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at 10.55 a.m.

**NEW YORK**

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

*Address by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou,  
President of the Republic of Cyprus*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): This morning the Assembly will hear a statement by the President of the Republic of Cyprus.

2. The representative of Turkey wishes to speak on a point of order.

3. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): This is the first time a speaker has twice during the same session addressed the General Assembly as a Head of State. Turkey does not accept this practice and considers that it should not constitute a precedent, particularly since the person who has asked to be allowed to speak is not the Head of the State whose allegiance he claims. At most, he is the President of the Greek Cypriot Administration.

4. The Cypriot Constitution and the agreements of 16 August 1960 established a bi-communal Republic. That Constitution was signed both by the representatives of the Turkish Cypriot community and by the representatives of the Greek Cypriot community. Towards the end of 1963, the Greek Cypriot community sought unilaterally to amend the Basic Articles of that Constitution, which are governed by one of the same Basic Articles, despite the fact that another Basic Article stipulates that they cannot be amended. Moreover, the state of affairs established by the Basic Articles of the Constitution is guaranteed by a treaty to which Cyprus, Greece, the United Kingdom and Turkey are contracting parties. Furthermore, one of the same Basic Articles declares that the Treaty of Guarantee of 16 August 1960<sup>1</sup> is an integral part of the Cypriot Constitution of 1960.

5. The so-called amendments of 1963 are, therefore, contrary not only to the Constitution but also to the Treaty of Guarantee. The Basic Articles of the 1960 Constitution are not part of the domain reserved to the Republic of Cyprus; they are at the same time rules of international law. Thus, the so-called amendments of 1963 constitute a *coup d'état* against the constitutional order of the Republic of Cyprus; and at the same time they constitute a serious violation of international law that is the only real cause of the Cypriot problem.

6. By that *coup d'état*, the Turkish Cypriot community was deprived of its rights as co-founder of the Republic, and its representatives were turned out of all the seats allocated to them under the 1960 Constitution in the legislative, executive and jurisdictional bodies of the Republic, for the sole benefit of the Greek Cypriot community.

7. The person who today claims to speak on behalf of the Republic of Cyprus symbolizes that act of usurpation of the rights of the Turkish Cypriot community. Allowing such a usurper to speak from the rostrum of the General Assembly is an unacceptable act, trampling under foot principles as sacred as that of the superiority

of the rule of law and that of the inviolability of international treaties.

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The statement by the representative of Turkey will appear in the verbatim record of this meeting.

9. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

10. Mr. KYPRIANOU: I am grateful for the privilege, which I understand is without precedent, of addressing the General Assembly at the same session twice. But the abominable crime committed against Cyprus, which compels me to appear before you for the second time in less than two months, is also without parallel precedent.

11. The Republic of Cyprus, a small State Member of the United Nations, a victim of aggression and occupation by a militarily powerful neighbour, Turkey, is now facing an attempted secession and dismemberment. The whole world has been shocked by the illegal and immoral act of the Turkish Cypriot leadership and the Turkish Government. The bogus entity set up by Turkey in the occupied area has, naturally, legally no territory except the territory controlled by the Turkish occupation troops. It is therefore the offspring of aggression and the result of a continuing criminality against my country and our people. The purported declaration of independence of the occupied part of Cyprus has been universally condemned, but this is not enough in view of the perpetrators' habit of systematically ignoring the expressed will of the international community and continuing unchecked their plans against our country, exploiting to the full the lack of effective action by the United Nations.

12. I felt that it was my duty not only towards my country, which is struggling for its very survival, but also towards the United Nations, whose very *raison d'être* is being so provocatively challenged, to appear today before you and appeal to you from this rostrum to act quickly and effectively, both collectively and individually, for the reversal and complete neutralization of this new Turkish attempt to destroy the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. I appeal to all of you to stand firmly on our side, on the side of freedom and justice, at this most crucial period in the entire history of Cyprus.

13. I appeal to you all to reject in practice, and not in theory alone, the law of the jungle and to enforce the rule of law and the principles of the United Nations as enshrined in its Charter and enunciated in its resolutions. I appeal to all of you to do everything within your power to save Cyprus and, at the same time, the cause of the United Nations and of humanity. I appeal to all of you not to confine yourselves merely to condemning this crime, but to act decisively to redress the situation and restore the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. I ask you all to consider seriously what might happen one day to your own countries if, through tolerance and lack of decisiveness, you permit the creation of such a terrible precedent.

14. I declare solemnly before you today that under no circumstances shall we accept this attempted *fait accompli*, or indeed any other *faits accomplis*. While, as should be expected in the light of the latest Turkish attempt at secession, we are forced to re-examine at least certain aspects of our position, we shall continue our struggle unceasingly and resolutely until Cyprus is reunited in conditions of complete freedom and until we ensure the restoration of the inalienable rights of our people.

15. It is not my intention today to deal with the various aspects of the Cyprus problem, of which all Members of this Assembly are well aware. I shall confine myself to the present situation.

16. The Security Council, in resolution 541 (1983) of 18 November 1983, has already deplored in unequivocal terms the declaration purporting to establish the so-called Turkish Republic of Cyprus and declared it "legally invalid". The Council has also called upon all States to refrain from any recognition of this illegal entity and has demanded the reversal of this illegal act. The only country which recognized it is Turkey, the guarantor of the 1960 Constitution of Cyprus, of which I am sure you have heard, which, *inter alia*, ensures the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and also in connection with which there is a Treaty of Guarantee<sup>1</sup> under which Turkey, in addition to Greece and the United Kingdom, solemnly undertook to respect the sovereignty and unity of the Republic of Cyprus; and you have perhaps the greatest deceit of all times: a country involved in the 1960 Constitution and yet destroying it. I take this opportunity to call upon Turkey and other guarantor Powers to take action in accordance with the Treaty of Guarantee to restore the 1960 Constitution and the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus as provided for in the 1960 Constitution, and this is an official open challenge.

17. As I said, the only country that recognized it, the country that undertook to guarantee the unity of Cyprus, the country that recognized the secession, is Turkey, the country which through its aggression against Cyprus in 1974 and its continued occupation of 37 per cent of our territory, has been systematically pursuing, by uprooting the population from their homes and lands, by implanting settlers from Turkey in the homes and lands of those expelled, by usurping properties, by other illegal and immoral acts of which you are well aware, is systematically pursuing its policy of changing the demographic character and structure of the occupied area. Why? To further its long-standing partitionist plans, which it is now finally attempting to finalize and legalize. And there is no sign—indeed, that is clear even today—up to now, up to this moment, of any intention on the part of Turkey to reconsider its stand, despite the international outcry and the mandatory nature of the Security Council's resolutions. The whole world is at fault except Turkey. The whole world sees the situation in the wrong way except Turkey.

18. It is therefore, I submit, imperative to start considering what must be done next in order to ensure the reversal and neutralization of this illegal act. The international community should both collectively and individually start examining specific measures for the reversal of this act and for precluding the creation of a highly dangerous precedent for most of the countries of the world—including Turkey, in the final analysis—because if the arguments used by the Turkish Cypriot leadership and Turkey to justify this act, namely, the invoking of separate self-determination for ethnic communities or groups within the boundaries of independent and sovereign States, were to be endorsed, a great number of Members of this

Organization would run the danger of fragmentation and dismemberment.

