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THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR

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NOTE

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Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/...) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

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2189th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 7 January 1980, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Jacques LEPRETTE (France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, China, France, German Democratic Republic, Jamaica, Mexico, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2189)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 3 January 1980 addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of Australia, the Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malaysia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Portugal, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Uruguay and Venezuela (S/13724 and Add.1 and 2)

The meeting was called to order at 11.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 3 January 1980 addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of Australia, the Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malaysia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Portugal, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Uruguay and Venezuela (S/13724 and Add.1 and 2)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with decisions taken at the 2185th to 2188th meetings, I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Egypt, the Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Malaysia, Mongolia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Turkey, Venezuela and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President Mr. Sahak (Afghanistan), Mr. Anderson (Australia), Mr. Yankov (Bulgaria), Mr. Barton (Canada), Mr. Liévano (Colombia), Mr. Piza Escalante (Costa Rica), Mr. Hulinský (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Thiounn Prasith (Democratic Kampuchea), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Baron von Wechmar (Germany, Federal Republic of), Mr. Hollai (Hungary), Mr. La Rocca (Italy), Mr. Nisibori (Japan), Mr. Tubman (Liberia), Mr. Zaiton (Malaysia), Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Mr. Boddens-Hosang (Netherlands), Mr. Francis (New Zealand), Mr. Naik (Pakistan), Mr. Jaroszek (Poland), Mr. Allagany (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Koh (Singapore), Mr. Sharif (Somalia), Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Mr. Eralp (Turkey), Mr. Nava Carillo (Venezuela) and Mr. Ha Van Lau (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I wish to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Chile, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Panama and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Canales (Chile), Mr. Southichak (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Illueca (Panama) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The members of the Council have before them document S/13729, containing the text of a draft resolution sponsored by Bangladesh, Jamaica, the Niger, the

Philippines and Zambia. I have just been informed that Tunisia wishes to become a sponsor of that draft resolution.

4. Mr. MUTUKWA (Zambia): Mr. President, at the outset I wish to extend to you my delegation's warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January. With your experience as a seasoned diplomat, the Council will no doubt be able to discharge its responsibilities successfully. I wish also to congratulate your predecessor, the representative of China, who presided very diligently over the business of the Council for the month of December 1979.

5. The Zambian delegation warmly welcomes the German Democratic Republic, the Niger, the Philippines and Tunisia, which have joined as new members of the Security Council. We wish the new members success during their term of office. The Zambian delegation will work in close co-operation with them. We wish to record our appreciation also to those delegations that completed their term on the Council at the end of last month.

6. International relations are at a crossroad. We are in transition from the age of dominance and dependence to the new age of equality and respect for each other's independence. Nations of the third world which have elected to be non-aligned have to be taken for what they are and not for what the dominant Powers want them to be.

7. Zambia does not wish to see the day when the security of small States will be perpetually in peril. That would be unhealthy for our world. Worse still, a state of anarchy could only hurt the contemporary international order of peace and security. Peace and freedom are to us in Zambia commodities which must be cherished and guarded jealously. As the custodian of international peace and security, the Security Council has a vital role in ensuring that all States, big and small, respect each other's territorial integrity and independence.

8. It is with deep apprehension that we learn of situations in which the powerful seek to impose their will on the weak. In the process, they trample on all the tenets of acceptable conduct in international relations.

9. I must admit that the issue before the Council is multifaceted. There are developments which must be subjected to scrutiny. Some of the rationalizations we have heard are puzzling, to say the least. It is unclear to us who was responsible for sending an invitation to foreign forces to move into Afghanistan. It was unfortunate that the late President Amin of Afghanistan, who, we assume, should have known something about that invitation, was himself killed in the course of events.

10. The presence of foreign forces of intervention on the territory of any independent sovereign State is totally inadmissible. As always, therefore, Zambia does not hesitate to call strongly for the total and unconditional withdrawal of such foreign forces. Zambia takes strong exception to all cases of external meddling and interference by major Powers in the internal affairs of other States, on any pretext.

11. The independence and non-aligned status of any country, including Afghanistan, must be fully respected by all, including the super-Powers, which are privileged to serve as permanent members of the Security Council.

12. It is also evident that there are conflicting reasons for which different countries have an interest in this matter. For our part, Zambia's concern is with the destiny of Afghanistan as well as with the fate of small countries in this world of Powers. We cannot ever remain silent when a State's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity are at stake.

13. It would be tragic if the view that small countries are only pawns in the game of the great Powers were to be perpetuated as we enter the new decade of the 1980s. We reject this notion of dominance in any form. The primary interests of an independent State are, in our view, best articulated by its nationals. It is in this framework that we approach the issue before the Council.

