the Soviet Union to take stock not only of the suffering its occupation is inflicting on Afghanistan but also of its impact on the international community. We call upon the Soviet Union to adopt the only possible course, which is to seek a genuine political solution to the Afghan problem within the context of the appeal in the draft resolution now before us.

187. Canada supports the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs in this sense. We believe that any solution must, first and foremost, reflect the wishes of the people of Afghanistan. It should also take into account the Soviet Union's legitimate security interests. It is clear that the Afghan people demands the right to choose its own form of government and its own economic, political and social system. This is the fundamental right of every sovereign people. The international community, through this draft resolution, once again calls upon the Soviet Union to allow the people of Afghanistan to exercise that right.

188. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

189. Mr. SHERMAN (United States of America): The United States delegation has no intention of dignifying with response the litany of ludicrous and totally unfounded allegations recited earlier in this session by the representatives of Cuba and Laos. We know that members of the Assembly will recognize those allegations for what they are—a wholly implausible and inept attempt to divert the attention of the international community from the sources of real threats to international peace and stability in Asia and elsewhere around the world. Cuba, the only Latin American country with troops stationed outside its borders and the only country of this hemisphere with a resident

Soviet garrison, is particularly unqualified to speak in this forum of threats to international peace and security.

190. As members of the Assembly well know, the dangerous new situation that has been created in South-West Asia stems not from the heroic struggle of the Afghan people to free their homeland from foreign domination but from the invasion of non-aligned Afghanistan and its occupation since 1979 by more than 100,000 Soviet troops. This brutal occupation has not only caused untold disruption and suffering among the Afghan people but has also greatly heightened the danger to other nations throughout the region posed by the Soviet Union's ambitious and aggressive military policies. Nor are the members of the Assembly in any doubt as to the source of aggression and insecurity in South-East Asia, having only recently reaffirmed their views in the resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes in this Assembly [*resolution 37/6*].

191. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The attempts of the representatives of Pakistan or other countries directly involved in armed incursions and interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan to distort the realities of the situation, to present them as reflected in a distorted mirror, are of no avail: the truth is evident.

192. It must be noted that the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was anything but spontaneous or fortuitous. It was planned and begun to be carried out with the use of the territory of Pakistan after the April revolution of 1978. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that the military training centres for *Gulbuddin* bands has operated in Miram-Shah since May 1978. Its monthly output is 600 persons. During the period from June 1978 to June 1979, 10 more centres—in Ahkarzai-Dag, Zrawali, Nazir Pir, Bagh, Warsak, Mirkhani, Mastung, Manzai, Nawagai and Momandgar—were added, with a total monthly enrolment of some 3,000 killers.

193. Repeated and increasing armed aggression against villages and towns inside Afghanistan, long before the limited contingent of Soviet troops was invited, was the only cause of tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Thanks to the enormous financial and military assistance rendered to the counter-revolutionary groups by the Governments of the United States, China, Pakistan and some other reactionary quarters of the region, the scope and the intensity of armed aggression against Afghanistan reached a level at which it became impossible for us to counter it by our own means.

194. Needless to say, after the new corrective phase of the revolution in December 1979, when imperialists and reactionaries of all kinds lost their hope, in the person of Hafizullah Amin, of restoring the old despotic, oppressive and reactionary régime in Afghanistan, such training centres began to spring up like poisonous mushrooms.

195. There are some 320-odd passes along the mountains in the frontier area which are widely used by bandits for penetration into Afghanistan. For example, mercenaries trained in Chitral penetrate into Afghanistan territory in the regions of Mastuch, Gilgit,

Droosh and Mirkundi and then in small groups go further to the northern provinces of Afghanistan—Badakhshan, Takhar and Kunduz. Those trained in Bajawur infiltrate into the territory of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the regions of Karkhu, Pagari, Guzardara, Sheli-Wali and Nadi Oba and then march to Laghman, Baghlan and Samangan provinces of Afghanistan. I could give other examples, but those cited should suffice to unmask the assumed innocence displayed here by the representative of Pakistan.

196. The competent Afghan authorities have gathered a lot of evidence from the captured mercenaries and Pakistani and other foreign spies which proves beyond any doubt that the Pakistani authorities are directly involved in hostile activities against Afghanistan by training bandits and mercenaries, facilitating illegal, clandestine traffic in all sorts of weapons and ammunition across the frontier area of Afghanistan and giving their ringleaders freedom of movement, including travel abroad with forged Afghan passports, free access to the press and the possibility to commission their own radio transmitters. The Pakistan authorities also provide financial means to the counter-revolutionary ringleaders. Since the unleashing of the undeclared war, more than \$500 million have been spent on the purchase of arms and ammunition, including the most sophisticated types.