19. It is our intention to request the General Assembly to deal with the situation in the course of its present session, or at a resumed session as early as developments would require, in order to consider, *inter alia*, what specific measures the General Assembly would propose to the Security Council for adoption if Turkey continues to disregard the mandatory resolution of the Security Council of 18 November.

20. It is significant to note that Turkey lost no time in recognizing the illegal régime in the occupied area, and by so doing it proved its total disregard not only for international law and for the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations, but also, by instigating, supporting and recognizing the purported secession, it violated, as I mentioned earlier, the provisions of the Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus<sup>2</sup> and the Treaty of Guarantee to which it is a party. Turkey also violated the Helsinki Final Act<sup>3</sup> which it solemnly undertook, at the highest political level, to uphold and apply.

21. Turkey, through its invasion of Cyprus in 1974, its continuing occupation since then, and now with the purported proclamation of independence and secession, is guilty of international aggression, both direct and indirect, of attacks against the unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus, of violation of its frontiers and of interference in its internal affairs. Turkey has already also been found guilty of the systematic violation of the human rights of the people of Cyprus.

22. Turkey is furthermore guilty of acts seriously threatening international peace and security. The arbitrary and provocative attitude of Turkey towards Cyprus has implications extending beyond the confines of our country, and no one should make any mistake about this. Turkey challenges the credibility of the United Nations, jeopardizes its usefulness and poses a threat to its very existence.

23. I consider it to be the duty of the international community as here represented to take all required steps in order effectively to respond to this challenge of Turkey, first, by bringing pressure to bear, particularly on Turkey, for the withdrawal of the secessionist declaration; secondly, by endorsing the call of the Security Council upon all States to refrain from recognition of this illegal entity which is no different from but, in fact, emulates, Ian Smith's Rhodesia and the like; thirdly, by calling on Turkey in particular to rescind its own solitary recognition or face consequences; fourthly, by demanding the unconditional withdrawal of the Turkish occupation troops; fifthly, by demanding the implementation of all Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on Cyprus; sixthly, by demanding respect for the unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; seventhly, by recommending appropriate action, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, consequent upon the declaration by the Security Council of the secessionist act as null and void and of no effect whatsoever; and, eighthly, by bringing home to those responsible for this unacceptable state of affairs the fact that, with their illegal act, they have sabotaged all efforts for a peaceful settlement.

24. In the circumstances I am, I believe, entitled to expect that all the countries represented in this body and all the organs of the United Nations—the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretary-General—conscious of their historic responsibility, shall live up to the exigencies of the escalating tragic situation that has befallen Cyprus, an equal Member of the United Nations,

and leave nothing undone for its survival and vindication. For this, you shall all have our gratitude.

25. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Cyprus for the important statement he has just made.

## AGENDA ITEM 29

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

26. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): A year ago, as in previous years, the General Assembly, in resolution 37/37 of 29 November 1982, called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and addressed an appeal to all countries involved to proceed urgently to a political solution; an appeal was also made to alleviate the plight of Afghan refugees.

27. Some steps have been undertaken, but the crisis in and around Afghanistan continues unabated. It is increasing tension in that region and it has negative implications for the state of peace and security in the world.

28. We cannot but conclude once again that the illusion still prevails that problems of this kind can be solved by force. It is clear again this year that there can be only a political solution on the basis of the United Nations resolutions and on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

29. The demand for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the call for a political solution is based on the fundamental principles of the Charter, is contained in the decisions of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983 [*see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, paras. 114-115*] and is the substance of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States contained in General Assembly resolution 36/103 of 9 December 1981. There are in many parts of the world ever more frequent cases of use of force against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries, particularly the non-aligned countries. Those cases are a product of and a testimony to the intensified bloc rivalry and attempts at expansion of domination and influence of the stronger over the weaker. There are manifold attempts to justify and explain the use of military force by what is called security reasons, what is called vital interests, or just by disagreement with the political system of a country which is the object of foreign intervention and foreign interference.

30. We note a dangerous increase of the unilateral use of force, for so-called security reasons, vital interests, or the acceptability of a political and economic system in any given country. In this unending chain of the use of force and of intervention, we see a dangerous development that is pushing the world towards a larger conflagration.

31. We would like to repeat here once again that the encroachment upon the freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any independent State, wherever it may be located, is unacceptable regardless of all pretexts and attempts at justification. There is no acceptable excuse for intervention and interference, be it on whatever continent or region, or anywhere in the world.

32. Arbitrary violation of the inalienable right of every people and country to be independent and freely to decide its destiny and way of life is impermissible. The denial of that right leads to the undermining of the basic values

of the Charter of the United Nations and tends to reduce international relations to relations between the weaker and the stronger. Such an approach is short-sighted and, in the final analysis, it runs counter to the interests of all, including those practising it.

33. The United Nations needs a consistent respect for the freedom and independence of every people and every State regardless of its dimensions, social or political system, or geographic location. We of Yugoslavia have always resolutely defended that principle and will continue to do so in all situations and in any part of the world.

34. The decisions and recommendations of the United Nations on the issue of Afghanistan have one salient point, and that is to provide the conditions that would enable the people of Afghanistan freely to decide on its national and social development and on its own destiny, and the conditions that would lead to the solution of a very serious problem of Afghan refugees.

35. We believe that the United Nations and the Secretary-General should maintain the initiative and continue making efforts to achieve the political solution of the Afghan crisis on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

36. We are encouraged by the discussions held so far between the involved parties, with the valuable and constructive contribution of the Secretary-General. We welcome further involvement of the Secretary-General. In his intensified mediating efforts, we see the way for achieving a political solution to the crisis, based on the principles of the Charter. This endeavour, however, demands a constructive and responsible approach by all involved parties, even more so since the termination of the crisis on the basis of the resolutions of the General Assembly would constitute an immense contribution to peace and stability in the region and in the world at large.

37. The non-aligned countries, at the New Delhi Conference, expressed their deep concern over the situation in South-West Asia. They stressed the gravity of its implications for peace and stability in the region and underlined their particular concern over the situation in Afghanistan. The concern of the non-aligned countries stems from their assessment that the crisis in and around Afghanistan is directly threatening the principle of independence and sovereignty. Respect for and defence of these principles have been and still are the basis of the policy of non-alignment, and that is one of the major elements of this policy that made it a global and independent force.

38. The non-aligned countries are proceeding from the fact that independence and sovereignty are the only possible basis for the promotion of new and more just relations in the world.

39. The Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, therefore, repeated the urgent demand stressed at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi from 9 to 13 February 1981.<sup>4</sup> That Conference called for a political solution based on the withdrawal of foreign troops and respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, and for consistent adherence to the principles of non-intervention and non-interference.

40. The Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries once again reaffirmed the right of Afghan refugees to a safe and dignified return to their homes, and demanded an immediate solution of this immense humanitarian problem. They particularly demanded such a solution which would ensure that the

people of Afghanistan could freely and without foreign interference decide upon their own destiny.

41. This time, again, Yugoslavia endorses the position adopted by the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and will therefore vote in favour of draft resolution A/38/L.17. We believe that the draft resolution offers a realistic and necessary framework for the political solution of this important problem.