14. As a Member of the United Nations and the non-aligned movement, my country views the current deteriorating situation in South-West Asia with great concern. We urge all Member States strictly to uphold the principles of the Charter. Among those principles is the need for all Member States to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not jeopardized. Member States are also required to refrain in their international relations from the threat to use force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the principles of the Charter.

15. As a member of the non-aligned third world, Zambia strongly feels that world peace can be realized only through strict adherence to the above-stated principles. All necessary measures should therefore be taken to prevent an escalation of tension in the region of South-West Asia that could threaten international peace and security.

16. It is in the light of the foregoing that my delegation makes specific appeals to all those concerned in the conflict to exercise maximum restraint in their dealings with each other. The Government in Afghanistan should by all means be allowed to find a political solution to its internal problems. That goal could in my delegation's view be achieved if all foreign forces withdrew from Afghanistan.

17. To reiterate: the steps just proposed would in our view be conducive to the peaceful settlement of the dispute in Afghanistan. The people of the region should be allowed to determine their destiny without any interference or intervention from any external Powers in that volatile region.

18. As a member of the Security Council, Zambia will join in all constructive and meaningful efforts to have the issue resolved amicably.

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

20. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January and, through you, to express to the other members of the Council our gratitude for my being allowed to participate in the debate on the item of which the Council is now seized.

21. First of all, I should like to join the previous speakers who have strongly opposed consideration by the Security Council of the internal situation in Afghanistan, notwithstanding the objection of the legitimate Government of that country, as constituting a flagrant violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations and the fundamental principles of contemporary international law, the principles of the sovereign equality of States and non-interference in internal affairs.

22. Furthermore, the situation in Afghanistan and the presence of a limited number of contingents of Soviet troops which are now being stationed in Afghanistan at the request of the Government of that country, do not pose any threat to peace and security, as the initiators of this agenda item have tried to suggest in presenting the case. On the contrary, the strengthening of the position of the revolutionary Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will lead to the stabilization of the situation in the country and in the region and will thus remove the possible danger to international peace and security.

23. In this context, my delegation cannot but ask those who today describe the Soviet emergency aid to the Afghan people as an invasion and hypocritically pretend to defend the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, where they were when last year a great Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, in gross violation of the basic principles of contemporary international law and the Charter, committed a naked act of aggression against a sovereign, independent and non-aligned country, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in order to teach a "bloody lesson"?

24. With regard to the events in Afghanistan, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the

Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, comrade Y. Tsedenbal, said on 30 December 1979:

"... The Mongolian people express their solidarity with the struggle of the friendly Afghan people for the defence and consolidation of the gains of the April revolution against the encroachments of both the internal and the external reaction. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic fully support and highly appreciate the international aid being rendered by the Soviet Union to the Afghan people at their request."

25. The Mongolian people, who have in the past experienced the oppression of feudal lords and the intrigues of external forces, are well aware of the present situation in Afghanistan, of the achievements of the people of Afghanistan and of the difficulties facing them.

26. After the victory of the popular revolution in 1921, the then backward and medieval Mongolia embarked upon the road of social progress. The Mongolian revolution had two phases: revolutionary-democratic and socialist. It was during the first phase of the revolution that the Mongolian people encountered enormous difficulties, especially in the form of plots by the deposed feudal lords, as well as interference by foreign reactionary forces in the internal affairs of Mongolia.

27. It was in those circumstances that Mongolia concluded a treaty of friendship with Soviet Russia. The extensive Soviet assistance, including military aid, provided at the request of our Government has long served as the basis for safeguarding and consolidating the revolutionary gains and State sovereignty of the Mongolian People's Republic. In 1925, when the direct threat of intervention was over, the Soviet military contingents were withdrawn. In the same manner, in the 1930s the Soviet Union came to help us in repulsing the armed aggression from the east.

28. Today our friendship with the Soviet Union is a decisive factor in the defence of our country from the encroachments of our southern neighbour, whose ambitions and claims as a great Power are well known.

29. The events that have taken place during the last two years since the April revolution in Afghanistan, in many respects resemble those of the first, anti-imperialist and democratic stage of our revolution. The profound political, social, economic and cultural transformations that are taking place in Afghanistan are not in line with the interests of the deposed feudal lords nor to the liking of the forces which are interested in preserving the old feudal régime and in turning the country into a springboard against the Soviet Union, Iran and other countries of the region.