197. Thus, any attempts by the Pakistani representatives here to deny their role as accomplices in the armed incursions against Afghanistan are futile. They can persuade no one who has any respect for facts.

198. That Pakistan has placed its territory at the disposal of anti-Afghan mercenaries has been repeatedly reported by so-called free-lance journalists from the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany and other countries who accompanied bandits during their raids from the territory of Pakistan deep into Afghanistan.

199. Pakistan's involvement in hostile activities against Afghanistan, at the instigation of imperialists, hegemonists and other reactionaries, remains a well-established fact.

200. Equally well known are the facts regarding the provision of arms and ammunition to the counter-revolutionary bandits by some imperialist and other reactionary countries. The unambiguous revelation of that fact by the Heads of State of the culprit countries, of which delegations have full knowledge, leaves no room for further elaboration.

201. As regards the number of Afghans who are now living on the territory of Pakistan, it has been admitted in the reports from various sources, which are otherwise considered most reliable by the Pakistanis, that there has been an enormous exaggeration of their number. That exaggeration is due to the following factors. First, a great majority of the 2 million nomads who travel every year seasonally deep into the territory of the Pashtuns and Baluchis and beyond have been registered by Pakistani authorities as refugees. Secondly, in order to secure more assistance, the reported number of persons in the household of each refugee family is far higher than the actual number.

Thirdly, a considerable number of members of the local population who belong to the same tribal and ethnic groups residing on the other side of the frontier are also listed as refugees. Fourthly, during the past three years, since the beginning of the new phase of the revolution, a great number of Afghans have returned to their towns and villages but their names still remain on the list of those who are supposedly recipients of international assistance. Fifthly, fraud and embezzlement have reportedly resulted in the drawing of funds and material assistance through the registration of non-existent refugee families.

202. Those factors, together with some others, have been widely reported in the international media friendly to Pakistan. Even the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to whose report [A/37/12] the delegation of Pakistan made repeated references, borrows the number of refugees from the official records of the Government of Pakistan. Furthermore, all the counter-revolutionary bands and their dependents have, of course, been listed as refugees by the Pakistani authorities. The real number of bona fide refugees, therefore, is far less than is being claimed.

203. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has announced a general amnesty for all Afghans living abroad and has repeatedly called on them to return to their homeland and resume their normal peaceful life. That call has been responded to positively by a large number of them. The number returning would have been even greater if certain artificial barriers and obstacles had not been created by the counter-revolutionary armed bandits and the Pakistani authorities.

204. To attribute the serious political, economic and social problems of Pakistan to the revolutionary changes in Afghanistan is to make an assertion obviously for home consumption only. The people of Pakistan and all their political parties have already given their verdict against that false accusation.

205. It has also been repeatedly alleged that the position of Pakistan on this issue is based on a policy of non-interference, co-operation, conciliation and so on. One may ask whether this artificially heated debate is in line with that assertion. The answer is no. The real truth is that the Assembly is being abused in order to minimize the importance of real and fruitful negotiations in the midst of an orchestrated propaganda campaign. Let the attitude of the Pakistani delegation towards future peaceful negotiations determine the final judgement of their sincerity and good will.

206. New, revolutionary Afghanistan is strengthened and further consolidated despite the most cruel and bloody undeclared war. The attempts to overpower revolutionary Afghanistan by military force have proved futile, and the final eradication of the last band's hide-out on the sacred soil of Afghanistan is merely a matter of time. The revolution in Afghanistan is irreversible. Its strength and might stem from the firm support of the broadest masses of the population of Afghanistan and from the solidarity and internationalist support of the socialist community, the Soviet Union in the first place, and of all progressive and peace-loving forces and countries of the world.

207. We want peace on our own borders in order to concentrate on the implementation of the profound political, social and economic reforms to benefit the majority of our population. We are still looking forward to establishing friendly relations with our neighbours. We are convinced that political will and determination are the only things that are needed to resolve our disputes on the basis of the complete cessation and non-resumption of armed or other interference in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan reiterates, as it has done before, its readiness to attain a negotiated comprehensive settle-

ment and will spare no effort to advance in that direction.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 7th meeting, para. 28.*

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

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

⁴ *Bulletin of the European Communities, No. 6, 1981, para. 1.1.13.*