42. Mr. RAMACHANDRAN (India): The situation in and around Afghanistan has been engaging international attention for several years. We have seen much polemics, much rhetoric and many resolutions both here and elsewhere. And yet none of this has made any impact on the situation. They have not brought concrete action to find a comprehensive political solution any nearer; far from it, ideas and suggestions in this direction are just beginning to be explored and glimmerings of some progress are just becoming perceptible.

43. What have we achieved by acrimonious debate on this question? The ritualistic declarations over the years have not really brought us any nearer to a solution. The only result has been that there has been perhaps a greater inflexibility of position and lack of realism in attitudes, further frustrating any constructive efforts aimed at defusing the situation and initiating dialogue. Clearly, this present debate may well prove counter-productive unless it contributes to a greater understanding of the complexity of the problem and encourages the parties concerned to avoid further aggravation of the situation, or its exploitation for ulterior motives.

44. A non-aligned nation has been subjected to intervention and interference and there has been an induction of foreign forces. The tragedy lies in the fact that, instead of seeking to address the issues squarely with a view to preserving the sovereignty and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, certain outside Powers have enmeshed themselves in the dangerous web of international power play, based on outmoded doctrines of confrontation, and that the people of Afghanistan are being treated as pawns in this terrible game. Cold-war posturing has served only to aggravate tension and instability in the region and to give the problem an even larger and more dangerous dimension. As a result, the focus of attention has shifted from the search for an immediate remedy for the ills of the area to the complicated stratagems of containment stemming from ideologies and theories of balance.

45. For India, the situation in our neighbourhood has been a matter of particular anxiety. We have special reason to be concerned, as we are vitally interested in the security, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of this friendly neighbour. Both India and Afghanistan are founder members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The friendship between our two peoples has its roots in history, in geopolitics, in culture and in commerce. Our concern over the developments affecting Afghanistan and the region as a whole originates from the fact that our security and national interests are vitally affected by developments that impinge on the security of our neighbours in the sub-continent. The existing situation could serve as a pretext for those who wish to create further instability in the area. It could also lead to the depletion of the economic resources of the countries of the region—a development which none of them could possibly afford to welcome.

46. The Government of India has repeatedly stated that we are uncompromisingly opposed to the presence of foreign troops on any soil. Nor for that matter do we—or can we—approve of any other type of interference in any country. The people of Afghanistan are the inheritors

of an ancient civilization, which has made courage and self-respect the hallmark of Afghan nationalism. The Afghan people should be left to themselves to pursue the path of progress suited to their own genius, so that they can contribute effectively to the security and prosperity of their country and the region as a whole.

47. India's voice has been raised consistently in favour of moderation. We have persistently and consistently stressed the need to prevent the escalation of tensions in South-West Asia and to take all action to defuse them. We shall achieve nothing by confrontationist attitudes or policies. We shall achieve nothing by sitting in judgement or apportioning blame. What we most urgently need to do is to work for the evolution of a political solution based on a dialogue between the parties directly involved, whose co-operation is essential to prevent the situation from escalating. Such an approach should look towards an eventual settlement taking into account all factors relevant to the present situation. Above all, such a political solution should be based on certain commonly acceptable elements, of which the most important are the complete cessation of all interference and intervention in the internal affairs of States, opposition to the presence of foreign troops in any country, and the furnishing of reliable and complete guarantees against all forms of interference.

48. The Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, at their Seventh Conference, held in New Delhi in March 1983 [*ibid.*], agreed that the situation in South-West Asia carried dangerous consequences for the peace and stability of the region. While reviewing the situation, they reiterated their support for a political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference. They urged all concerned to work towards such a settlement, which would ensure that the Afghan people would determine their own destiny free from outside interference, and would enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes.

49. The Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries also expressed their appreciation of the sincere efforts made in the search for a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan, and extended their support to the constructive steps taken in that regard by the Secretary-General. They regarded the discussions through the intermediary of the Secretary-General as a step in the right direction and urged their continuation with a view to promoting an early political settlement of the problem in conformity with the ideas and principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. They called on all States to exercise restraint to avoid further endangering the peace and security of the region and to take such steps as would lead to the creation of conditions conducive to stable and harmonious relations among the States of the region, based on the Non-Aligned Movement's principles of peaceful co-existence, respect for sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity, and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. The consensus on South-West Asia adopted by the summit Conference continues to remain valid and provides the guidelines for action.

50. My delegation noted with satisfaction last autumn that the discussions of the Secretary-General himself, and his personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, had led to the definition of the content and scope of the issues to be considered, namely, 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. We are pleased to note that the discussions have made further progress this year. In his report, the Secretary-General says:

"That valuable and indispensable work has been accomplished during the period covered by this report is beyond question. For, given the difficulties encountered in setting in motion the diplomatic process, it has undoubtedly gone a long way towards the achievement of a fair and lasting political solution. This has proved possible, in the main, because all concerned have remained firmly determined to work in good faith in the progressive development of a comprehensive settlement which would effectively resolve all the issues involved. I am also encouraged by the increasingly broad support that these efforts have received from the members of the international community." [A/38/449, para. 11.]

51. At the same time, we note the deep and urgent concern expressed by the Secretary-General about the slow pace of the negotiations, particularly in the light of his conviction that the diplomatic process has moved in the right direction and that a settlement is possible on the basis of what has already been accomplished. Notwithstanding differences and difficulties which persist, we trust that all concerned will demonstrate a strong and sincere disposition to reach, through negotiations, a comprehensive settlement which would lay the foundation for the promotion of good-neighbourly relations and co-operation among the States in the area and for strengthening international peace and security in the region.

52. My delegation has examined draft resolution A/38/L.17. Much to our disappointment, this draft resolution is more or less along earlier lines. The sponsors have desired to emphasize, as in previous years, only one aspect of the comprehensive solution, while ignoring others which are equally important and worthy of serious consideration. The adoption of such a one-sided resolution may again prove counter-productive. My delegation, therefore, would not be in a position to support the present draft resolution.

53. We believe that the only solution to this problem lies in following a policy of restraint and moderation and pursuing a comprehensive approach. The prospect for a satisfactory solution lies in the success of the Secretary-General's efforts. We wish him success.

54. Mr. FERM (Sweden): Respect for international law is an important component of international security. For the security of small and medium-sized States, respect for international law is essential, the more so if the smaller State is the neighbour of an overwhelmingly stronger Power.

55. A fundamental principle of international law is expressed in Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

56. May I point out that the principle thus expressed is not subject to contextual interpretation but is absolute. My Government views as highly dangerous any act committed by any State in contravention of that principle. Sweden has consistently spoken up in condemnation of such acts that, regrettably, have become more and more frequent. The Secretary-General warned in his report last year on the work of the Organization of a new

international anarchy. Each instance of the use of force in international relations in violation of the Charter contributes to the growth of such an anarchy. So does each violation of the borders and territorial waters of States. We have witnessed in recent years what seem to be frequent instances of disrespect for the territorial integrity of others. If this continues there will be an erosion of the sanctity of international legal principles which in the end will have serious consequences, not only for the small and weak States, but also for the major military Powers.