30. Since the victory of the April revolution of 1978, the forces of the internal counter-revolution and foreign reactionary forces, aware of the fact that every success of the Afghan people in their democratic revolution would lessen their own chances of regaining their lost position, have intensified their subversive actions, including armed incursions from a neighbouring country. As was pointed out by Mr. Shah Mohammad Dost, Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [2185th meeting], for a long period of time, imperialism, colonialism and reaction staged and continually stepped up armed provocations against the sovereign Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, thus jeopardizing its territorial integrity, freedom and independence. Even according to Western journalists who recently visited Pakistan, the Western States and China are financing rebels that are entrenched in the territory of Pakistan and are supplying them with weapons with a view to overthrowing the legitimate Government of the Afghan people.

31. In the aforementioned circumstances, in the course of 1978 and 1979, the Afghan Government has turned more than once to the Soviet Union with a request for support, specifically with requests for military aid in order to defend the revolutionary gains of its people and to repel armed incursions and provocations from the outside.

32. At the end of 1979, when interference from outside and terror unleashed by the usurper Amin within the country posed a real threat to the very existence of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Afghan Government once again requested the Soviet Union to render assistance in defending the revolutionary gains and the sovereignty, independence and national dignity of Afghanistan.

33. The request for aid and assistance was based on 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 1978.¹ In making its request, the Afghan Government was acting in strict conformity with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, in the exercise of its legitimate right of self-defence. Therefore the Soviet Union's material, moral and military assistance is not only legitimate, but is also fully in keeping with the aspirations and interests of the Afghan people.

34. It is no secret that the noisy campaign around the events in Afghanistan and the anti-Soviet propaganda are intended to divert the attention of the world's public from the aggressive designs of the imperialist forces, especially those of the United States, which are trying to use the prevailing situation as a pretext for interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, for increasing their military presence in that region and for creating an interventionist rapid deployment force in that and other parts of the world.

35. Some speakers are trying to connect the Soviet aid and assistance to the Afghan people with the internal developments and changes in the leadership of Afghanistan. The truth is that the removal of Amin, who had overthrown and killed the country's legitimate President, Noor Mohammad Taraki, imprisoned and massacred thousands of people and set up a régime of tyranny and despotism, was the verdict of the people and of the revolution. It was a logical move to save the gains of the April revolution. The new leadership has come out with a constructive programme to defend those gains, to eradicate the consequences of the crimes of Amin and his clique and to build a new, prosperous and independent Afghanistan. Thus one of the first acts of the new Government was the proclamation of a general amnesty for all political prisoners, irrespective of their class affiliation, religion, language, clan, nationality or ideology.

36. In conclusion, I should like to extend to Mr. Shah Mohammad Dost, the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, my delegation's wholehearted welcome to the United Nations and, through him, to express to the people of Afghanistan and its Government, headed by Babrak Karmal, the full solidarity and support of the people and Government of Mongolia.

37. We are confident that the Afghan people and the Revolutionary Council will be able to defend the gains of the April revolution and achieve the noble aims of building a new and prosperous society in their country.

38. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): Mr. President, may I warmly congratulate you on the assumption of the presidency of this Council for this month. We are particularly happy to see you in the Chair, not only because you represent a country with which Bangladesh has the most cordial and close relations, but also because of your personal attributes of objectivity, diplomatic skill, knowledge and wisdom. In these critical days those qualities will be put to a severe test. We are confident that they will serve to guide the work of the Council to a successful conclusion.

39. I also take this opportunity to reiterate our gratitude and warm regards to your predecessor, Mr. Chen Chu, for the excellent and efficient way that he conducted our business during the difficult month of December.

40. Our congratulations are extended to the new members of the Council which have joined us this year, the representatives of the German Democratic Republic, the Niger, the Philippines and Tunisia. The constraints of pressing events and time preclude my extending to them the warm words of welcome that I feel like expressing and that they deserve. I assure them, however, of the fullest co-operation of my delegation and myself. We look forward to working in close contact with them.

41. I have listened with great respect and attention to the participants in this debate. A very large number of those speakers have expressed their views eloquently, pointing out the grave threat to peace that the situation in Afghanistan poses to the world. An overwhelming majority of them provided information pertinent to the issue and have also pointed out the serious breaches and contraventions of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the numerous decisions and other formal expressions of the principles adopted by the Organization.

42. My delegation fully shares the views expressed by a large majority of the speakers participating in the debate, particularly most of those who are members of the non-aligned movement and of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Hence I shall not take more of the Council's time and shall be brief.

43. My Government has strongly expressed our deepest concern over developments in Afghanistan, a fellow non-aligned and southern Asian neighbour, with which we not only have the closest fraternal relations but with which we are bound by long-standing historical, cultural, religious and geographical ties.

44. The Soviet Union has openly admitted that it has introduced Soviet military forces into Afghanistan. It is our firm belief that the presence of those Soviet troops in Afghanistan and their direct involvement in the country's internal affairs pose a serious threat to peace and stability in the region and to world peace.