57. It is especially dangerous when the violator of international law is a permanent member of the Security Council: the Charter of the United Nations gives to the permanent members of the Security Council a position of great responsibility when it comes to upholding the principles of the Charter as they relate to international peace and security. When a permanent member openly disregards those principles, it strikes a damaging blow at the very foundation of the structure of international law.

58. The Soviet Union, a Power with an overwhelming military might, has invaded a neighbour, a small and weak State. For four years, the Soviet Union has tried to subdue the people of Afghanistan with the force of its arms, an undertaking which has brought immense suffering to the civilian population of that country.

59. This is a flagrant example of the abuse by a stronger Power of its military superiority in order to impose on a weak neighbour a régime or political system of the stronger Power's choice.

60. In addition, this invasion has been one of the main events which over the last few years have caused the deterioration of international relations to a point which is frightening to all of us.

61. The Swedish Government condemns, as it has from the beginning, the armed intervention by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. The resolutions adopted over the years by the General Assembly identify the elements that are necessary for a just solution. Above all, the right of the Afghan people to determine its own form of government must be respected, all foreign forces must be withdrawn and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan must be upheld. The millions of Afghan refugees must be enabled to return to their homes in safety and honour.

62. The most promising practical approach for the attainment of a political solution along the lines that have been drawn up by the Assembly is represented by the diplomatic process initiated by the Secretary-General. The past year has seen some progress in those efforts. However, as the report of the Secretary-General indicates [A/38/449], crucial difficulties remain to be resolved. Sweden fully supports the efforts by the Secretary-General. My Government urges those concerned, including, notably, the Government of the Soviet Union, to make use of the opportunity afforded by this diplomatic process. The alternative is continued bloodshed, continued destruction and the continued exile of possibly a quarter of the entire population of Afghanistan.

63. May I reiterate in this context my Government's appreciation of the humanitarian assistance work carried out by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, WFP and several other agencies and non-governmental organizations. Continued large-scale assistance from the international community remains necessary in order to give relief to this very large refugee population and in order to ease the burden on Pakistan, which has already shown great generosity in admitting and assisting these refugees.

64. Mr. van WELL (Federal Republic of Germany): The representative of Greece has 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 [64th meeting].

65. The Afghanistan conflict remains a test case for the United Nations and its ability to fulfil its main function under the Charter, which is to maintain international peace and security.

66. It is of particular gravity because it involves, on the one hand, a permanent member of the Security Council which bears, under the Charter, special responsibility for international peace and security and, on the other, a small, peace-loving and non-aligned country, which never in its history has threatened the Soviet Union.

67. The German and the Afghan peoples have had close, traditional bonds of friendship. Co-operation between our two peoples in education, training, science, industry and agriculture is still remembered. That is one of the reasons why many Afghans have sought refuge in my country.

68. The Federal Republic of Germany has strong ties with Pakistan, the country which—as a result of the war in Afghanistan—is carrying a heavy burden of tension along its border, of economic hardship, of humanitarian assistance for the refugees and of international responsibility.

69. Four years of bloody warfare and occupation by more than 100,000 Soviet troops have not subdued and silenced the proud and independent Afghan people. Its resistance against foreign occupation and domination has become even more determined. Soviet bomb and mortar attacks on towns and villages do not appear to have destroyed morale as the Soviets had hoped; instead, they have stiffened the determination of the resistance, which is increasingly active even in Kabul, the capital.

70. Soviet plans for Afghanistan, thus, have been thwarted, both politically and economically, but especially on the military front. Yet there are no signs of a change in Soviet behaviour. The Soviet Union is still pursuing a military solution to the problem.

71. Consequently, no end to the struggle between the Afghan people and the Soviet Union is in sight. The Soviet Union must recognize that it is faced with a choice between the continuation of its present strategy of aggression and illegal intervention and a political solution.

72. In the meantime, the tragic suffering of the Afghan people continues. It finds its most visible expression in the unending flow of refugees from Afghanistan into neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. Providing them with food, shelter and security places a great strain on the resources of those countries. We appreciate the sacrifices which both countries are making in extending their help to a sorely afflicted people.

73. As an expression of its solidarity with the Afghan people, the Federal Republic of Germany has made, and will continue to make, contributions towards alleviating the suffering of these people and easing the burden on the host countries. We reject all attempts to vilify this humanitarian aid.

74. We have followed with great interest the persevering efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative, Mr. Cordovez. We fully support the search for a political solution in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. We appreciate the efforts undertaken so far. Unfortunately, there has been no positive reaction from the Soviet Union to the decisive question which the Soviet Union has to answer in any

political settlement plan, namely, a clear and credible commitment to the complete withdrawal of its troops.

75. My delegation listened with appreciation to the important speech by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan on 21 November [*ibid.*]. That speech was a detailed and convincing account of Pakistan's determined efforts to contribute to a political solution for the Afghanistan conflict and of its resolve to continue the search despite the grievous lack of political will on the part of the Soviet Union.

76. We know how heavy the situation in Afghanistan weighs on the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Its integrity, determination and credibility are challenged. The efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to bring to an end Soviet occupation of one of their members have consistently found our support.

77. The Members of the United Nations are, therefore, again called upon to lend their full support to draft resolution A/38/L.17. The Soviet Union must be reminded that it has a substantial contribution to render towards improving international relations by renouncing the use of force both in Afghanistan and elsewhere.

78. If the pressure of world public opinion were to be reduced, if the world were to begin to forget or to lose interest in the valiant struggle of the Afghan people, the cause of freedom would suffer a serious set-back.

79. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization, states:

“The Charter of the United Nations clearly gives priority to dealing with threats to international peace and security and to the commitment of all nations, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, to co-operate within the framework of the United Nations towards this end. It is the weakening of this commitment that has, perhaps more than any other factor, led to the partial paralysis of the United Nations as the guardian of international peace and security.” [A/38/I, p. 1.]

80. Costa Rica shares the views clearly stated by the Secretary-General, particularly concerning the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council. As long as some permanent members of the Council arrogate to themselves the doubtful privilege of violating the principles of international law, refusing to listen to the clear call of the international community, the Organization will continue to be affected by partial paralysis and its credibility will be eroded, as the credibility of the great Powers is eroded when they place their own interests before the imperatives of law.

81. The debate on the situation in Afghanistan provides an occasion for the international community to demonstrate its concern for the fate of the Afghan people and to seek possible solutions to the tragedy that has been caused by foreign intervention. However, it must also provide an occasion for reflecting on the responsibilities that the peoples of the world have conferred on the United Nations and also on the hopes of the international community that the great Powers will behave responsibly.

82. The delegation of Costa Rica believes that it is through dialogue and negotiation that the United Nations can help to alleviate the suffering of the Afghan people. The efforts of the United Nations are in line with those proposed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. The resolutions adopted by them define the manner in which a solution to the problem of Afghanistan may be found.

My delegation welcomes the report of the Secretary-General and the work of his personal representative, Mr. Cordovez.

83. We regret the slowness of the so-called indirect conversations in Geneva. The machinery used does not seem to be appropriate, and the hesitancy of the parties to enter into direct negotiations leaves much to be desired. We are convinced that dialogue among the parties involved in the situation of Afghanistan should be speeded up and should be based on the fair proposals of the international community set forth in resolutions adopted by this Assembly. Any purported settlement of the Afghan crisis that seeks to set aside the guidelines so often reiterated will not be in accordance with justice or respect for law.

84. The passage of time does not affect the right of peoples to have their just claims satisfied. The four years that have passed since the intervention in Afghanistan do not make any more acceptable to the international community the reasons adduced to justify it or make more legitimate, in the eyes of the Afghan people and of the international community, the Government that emerged from foreign intervention. Nobody can rely on forgetfulness, resignation or the slow pace of diplomatic processes causing the international community no longer to support the Afghan people in their struggle for their identity and their rights.

85. We are sure that the tragedy of foreign intervention from which the people of Afghanistan are suffering will find a just solution only through a return to strict observance of the legal principles which protect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and right to self-determination of the Afghan nation.

86. Yesterday, the world remembered the assassination of President John F. Kennedy of the United States. The tragedy of foreign interventions similar to that experienced by the Afghan people and the efforts of the international community were the sort of thing that that President had in mind when he awoke fresh hopes by stating in this Hall on 25 September 1961, during the General Assembly's sixteenth session:

"Until all the powerful are just, the weak will be secure only in the strength of this Assembly.

"Terror is not a new weapon. Throughout history it has been used by those who could not prevail either by persuasion or by example. But inevitably they fail—either because men are not afraid to die for a life worth living, or because the terrorists themselves come to realize that free men cannot be frightened by threats and that aggression will meet its own response . . .

"If we all can persevere, if we can in every land and office look beyond our own shores and ambitions, then surely the age will dawn in which the strong are just and the weak secure, and the peace preserved."\* [1013th meeting, paras. 47, 96 and 98.]

87. Mr. TRUCCO (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Once again a matter that was included on the agenda of the General Assembly as a matter of urgency has begun to assume the status of a standing question. But we should not allow this to become a ritual exercise, lacking in meaning or seriousness.

88. Since 1979, the General Assembly has adopted many resolutions in which an enormous majority of Member States have called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, have called repeatedly for the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and self-determination of the Afghan people and have proclaimed the right of the Afghan refugees to return to their homeland.

The appeals made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and by the Organization of the Islamic Conference have had no more success. It may be gathered from this that the large majority of mankind has in various ways expressed the urgent need to put an end to the suffering of Afghanistan.

89. Reliable information has put the number of dead at more than 130,000 over the four years of sustained aggression in Afghanistan and at more than 4 million the number of Afghans who have had to take refuge in Pakistan or Iran, all of which gives the problem a human dimension of an exceptional nature. The death and suffering of millions of human beings has gone hand in hand with incalculable material damage. Half the schools, 50 per cent of the lines of communication and many other of the country's major facilities or installations have been destroyed.

90. The Soviet invasion, which has caused this human and material destruction, has brought in its wake regional insecurity and its after-effects are directly felt by other countries in the area. It is worth mentioning the specific instance of Pakistan, which has made praiseworthy efforts at a great economic sacrifice to shelter in its territory 5 million Afghan refugees, with consequences that can only be imagined. In an area which is politically unstable because of the action of the Soviet Union, and in an economically difficult period, Pakistan's effort arouses the admiration of the international community, as well as the increasing co-operation and solidarity of many Member States and international agencies. Only in this way can the enormous humanitarian task be carried through, a task that is so urgent at this time, when one of the great Powers is once again trampling under foot the basic norms of international law.

91. If we look carefully at the Secretary-General's report [A/38/449], we notice two things that my delegation feels it relevant to establish. First, the Secretary-General and his personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, have worked most commendably and intensively to bring about the implementation of the resolution on the question adopted by the General Assembly last year [*resolution 37/37*]. Secondly, despite the fact that the report indicates that the parties involved have co-operated with the Secretary-General and his personal representative, we are forced to conclude that it has not been possible to secure the withdrawal of the invading forces and a satisfactory settlement of the existing human problems.

92. Furthermore, there are things that cannot be denied. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has been partly responsible for the very serious deterioration in the international situation, which today is a matter of concern for mankind as a whole. The persistence of the Soviet Union in maintaining its invasion of Afghanistan gives us a good idea of that country's perception of the development of international policy. Jean-François Revel says with unanswerable logic that:

"Territorial imperialism is being renewed, is becoming stronger and seeks to justify itself, because the further the empire extends the more threatened it is and, consequently, the further it must expand in order to avoid new threats".

93. In invading Afghanistan, the Soviet Union will now automatically feel threatened by Pakistan, a country with which it formerly had no common border. This has been called the Soviet fear of encirclement, which Revel, in his book *How Democracies Perish*, describes as "the finest strategic farce of modern times".

\*Quoted in English by the speaker.

Mr. Bwakira (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

94. It is truly sad to see a great Power taking advantage of the almost passive attitude sometimes adopted by countries that should be taking positions more consistent with the ideals of peace and harmony they claim to support. Their timidity or ambivalence often serve to encourage or perpetuate actions whose final aim is the subjection of yet more countries and peoples.

95. My delegation once again reaffirms its condemnation of the occupation of Afghanistan and urges the international community to take resolute action to put an end to that flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. Similarly, it reaffirms the right of the Afghan people to decide freely its own destiny without any foreign tutelage and without the presence of foreign troops on its territory. Finally, we should like to pay a tribute of admiration and respect to the courageous and indomitable people of Afghanistan who, despite the sophisticated weaponry of the invaders, are fighting resolutely to drive them out.

96. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): Almost four years have elapsed since Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan. In spite of the weight of world opinion expressed through calls and appeals from the General Assembly, Soviet troops remain in that country. Nevertheless, the resolutions adopted by this Assembly during the past three years and the large majorities by which they have been adopted make it clear that the United Nations is not prepared to accept the situation created by the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan—nor are the Afghan people.

97. In spite of the heavy toll in lives and casualties, the will and spirit of the Afghan people remain unbroken. The Babrak Karmal régime, which the Soviet Union is trying to defend, has virtually no international credibility and appears to have no significant internal support. Faced with this deadlock, it is hardly surprising that the Soviet authorities should be weighing the merits of a change of tack. However, further talks between Pakistan and the Kabul authorities, first in April and then in June, ended on an ambiguous note. The Secretary-General's personal representative was able to report some further progress, but he seemed to subtract several percentage points from the 95 per cent complete agreement to which he had referred three months previously.

98. In reality, it seems that the talks had bogged down yet again over what has always been recognized as the main stumbling-block. Soviet withdrawal, it seems, can take place only if the so-called foreign interference in Afghanistan ceases, but since that foreign interference is a euphemism for local Afghan resistance to the Soviet Union's own interference, withdrawal, it seems, is out of the question.

99. What, then, can the international community do? Afghanistan simply cannot be left to continue to drift. The persistence of the present situation offers not only further suffering and savage assaults on Afghan society but also a continuing crisis in international relations.

100. In this sense, Afghanistan is not just a tragedy of a traditional and isolated people subjected to armed invasion by a large and powerful neighbour. Rather, it is to be seen as a test case for the future. The longer the Soviet Union refuses to respect the rights and aspirations of the people of Afghanistan the greater will be the suspicions about the global intentions of the Soviet Union.

101. Let us recall that it was the Soviet intervention and occupation of Afghanistan that did more than anything else to arrest the process of détente. Conversely, nothing might do more to restore a climate of international confidence than for the Soviet Union to accept a political solution in Afghanistan.