45. Consistent with our firm commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of non-alignment, which particularly enjoin upon all States respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States, the non-use or threat of use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, Bangladesh has always resolutely opposed all forms of external interference in the affairs of any country.

46. Consequently, we believe that the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is a serious violation of those fundamental principles and is inconsistent with the aims and purposes of the Charter. Bangladesh upholds the sovereign and inalienable right of the freedom-loving people of Afghanistan to determine freely their form of Government and to pursue their own economic, political and social system, as well as to preserve the non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

47. Bangladesh therefore calls for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet forces from Afghanistan, so that the people of Afghanistan may be allowed to determine their own destiny, free from outside interference, intervention, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever, especially that involving the use of force in any form, as a result of any plea or on any pretext whatsoever.

48. I have briefly outlined the principles of this world body, principles which in the case of Afghanistan stand contravened and I have suggested the course of action which the Council should pursue. The events in that country and their immediate and long-term effects on contemporary international relations must give us pause to ponder deeply the future of our world institutions. At stake is the fabric of the international community, world peace and law that we have so painstakingly built.

49. The draft resolution [S/13729], which Bangladesh sponsored along with Jamaica, the Niger, the Philippines, Tunisia and Zambia, reaffirms the sacrosanct principles of the Charter and other relevant decisions of the Organization and of the non-aligned movement, which are so highly relevant to the situation in Afghanistan. The operative paragraphs of the draft resolution lay down the course of action to be followed. This is the minimum that can be done for the time being in order to seek a solution to this grave problem. Bangladesh strongly supports and commends the draft resolution to the Council for its full support in order to bring peace to Afghanistan.

50. Mr. OUMAROU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, as this is the first time that I have spoken in the Council, I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this particularly difficult month of January which nevertheless brings high hopes for the new year and the new decade. There can be no doubt that, thanks to your personal qualities which bear the imprint of the abiding values of France, a country of proven humanistic and diplomatic traditions, you will discharge your task with the necessary tact and skill. I should like to take this opportunity to say how much my country welcomes the many and long-standing ties that bind our two countries in mutual esteem and regard and regularly find concrete expression in many forms of co-operation. Your warm words of welcome to us as we join the Council, as well as those of the other members of the Council allow us to hope for fruitful co-operation for an enlightened contribution to peace. You may all rest assured that the Niger will do its utmost to encourage such an atmosphere.

51. Our gratitude goes also to the entire international community and to its representatives for the confidence that they placed in us thereby bringing us to this seat on the Security Council.

52. I should also like to extend our sincerest compliments to the representative of China, Mr. Chen Chu, for the talent and skill with which he conducted the proceedings of the Security Council during the particularly difficult month of December 1979.

53. The situation that has concerned us for the past few days is particularly serious and disturbing. Most of the speakers preceding me have stressed the un-

usually disturbing causes of the situation and have issued injunctions and pleas for a return to order on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and of the wisdom of nations. That situation reveals a flouting of established international principles that increases not only tension but also the threat of confrontation in our world, which is already in a state of chronic anxiety and apprehension.

54. Peaceful coexistence among States is, indeed, one of the rules on which world peace is based and without which neither friendships nor agreements are conceivable in international relations. How can there be agreement and understanding when there is an ever-present desire to dominate others, to impose on others convictions that they do not hold or cannot assimilate? How can there be agreement when people are continually challenging the right of others to exist or the simple right to conduct their own affairs in a manner that suits their sense of what is fitting and proper?

55. My country, which is economically emerging and militarily without ambitions, is firmly devoted to peace. Our international policy is to use ways and means to bring about concord and understanding among peoples. That is why we are particularly concerned whenever relations among States are disrupted simply because of the intolerance of some or a lack of restraint and a desire for hegemony on the part of others. Our President, Colonel Seyni Kountché, has often stated that the peace and tranquillity that the Niger desires for itself it wants also for others because, as he adds, in view of the alliances that are now inevitable, peace in the world must be comprehensive or it will not exist at all.

56. For all these reasons, in our consultations the Niger was not at all opposed to the present meetings of the Council on the situation in Afghanistan. We take this opportunity solemnly to repeat our opposition to any policy aimed at calling in question internationally recognized borders; to any policy of interference in the internal affairs of States and to any policy of military interference whose purpose, avowed or concealed, is to deprive a people of its identity. We express our total disapproval of and concern at the armed invasion of which Afghanistan, a country so close to ours in its threefold character of a third world country, Islamic country and State Member of the United Nations and member of the non-aligned movement, is at present the stage. To say the least, we regard this development as a regrettable violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

57. Finally, the Niger will support any resolution of the Council highlighting its strong disapproval of this violation in all its manifestations and calling on the Soviet forces immediately to leave Afghan territory, in order to allow the people of that country to exercise their sovereign will in overcoming their present difficulties and to work in an atmosphere of tranquillity

for the realization of the well-being for which they yearn.

58. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

59. Baron von WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): Mr. President, it gives me particular pleasure to see you, the representative of a close partner and ally, in the Chair of the Security Council. I should like to congratulate you on the assumption of your high duties. My Government is confident that this body will once again greatly profit from your personal skills and long-standing diplomatic experience.

60. I should also like to pay a tribute to the representative of China, who most ably and efficiently guided the Council through the particularly busy and rough month of December, thus giving another example of the customary wisdom of Chinese diplomacy.

61. Addressing all members of the Security Council through you, Mr. President, I should like to express our gratitude for my country's being granted the opportunity to speak in this crucial debate.

62. I should also like to congratulate those countries that have just joined the Council as new members and to wish them success in the exercise of their important responsibilities.

63. The Federal Republic of Germany, taken aback by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, welcomes the fact that the situation created by that action has been brought before the Security Council. We share the view that has been repeatedly expressed here, that the intervention of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan constitutes a threat to the stability of the entire region and violates the fundamental principles of self-determination, peaceful international relations and the indivisibility of détente. This violation is an extremely grave matter which requires a reaction from the international community.

64. Only a few months ago, the Soviet Foreign Minister stated: "The Afghans alone are entitled to settle their internal affairs. Only they will settle them, the same as the people of any other sovereign State".

65. The Soviet Union must face the question of how it reconciles this unquestionably correct statement with its present action. After all, the political and military resistance of the Afghan people to the Soviet troops and the régime installed by them clearly shows what the Afghans themselves think about the assistance they are allegedly receiving and whom they see as a threat to their freedom and their right to self-determination. The people of Afghanistan are showing that they want to live in accordance with their tradi-

tions and their own religion, and under a political system of their own choice.

66. The military intervention of the Soviet Union cannot be justified. There can be no question of any country other than the Soviet Union having interfered in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The Soviet Union's invocation of Article 51 of the Charter and article 4 of the 1978 Treaty¹ is not supported by facts.

67. The Federal Republic of Germany shares the deep concern felt by the countries in that region about the Soviet intervention. Our concern stems from a twofold conviction: world peace depends largely on political, social and military stability in the third world; furthermore, the political systems and regional relationships in the third world can only become and remain stable if they are consonant with the wishes, sentiments and traditions of its peoples. Nobody but they themselves are authorized to define their interests.

68. Naturally, countries not belonging to the third world can and must assist the peoples of those regions. That would be in our own interest if we want to establish a greater measure of world-wide stability, reduce the risk of crises and give wider scope for peace.

69. But such assistance must not take the form of manipulation, pressure and intervention. These are methods used to impose alien concepts on other peoples—measures to make them mere pawns in foreign power designs and draw them into spheres of influence. Genuine assistance consists, rather—and with pride of place—in respect for the independence of the nations of the third world, for their right to determine their future and their political systems themselves and for their own decision to remain non-aligned. The Federal Republic of Germany has always stressed this point, just as it has underlined the constructive role of the non-aligned movement.

70. Genuine help also consists in support for those countries in their attempts to safeguard the economic basis of their existence. Tractors, machinery and technology are what those developing countries need, not tanks—least of all if they are manned by foreign troops under foreign command.

71. These have been the guiding principles of the Federal Republic of Germany in its relations with Afghanistan, with whose people it has traditional and deeply rooted bonds of friendship. They are our guide in relations with every nation of the third world. These are principles we should like to see generally recognized and practised.

72. We will, therefore, support any decision by the Security Council which gives effect to principles of national sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference and non-intervention and the renunciation of force—a decision which has to include, in the

present case, a call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan.

73. It is alarming that the behaviour of a permanent member of the Security Council, which bears a special responsibility for the maintenance of world peace, should give cause for this development. On the one hand, this behaviour inevitably casts doubt on the credibility of what the Soviet Union has stated time and again, particularly in the United Nations. On the other, it raises the question of whether the United Nations itself can credibly uphold its principles in the face of such action. It is faced here with a serious situation.

74. The Federal Republic of Germany deeply regrets this recent development. My country has been endeavouring to improve its relations with the Soviet Union. There has been evident progress—for the benefit of both sides and the situation in Europe as a whole. We view that progress, and the results it has achieved so far, as an important contribution to the safeguarding of world peace. The Federal Republic of Germany has, however, like other countries, always expressed the conviction that détente should prove itself world-wide—that is, also in the relations of East and of West with the nations of the third world.