102. It follows that the international community must continue to support the efforts of the Secretary-General's personal representative in trying to bring about a fair and just settlement in Afghanistan. In fact, much has already been accomplished, at least on paper. The four elements earlier identified by Mr. Cordovez as a basis for a solution have been refined and elaborated. My own Government certainly sees talks sponsored by the United Nations as still offering the best way of achieving a settlement. We remain concerned, however, at indications that the Soviet Union might be seeking to turn its back on the United Nations process.

103. Accordingly, apart from these diplomatic efforts, which need to be encouraged, it is also in our view absolutely necessary to maintain the pressure of world public opinion against the Soviet intervention and occupation in order to persuade Moscow to come to the negotiating table. If the pressure of world public opinion were reduced, if the world were to begin to forget or lose interest in the valiant struggle of the Afghan people, then there would be less of an incentive for the Soviet Union to negotiate.

104. It is against this background that Australia approaches draft resolution A/38/L.17. We see it as reflecting the will of the world community. Last year, 114 States supported a similar resolution [*ibid.*], providing evidence that the international community was virtually unanimous in demanding the effective application of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations to the situation in Afghanistan. We hope that the present draft resolution will be adopted by a similar commanding majority.

105. In any event, the position of Australia is clear. We maintain our strong opposition to the continuing Soviet military intervention. We continue to withhold recognition from the Karmal régime. Our modest aid programme, which was suspended in January 1980, remains suspended. We cannot but be concerned that the Soviet Union has not only refused to heed the many calls for withdrawal but has actually increased its troop commitment.

106. The Charter of the United Nations gives the permanent members of the Security Council, like the Soviet Union, a position of great responsibility when it comes to upholding the principles of the Charter as they relate to international peace and security. When a permanent member of the Security Council disregards those principles, it strikes a damaging blow at the very foundations of this Organization and its ability to maintain and restore international peace and security. The need today is perhaps greater than ever before for a great Power like the Soviet Union to seek to strengthen rather than weaken by its actions the principles of the Charter.

107. The options available to the Soviet authorities are clear: they can continue their commitment of a large number of troops and the maintenance of a rigorous apparatus of oppression within Afghanistan, which would result in continued bloodshed and turmoil; or, they can follow the path towards a political settlement. This would require a Soviet disengagement, entailing withdrawal of troops, recognition of the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future without foreign interference and the creation of appropriate conditions for the return of the refugees.

108. My Government continues to hope that the Soviet Union can be induced to opt for the second of these courses.

109. We are convinced that the Soviet Union would have nothing to fear from an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. We see no reason why such an Afghanistan



would ever serve as a base of operations against the Soviet Union. We believe a settlement could be devised which takes into account the legitimate security interests of the Soviet Union.

110. Australia accordingly appeals to the Soviet authorities to give serious consideration to the positive benefits which could flow from disengagement in Afghanistan. We can think of few other events that would have a more dramatic impact on the present strained international political environment.

111. In conclusion, I should like to refer briefly to the refugee problem. This is one of the most tragic aspects of the Afghan situation. Iran provides shelter to hundreds of thousands of refugees, but it is Pakistan, which has received nearly 3 million Afghan refugees, which bears the brunt of this tragedy. I should like on behalf of the Australian Government to pay a special tribute to the people and Government of Pakistan for the way in which they have handled the problem, and to express our gratitude and admiration to the humanitarian relief organizations and, in particular, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

112. For its part, Australia has provided some \$23 million in humanitarian and relief aid to the refugees. It is our intention to continue to contribute substantially to the programmes of the High Commissioner to assist with the Afghan refugee problem. But the fundamental issue is not relief; it is the re-establishment of peace in Afghanistan through the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

113. Australia will therefore be supporting draft resolution A/38/L.17.

114. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): Respect for international law is an important element for the security of all States. It is more so if a smaller State is the neighbour of an overwhelmingly stronger Power. Disturbing evidence, however, keeps emerging to throw continued doubt on the sincerity of the stronger Powers in their professed commitment to the principle of the sovereign equality of States. This is the fourth year in which the regular session of the General Assembly has debated the situation in Afghanistan, a situation which has deeply shaken not only the peace and security of the region but international peace and security as well.

115. My delegation has consistently maintained that the continuing armed intervention in Afghanistan constitutes a serious violation of the principle that all Members of the United Nations shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. Moreover, the principle of self-determination of peoples, including the right to choose their own political and social system, and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States have been seriously infringed. Finally, the events in Afghanistan have also resulted in a refugee problem of considerable proportions which has been causing serious difficulties to the neighbouring States, particularly Pakistan.

116. There is another aspect of the situation in Afghanistan which has been the cause of serious concern. It has gravely disturbed the relations between the two major Powers and thus aggravated the international climate. Prospects for international co-operation which would enable us to concentrate jointly on urgent global problems have been impaired. In this atmosphere, renewed and determined efforts to find a political settlement of the Afghan question assumes greater urgency.

117. The basic elements of a political settlement include a reaffirmation and implementation of the fundamental principles which govern the orderly and peaceful conduct

of relations between States. Nepal has repeatedly stressed this principle over the past years. We can never accept justification for armed intervention in any part of the world and cannot condone situations created by armed intervention.

118. The political solution will have to be based on respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny without interference or imposition from outside. This would require an immediate withdrawal of foreign forces, guarantee of non-interference and a return of the refugees.

119. It is with appreciation that we note the efforts made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference to find a solution to the problem. As in the past, Nepal continues its firm support of the efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to achieve a negotiated political settlement in Afghanistan. In the face of difficulties encountered in setting the diplomatic negotiations in motion, the Secretary-General has made considerable headway. At the same time, however, my delegation shares his deep concern at the slow pace of negotiations and at the difficulties encountered in overcoming the obstacles. The continuing stalemate will further aggravate the tragic refugee problem that the situation has created. Only a negotiated political settlement can resolve the human and political aspects involved in the question. My delegation appeals to the parties concerned to co-operate in good faith with the Secretary-General and thus pave the way to a comprehensive settlement of the situation in Afghanistan.

120. With these considerations in view, Nepal has again become a sponsor of the draft resolution on this question [A/38/L.17]. We believe that it represents one more serious effort on the part of the United Nations to break the present impasse.

121. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): It is a matter of grave concern to my delegation that foreign military forces continue to occupy Afghanistan four years after the illegal invasion of the country, and that the attempt to subjugate its people is still being pursued with equal disregard for the welfare of the country, for human suffering, and for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

122. In our view, the question of Afghanistan is symbolic of much that is wrong with the world today. It certainly reflects the extent to which the hopes and ideals accepted at the founding of the United Nations have been brushed aside.

123. It is without doubt an ominous development when a permanent member of the Security Council, a State which bears a special responsibility for strengthening world peace and security, intervenes militarily in the affairs of a small, non-aligned State. The inalienable, sovereign right of every State to determine freely its political, social and economic systems must remain a cardinal principle of international law if the world community is to enjoy peace, stability, and progress.

124. The fierce resistance of the Afghan people illustrates without any shadow of a doubt their rejection of the foreign domination imposed upon them. Backed by few resources, besides courage and the determination to be free, they continue to defy the powerful forces and weapons of a super-Power.