75. The Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany strongly emphasized this point in his recent speech before the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session.² Statements by the Soviet Union and its allies have borne out the impression that they identify themselves with these principles. The joint German-Soviet Declaration of 6 May 1978, which was signed by Chancellor Schmidt and President Brezhnev, explicitly speaks of respect for the indivisibility of peace and security in all parts of the world.

76. The present situation created by the Soviet Union has deeply clouded our hopes that this principle would acquire practical meaning.

77. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

78. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to thank the Security Council for giving me this opportunity to set forth the views of my delegation on the acute and urgent problem before the Council which affects international relations as a whole.

79. To you, personally, Mr. President, I should like to express the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for January, in the conviction that your political experience, as well as your personal devotion and commitment, will contribute to the success of the work of this important organ of the United Nations.

I should also like to congratulate the delegations of the German Democratic Republic, Mexico, the Niger, the Philippines and Tunisia upon their election to the Security Council.

[The speaker continued in English.]

80. We support the decision of the Security Council "to consider the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security", proceeding from the irreplaceable role of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

81. We are seriously concerned at the constant deterioration of international relations. Particularly disquieting is the stagnation in the process of détente in the world and the ever more frequent use of force, in contradiction of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of non-alignment and the generally accepted norms of international law. Such practices, which are being resorted to ever more frequently, lead to flagrant violations of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of countries and are conducive to anarchy and lawlessness, posing a serious threat to peace in the world, to security, progress and the peaceful development of mankind.

82. In connection with the military action of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia issued the following statement on 30 December 1979:

"Yugoslavia expresses its deep concern at the serious consequences that such a development can have not only by causing greater instability in that region but also by affecting international relations as a whole.

"As is known, Yugoslavia has always resolutely advocated strict respect for the Charter of the United Nations in relations among States. At the same time, guided by the principles and objectives of the policy of non-alignment, Yugoslavia considers that the realization of the sovereign rights of States to independence, territorial integrity and their own way of life must be the only recognized practice in international relations.

"That includes the inadmissibility of foreign intervention or of the imposition of alien will upon sovereign States. It is the latter's inalienable right to solve their own problems and to choose their own socio-political system without interference from outside."

83. In this, as well as in all similar situations, we are guided by the principle of the inadmissibility of foreign intervention by armed force or in any other way, as well as the unacceptability of any form of imposition of alien will upon sovereign countries and peoples. Indispensable social changes are frequently

taken as a pretext for "influencing" such countries and peoples and for imposing various forms of dependence as well as for shifting the lines of spheres of interest. It is the inalienable right of every country and people freely to choose the ways and forms of its socio-political development.

84. There is no reason whatsoever that would justify intervention by anyone and no reason to jeopardize the independence of any people or its sovereign right to decide its own destiny.

85. It is our firm conviction that this must be the paramount law of international relations and that it must be respected without any exception. This must be the obligation of all the members of the international community and, I would specially emphasize, the particular duty of the permanent members of the Security Council, because their privileges under the Charter must be interpreted exclusively as giving them greater responsibility and obligation for maintaining—and not jeopardizing—peace, security and stability in the world.

86. A selective application and arbitrary interpretation of these basic principles, as well as the use of the Charter and other multilateral or bilateral instruments to justify intervention and interference in the internal affairs of other States, are not acceptable. There can be no good or bad, justified or unjustified, foreign intervention, in the same way as there is no good or justified aggression or occupation. Consequently, we do not approve of preventive wars or military interventions for so-called reasons of security or any other motives. We have always maintained that strict observance of these principles is the primary obligation of all the members of the international community and, as I said earlier, particularly of the great Powers, which bear special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security.

87. The non-aligned movement bases its action on the maintenance of peace through the universal application of the principles of active and peaceful coexistence, inseparable components of which are strict respect for national independence, sovereignty and equality, free national and social development, and opposition to and condemnation of all forms of interference, intervention, bloc rivalries, power politics, spheres of interest, imperialism, colonialism and hegemony.

88. The sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, devoted the greatest attention to these questions, raising them to the level of fundamental principles and objectives of the policy of non-alignment and emphasizing that their violation is "totally unacceptable, unjustifiable under any circumstances and incompatible with the obligations assumed by the United Nations Members under the Charter of the United Nations".³

89. At the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the non-aligned countries provided the initiative for the adoption of a declaration on non-interference and non-intervention and elaborated a corresponding draft text in that regard [*General Assembly resolution 34/101*]. The contents of the resolution on hegemonism [*resolution 34/103*] also point to the same problems.

90. The international community should not reconcile itself to the practice of the imposition of alien solutions upon sovereign States by means of military intervention as reflected, in particular, in the crises in the Middle East, in southern Africa and, more recently, in South-East and South-West Asia as well.

91. The international community should resolutely bar the way to interventionism, which represents the most acute threat to the security and independence of States. Precisely for that reason, the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at their sixth Conference stressed that they viewed "with concern the fact that interference in the internal affairs of States is becoming one of the chief forms of aggression against the non-aligned countries".⁴

92. The newly created situation shows that it is incumbent upon the United Nations and the international community as a whole to intensify its efforts to eradicate all the sources of the use of force and of interference in internal affairs and to strive to transform détente into a universal process encompassing all the regions of the world and to ensure the participation of all countries in the solution of outstanding international problems. We must prevent the imposition of the alternative of a return to the cold war and an exacerbation of bloc confrontations leading the world to the brink of war. On the contrary, we must opt energetically for such détente, as it will be a component of the process of the establishment of an international order in which there will be no place for intervention, pressure or the use of force.

93. These imperatives affirm once again the irreplaceable role of the policy of non-alignment, which has grown into a broad international movement precisely in the struggle for a new system of international relations founded on the defence of the sovereign rights of peoples to peace, independence, territorial integrity and free development, without any form of overt or covert use of force. This has found particular expression in the assertion and affirmation of the policy of non-alignment in South-West Asia, where the pact of the Central Treaty Organization has disintegrated and Iran and Pakistan have joined the movement of non-aligned countries. Those changes were directed against bloc rivalries and the creation of spheres of influence and in favour of the stabilization of relations and co-operation among the States of the region. The failure to recognize and respect this positive process and the disruption of the process through unilateral actions are detrimental to the

interests of peace in the region and in the world at large.

94. It is therefore all the more important that the voice of non-alignment, as an independent and non-bloc factor in international relations, should make itself heard even more strongly today. Otherwise, the policy and practice of "might makes right" could impose itself as the law governing international relations, a development which would threaten the non-aligned countries the most, and, consequently, the policy of non-alignment as a whole. The present critical phase of international relations should not be allowed to become a permanent state of affairs.

95. Yugoslavia has always consistently adhered to the principles of the Charter and non-alignment, and it has been actively striving for their implementation. Those principles have an irreplaceable and universal significance for relations among all countries, regardless of their size, level of development or social system. They constitute a progressive heritage of the struggle against all forms of domination and the only basis for the safeguarding of world peace, the settlement of international problems and disputes and the development of international co-operation founded on equal rights.

96. The people of Afghanistan, like all other peoples, has the inalienable right to decide on its way of life and its destiny without interference from outside and without the presence of foreign troops on its soil.

97. In line with our action in all similar situations, we support and join in the request made by the non-aligned countries which are members of the Security Council in their draft resolution [*S/13729*], calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan. All States should refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of that non-aligned country. Yugoslavia supports this request in the profound conviction that if the Soviet troops are withdrawn and if other States refrain from any form of interference and pressure against Afghanistan, that would contribute towards overcoming this dangerous crisis and would promote peace and stability in the region and beyond.

98. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

99. Mr. SOUTHICHAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic wishes first of all to extend to you its congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for January and to express to you and to all the other members of the Security Council our thanks for having enabled my delegation to set forth its views on the item now before the Council.

100. We should like also to convey our sincere congratulations to the new non-permanent members of the Council, the German Democratic Republic, the Niger, the Philippines and Tunisia, and also to pay a tribute to the outgoing non-permanent members for their effective contribution to the cause of international peace and security.

101. Recently the world's leading imperialist Power has done its utmost to orchestrate slanderous propaganda against a country that has helped another country to preserve its independence, its sovereignty and its territorial integrity, which were threatened by acts of aggression directed from outside the country. It has now brought its noisy campaign of slander and calumny before the United Nations, not so that we may "unite our strength to maintain international peace and security", as is advocated by the Charter, but rather to poison even further a situation of crisis and tension that now confronts the international community.

102. In proposing the urgent convening of the Council to consider the so-called situation in Afghanistan, in spite of the clear opposition of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the imperialists are trying to involve the most important body of the Organization in sterile debate, which will serve only to harm the prestige of the United Nations and will benefit only the cause of imperialist expansion and domination, which is condemned in all international forums by the non-aligned countries and countries throughout the world that love peace and justice. By their manoeuvres they are once again demonstrating their shameless interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan in flagrant contradiction of the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which provides 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."