125. The strong evidence of the use of chemical weapons against the Afghan freedom fighters adds to the inhumanity of the cruel war of oppression directed against them. The creation of a catastrophic refugee situation in Pakistan and other neighbouring countries is, of course,

another tragic outcome of the foreign military intervention in Afghanistan. The suffering of the 3 million people who have fled from tyranny and the perils of war is an unwelcome addition to the sum of human misery. As my country well knows, such situations place intolerable burdens on host countries and constitute serious set-backs to the development process.

126. My Government wishes to associate itself with past resolutions of the General Assembly, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which have all rejected the military intervention in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union has not responded to the universal demand for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan. We hope that the vast majority of Member States will join in exerting to the fullest the moral pressure of the General Assembly in order to achieve this end.

127. My delegation highly commends the Secretary-General and the Government of Pakistan for their efforts to promote a political solution through negotiation. We welcome the fact that there has been solid progress in the diplomatic process, and we hope that this process will continue in spite of the obstacles placed in its path. We believe that every possible avenue should be explored in the effort to end a situation which has escalated regional and international tensions and has seriously challenged the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

128. In our view, any political solution arrived at must be based on respect for the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Afghanistan. More specifically, there must be complete and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces, firm guarantees of non-interference in the internal affairs of the country, and arrangements made for the return of the refugees to their homes in safety and with honour.

129. In conclusion, I wish to pay tribute to the people of Afghanistan for their valiant struggle against foreign invasion. They deserve the strongest material, moral and political support of the international community.

130. Mr. HUCKE (German Democratic Republic): The delegation of the German Democratic Republic has to state, with much regret, that, in violation of the most elementary norms and principles of international law, the United Nations is once again being misused to deal with the so-called question of Afghanistan.

131. The inclusion of this item in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly is a vivid expression of the efforts undertaken by imperialist and other reactionary circles to continue to infringe the sovereign rights of a State Member of this Organization. The consideration of that question completely opposes the rights and duties of States enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It violates, above all, the letter and spirit of Article 2, paragraph 7.

132. As has also been done by many other delegations, the German Democratic Republic repeatedly and resolutely condemned any misuse of the United Nations for interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Debates held in the past have demonstrated that they in no way contribute to the improvement of the situation in South-West Asia. On the contrary, they bring an additional strain to the already existing complicated situation in the region. Every experience has shown that such debates rather constitute an instrument of cold war and confrontation than that of finding a political solution to the problems prevailing there.

133. When the German Democratic Republic, nevertheless, participates in the debate, it is above all for the reason of advocating the protection of and respect for the sovereign rights of a friendly State, as well as to support the efforts undertaken by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and other progressive forces to bring the situation in South-West Asia back to normalcy.

134. When the Afghan people made the decision five years ago to start the construction of a new society, it implemented its legitimate right to determine its political status and to shape its economic, social and cultural development on its own. The Afghan people and Government are at present focusing their attention on overcoming the heavy burden left from the time of imperialist plundering and the consequences of internal acts of terror. No one who objectively considers the situation can ignore the impressive successes achieved in the solution of serious economic and social issues in an historically short period of time. The living conditions for broad sections of the population have changed fundamentally.

135. No kind of vicious propaganda whatsoever can make the fact disappear, by means of lies, that the situation in Afghanistan is being further consolidated.

136. The difference between information persistently disseminated by imperialist news agencies about "victories" of their counter-revolutionary protégés, and the actual facts in Afghanistan, becomes wider day by day. When the counter-revolutionary forces have not yet finally been defeated, and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan still has to make use of the assistance rendered in solidarity by the Soviet Union, it is above all due to the fact that the United States and other countries have considerably increased their interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan in the form of arms supplies and other kinds of aid provided to the terrorist gangs stationed abroad.

137. Through all means available, they intend to continue to wage their undeclared war against Afghanistan, which occupies an important place in their world-wide policy of exacerbating the international situation. As was proved by several delegations in their statements in the present debate, those forces also make every attempt to continue to misuse the United Nations as a cover for their activities, in contravention of international law, assigned to bolster the counter-revolutionary forces. This fact is once again reflected in draft resolution A/38/L.17 and therefore my delegation will not be able to vote for it and will vote against it.

138. All States Members of the United Nations that are interested in peace and world-wide security should be aware of the fact that it is the same forces which, on the one hand, demagogically try to impose their policy upon others from this rostrum that, on the other hand, stir up tensions in many parts of the world, including activities against the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

139. Those forces closely co-operate with expansionist Israel, racist South Africa and the military régimes in Central and South America, and thereby advocate disregard for United Nations resolutions on the situation in the Middle East and the question of Namibia. They obstruct all efforts aimed at the achievement of results in arms limitation and disarmament. They are the ones who trample upon the right to self-determination of the people of Grenada. So what makes them feel free to disregard the sovereign rights of the people of Afghanistan? It is becoming ever more obvious that the misuse of the so-called question of Afghanistan will distract attention from the really pressing problems of mankind,

such as the maintenance of peace and the economic and social development of States.

140. The German Democratic Republic holds the view that recognition of and respect for the sovereignty of States, as well as non-interference in their internal affairs, is a decisive pre-condition for the strengthening of peace and international security not only in South-West Asia but in all regions of the globe. There is no doubt about it; as long as the interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan continues, there can be no guarantee of peaceful and undisturbed development in South-West Asia.

141. Any improvement of the situation in this particular region requires the immediate cessation of such interference, as well as the taking into account of the irreversible realities and legitimate interests of all States and peoples in South-West Asia. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has demonstrated on several occasions its readiness—despite the stepped-up imperialist campaign of defamation and the undeclared war being waged against it—to act in compliance with these norms and to establish friendly relations with all States. Those relations must be based, however, on the internationally recognized principles of equality, mutual respect, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. This constructive peace policy is greatly appreciated by the German Democratic Republic. In particular, the peace initiatives launched by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 15 May 1980<sup>5</sup> and 24 August 1981<sup>6</sup> have our full approval.

142. The proposals we have at hand offer the possibility of achieving a comprehensive political solution to the problems existing in South-West Asia. They contain all the elements and starting-points to bring development in the region back to common sense and political realism. The peoples expect the United Nations to undertake efforts in this direction and to make a constructive contribution to promoting understanding and to reducing tensions in South-West Asia. In this connection, the process of conducting a political dialogue between the States directly involved, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan, initiated through the good offices of the Secretary-General, must be seen as a step in the right direction. Such negotiations open up wide perspectives for a political settlement of the existing problems. What matters now is to promote this process and to prevent anything that might have a negative impact on it. At the same time, we should like to express the view that the most effective and the shortest way to achieve a solution of the problems would be for both sides involved to enter into direct negotiations.

143. We know very well from our own experience what sacrifices have to be made to enable social progress to be victorious over the resistance put up by imperialism. The successes won by the Afghan people in consolidating and expanding the achievements of the April 1978 revolution, as well as the persistently growing international recognition of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, confirm our opinion that nobody will succeed in turning back the wheel of history.