103. In Afghanistan, the victory of the revolution of liberation of April 1978 was an historic victory for the Afghan people and progressive and peace-loving peoples throughout the world. In this connection, Mr. Shah Mohammad Dost, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [2185th meeting], has lucidly and clearly presented to the Council the fruitful results of the revolution for the Afghan people and for international peace and security.

104. Indeed, the victory of the April revolution further liberated the Afghan people from the yoke of tyranny and exploitation imposed by a feudal-type régime behind which were hidden imperialism and international reaction. Continuing the work of revolution, the Afghan people has successfully striven to

eliminate the last remaining vestiges of the old régime and has made a brilliant start on the establishment and consolidation of a democratic system throughout the country.

105. However, everyone knows that since that time the enemies of the Afghan people—worried by its revolutionary victory, which in their view constitutes a serious obstacle to their policy of expansion, domination and military adventurism—have concentrated their efforts on sowing trouble and confusion, in an attempt to undermine the democratic system of the country with the ultimate goal of undermining the Afghan revolution. To that end, they have constantly been taking stands hostile to the Afghan people and its revolution, expressing their positions by acts of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

106. As Mr. Babrak Karmal has pointed out, the Afghan people, which cherishes peace and liberty in an independent and sovereign Afghanistan, cannot agree that "the party and the State have embarked upon a perilous course of blindness, error and fluctuation, which is what reaction and imperialism would have liked".

107. But the fact remains that those forces have never abandoned their dark designs of expansion and domination. The political and military support they have given to internal reaction and the subversive and aggressive activities directed against Afghanistan from outside constitute a gross infringement of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and, as was stressed by Mr. Karmal, "if the truly revolutionary and patriotic forces had not taken the revolutionary initiative, Afghanistan's independence would have been imperilled".

108. It was in the face of precisely such a danger that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan appealed for urgent assistance from the Soviet Union, which responded positively to this particular appeal. The request for military assistance made by Afghanistan is entirely in keeping with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, which has confirmed the natural right of legitimate self-defence, individual or collective, if a State Member of the United Nations becomes the target of armed aggression. It is also in keeping with the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV)], which authorizes peoples to seek or receive support in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter in the exercise of their right to self-determination.

109. In embarking upon this noisy campaign of slander against the Soviet Union concerning the so-called situation in Afghanistan, imperialism and international reaction are only attempting to conceal

their subversive and provocative manoeuvres which are at present becoming more and more open against sovereign and independent Afghanistan. That campaign is also aimed at camouflaging their dark designs of expansion and domination, which have been reflected in certain actions which presented a real danger to international peace and security. For example, the American plan aimed at the deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe, the strengthening of bases and military potential in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America, the creation of a rapid deployment force and the threat of teaching a lesson to independent and sovereign States, and so on.

110. In so far as concerns the dispatch of a limited Soviet military contingent to Afghanistan at the request of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, pursuant to the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation of 5 December 1978,¹ the Soviet Union has declared to the world that that limited military contingent will be withdrawn after the reasons for the Afghan request have been eliminated. The temporary presence of that contingent constitutes neither a danger nor any threat to international peace and security because the offer of Soviet military assistance is limited in time and space and is intended solely to fulfil obligations flowing from the Treaty between these two countries, a Treaty which Mr. Karmal has described as being, by its very nature, a document guaranteeing lasting peace and security in the region.

111. In the course of the consideration of the item now before the Council, certain delegations have put forward demands which are entirely out of keeping with the provisions of the Charter. We hope, however, that the Council will live up to its responsibilities and refrain from dealing with, still less taking a decision on, a question which falls within the exclusive competence of a Member State of the Organization. In its primary mission of maintaining international peace

and security, it must see to it that the circles of imperialism and international reaction do not take advantage of the complicated situation in Asia and in the various parts of the world to strengthen their military potential and to pursue a policy of expansion and hegemony which is the true cause of a threat to international peace and security.

112. The Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic has followed closely the events which have occurred and continue to occur in Afghanistan. After authentically revolutionary Afghan forces took charge of the destiny of the country, a message was sent to Mr. Babrak Karmal, which reads as follows:

"In spite of a still difficult situation created by imperialism and its lackeys, we are convinced that, thanks to the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan with yourself at its head and the historic victories it has won, the heroic people of Afghanistan with the support and assistance of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and countries of the world that love peace will win new, major victories in defeating the subversive manoeuvres of the imperialists and their lackeys and in safeguarding the gains of the revolution and building a nation which has taken the course of socialism, thus contributing to the consolidation of peace and security in that region."

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ To be printed in "United Nations, *Treaty Series*", under No. 17976.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 11th meeting.

³ A/34/542, annex, para. 245.

⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 249.

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