144. The people and Government of the German Democratic Republic follow with great interest and sympathy the developments in Afghanistan. We can proudly say that the relations between our two States and peoples are successfully developing along the lines of the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation that was concluded last year. We should also like to take this opportunity to assure the people of Afghanistan of the active solidarity of the German Democratic Republic in their sacrifice in

the struggle against imperialism and interference in the internal affairs of that country.

145. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly has had the present item on its agenda for four successive years now, and my delegation, with some other delegations, has each time challenged its inclusion in the Assembly's agenda, for it believes that under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations, Members of the Organization have no right to interfere in the internal affairs of another Member.

146. In this case, the internal affairs of Afghanistan only concern the people and Government of Afghanistan. What has occurred in Afghanistan since the victory of the democratic national revolution of the Afghan people in April 1978 has been eloquently explained by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session; several previous speakers have brought it to the attention of the Assembly during this debate.

147. Therefore I shall refrain from dwelling on it. What we can say is that the political, economic, social and cultural changes that have occurred in the country—changes which are very favourable and very beneficial to the bulk of the population, such as land reform, the abolition of the vestiges of feudalism, the struggle against illiteracy and obscurantism, and so on—were not to the liking of certain categories of people who were jealous of and nostalgic for the privileges they had unjustly acquired under the former régime—people such as the feudal lords and large landowners—as well as the imperialists and the international and regional reactionaries who, each making use of the other, seek to sabotage the work of building a new society for the Afghan people by waging an undeclared war against them which is clearly aimed at stifling the Afghan revolution.

148. These hostile activities took place well before December 1979. In his statement yesterday morning [66th meeting], the representative of Afghanistan gave a very detailed description of this. In fact, it was the activities of sabotage pursued by those in imperialist and reactionary circles against Afghanistan from the territory of one of its neighbours that was the source of tension in the region. The presence of the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan from December 1979, at the request of its Government under the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Co-operation of 1978, is precisely designed to confront those hostile activities and to assist the Afghan people to preserve the gains of the April 1978 revolution.

149. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has stated many times that the Soviet military presence is not a threat to any neighbouring country—the facts of the situation over the last three years provide abundant proof of this—and that it is prepared to put an end to it once it has the guarantee that subversive activities from outside against it and its people will not be resumed.

150. In a desire to put an end to a situation of tension surrounding Afghanistan and to normalize its relations with its neighbours, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan made a number of proposals to them on 15 May 1980<sup>5</sup> and 24 August 1981,<sup>6</sup> one of which particularly stressed the conclusion of agreements on the prohibition of all hostile activities from the territory of one State against another. These proposals, which were reasonable and realistic and based on mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and good-neighbourliness, were rejected by those neighbours.

151. Furthermore, those detractors referred to the presence of Afghan refugees in neighbouring countries and demanded the establishment of the necessary conditions for the voluntary return of those refugees to their homes in full security and in honour.

152. In this connection, the Afghan Government declared, within the framework of a general amnesty promulgated on 18 June 1981,<sup>7</sup> that it would guarantee the Afghans temporarily living in Pakistan and Iran immunity and freedom to return to their homes and, moreover, that it would guarantee them security, free choice of domicile and all the conditions that would enable them to participate in the economic and political life of the country. What, therefore, is the obstacle?

153. The answer to this question seems to be contained in what was said by a certain Colonel Lansdale, chief of operations of the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] in several Asian countries, in a memorandum to be found in the Pentagon papers. He said that one of the manoeuvres of the CIA—and of its local clients which supported the old régime—to destabilize the new progressive régimes was to provoke the flow of refugees in order to bleed the country dry and depopulate it. Afghanistan, like some other progressive countries in South-East Asia, is certainly a victim of this manoeuvre.

154. Furthermore, this exodus of refugees has been exploited financially, economically and politically by those circles. Some host countries, in order to divert the attention of public opinion from their internal political and social problems, have a vested interest in artificially provoking or creating a refugee problem, while shedding crocodile tears over their plight. Hence it is not surprising that they should pass over in silence the assurances given to those refugees by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. We cannot help, therefore, questioning their sincerity about finding a solution to this situation.

155. For their part, those in imperialist circles have invoked the events in Afghanistan as a pretext for impeding the convening of the international Conference on the Indian Ocean, which was to have taken place at Colombo in 1981. But, looking back at the facts, we see that the United States unilaterally broke off negotiations with the Soviet Union on the mutual reduction of forces in the Indian Ocean and considerably increased its military presence there, especially in Diego Garcia, well before December 1979. It was also before this date that it developed its so-called rapid deployment force in the Middle East, knowing that the convening of that Conference would inevitably lead to its being condemned because the policy it pursues in this region is contrary to the objective of the Conference, that is, to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. In using this pretext, the imperialists sought, as always to make other people responsible for their misdeeds.

156. Time and again we have heard accusations against the Soviet Union regarding its so-called intervention in Afghanistan, but sterile polemics are out of place here. The situation around Afghanistan requires a just and lasting political solution, based on equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of the parties concerned.

157. This situation has two aspects, one internal and the other international. Only the international aspect, such as the international guarantee of sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference and the establishment of conditions conducive to the voluntary repatriation of the refugees, could, we believe, be the subject of negotiations between the parties. With regard to the internal aspect, such as the withdrawal of foreign troops and the

right to self-determination of the Afghan people, this falls exclusively within the purview of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; it cannot be the subject of any deal. However, with regard to the withdrawal of foreign troops, to the extent that it would imply the establishment of confidence-building measures, that could be the subject of negotiation.

158. In this context, the efforts made by the Secretary-General and his personal representative in the process of indirect negotiations between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan and Pakistan have been described as very positive and appreciated by all the parties concerned. My delegation would like to express its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General and his personal representative. It would be desirable for the parties to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General by demonstrating goodwill and realism, so that his efforts may be fruitful, pending direct negotiations between them. It is the task of all of us to create a favourable atmosphere and favourable conditions for that.

159. With the President's permission, my delegation would like to return for a moment to what was stated by the representative of the United States yesterday [67th meeting]. In her statement, the representative of the United States repeated, as the present United States leaders have never stopped doing, slanderous and unfounded accusations about the so-called use of chemical weapons by the Soviet Union and some countries of South-East Asia. On this point, the whole world, including the American people, still remembers the United States chemical war in Indo-China. That vile crime having been committed and their hands already stained with the blood of several tens of thousands of innocent people, the United States imperialists, no matter what lies are uttered by their representatives, can never absolve or whitewash themselves, nor can they ease their conscience, if they have one. What the delegation of a small country such as mine finds disappointing is that the representative of the greatest Power of the capitalist world should stoop to such gossip.

160. In conclusion, my delegation would like to state its opinion on draft resolution A/38/L.17. Like General Assembly resolution 37/37 of 29 November 1982, it is one-sided and therefore unbalanced and lacking in objectivity and realism. It omits an essential point, that is, calling upon the parties concerned to embark on frank, serious and sincere negotiations in order to find a just and lasting solution of the problem. Furthermore, my delegation considers that the Assembly should henceforth remove this item from its agenda and leave it to the Secretary-General to pursue actively the diplomatic process already embarked on with the parties concerned. For these reasons, my delegation will vote against this draft resolution.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 5476.

<sup>3</sup> Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

<sup>4</sup> See A/36/116 and Corr.1, annex, sect. III, paras. 82-83.

<sup>5</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14649.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 4.