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

AGENDA ITEM 28

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/39/L.11.
2. Mr. YAQUB-KHAN (Pakistan): Today, the General Assembly takes up for consideration the Afghanistan issue. This five-year-old conflict was caused by Soviet military intervention in that non-aligned, Islamic country—intervention that has ravaged the land and constitutes a threat to international peace and security. In fact, the past year has seen an escalation of violence in the campaign to subjugate the valiant struggle of the Afghan people to regain their freedom and honour. Yet the spirit of the Afghan people remains unvanquished, their courage undiminished and their resistance unflinching in the face of overwhelming odds.
3. The Secretary-General's initiative on a just political settlement of the Afghanistan issue continues to hold out the hope and the promise that recourse to patient diplomacy and adherence to recognized principles will bring the tragedy of Afghanistan to an end and enable its people to regain their freedom and to shape their own destiny.
4. The impact of five years of foreign military intervention in Afghanistan has been grave, both globally and for our own embattled region. Its immediate consequences were visible in the deepening of mistrust and the heightening of tension between the super-Powers, resulting in a setback to the process of détente, a freeze in East-West relations and an escalation of the arms race. The cost to the world of this military adventure has been incalculable. In a period of increasing global interdependence, the prospect of permanent gain by either super-Power through military means is outmoded. It is also unrealistic and self-defeating, since the apparent gains are generally outweighed by the erosion of credibility and the loss of prestige and influence, or are nullified by the efforts of the other super-Power to re-establish an equilibrium which it perceives as having been disrupted.
5. A far-reaching but less tangible implication of this military intervention is the impact on small and medium-sized nations. Their faith in a world order based on the principles of the Charter of the United

Nations as a guarantee of the preservation of their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity has been shaken by the application of the cynical principle of "might is right".

6. The loss of the freedom of a small non-aligned nation as a result of the five-year-long military intervention and occupation by its powerful neighbour not only violates the Charter but also constitutes a dangerous precedent which could be re-enacted elsewhere in the world. Such adventures tend to set in motion an ominous trend and a fateful chain of events. Unless they are firmly opposed and reversed, they could erode the authority of the United Nations, generate deep insecurity among smaller nations and compel them to seek the protection of powerful States. This would expand the range and extent of confrontation to a global scale, aggravating polarization and bringing into jeopardy the security of all nations, big or small.

7. The foreign military intervention in Afghanistan has greatly increased the danger of our whole region being turned into an arena of international conflict and rivalry. Given the strategic sensitivity of the region, its involvement in any such conflict would be a calamitous development. For the maintenance of global peace and stability, full respect for the independence and non-aligned status of the countries of this sensitive area is, therefore, indispensable.

8. Conscious of these grave consequences, the international community has spoken with a firm and clear voice against foreign intervention in Afghanistan and in solidarity with the struggle of the Afghan people to defend the independence of their country. Year after year the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the General Assembly have adopted resolutions calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and have urged a settlement that would enable the Afghan people to choose their own form of government and socio-economic system, free from outside interference and coercion.

9. In the international community's search for a just political solution of the Afghanistan problem, the Secretary-General's initiative provides the best hope. I take this opportunity to pay a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, for their tireless and patient efforts to promote the process of negotiations and to engage the parties concerned in meaningful discussions on a settlement compatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The consistent commitment with which they have pursued this objective is especially commendable in view of the complexity of the issues involved.

10. For more than two years now, as indicated in his reports to the thirty-seventh, thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth sessions of the General Assembly, the

Secretary-General and his Personal Representative have endeavoured to work out a comprehensive settlement based on four interrelated elements, namely: the withdrawal of foreign troops; non-interference and non-intervention; international guarantees of non-interference; and the return of refugees to their homes.

11. In his latest report [A/39/513] the Secretary-General has referred to progress on a set of understandings in an attempt to reach a settlement and, within that context, he has pointed to possible instruments which need to be formulated. The report also refers to the decision taken at the third round of talks at Geneva to resume indirect discussions on Afghanistan next February.

12. Pakistan looks forward to the next round of discussions on Afghanistan in the same constructive and positive spirit as it demonstrated at the third round. The Secretary-General and his Personal Representative may rest assured that they can once again count on the full co-operation of Pakistan for progress towards a just and peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan problem.

13. It is equally necessary for all the parties concerned to recognize that peace and stability in the region, as well as the prestige of the United Nations, rest upon the speedy and successful conclusion of the negotiations. In order to ensure that this process is just and equitable, it is imperative to preserve the integrated nature of the comprehensive settlement in terms of its four component elements. In particular, the comprehensive settlement must include a time-frame for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, which is a central issue and without which it would lack credibility and could not be finalized or implemented. It is equally necessary that the next round of talks, scheduled for February, should be productive and should contribute decisively towards finalizing the comprehensive settlement.

14. A just political settlement of the Afghanistan issue is regarded by Pakistan as imperative. This important consideration was demonstrated by our acceptance of the format of "proximity" talks, suggested last April and reflected in the positive approach adopted by us in the Geneva talks last August. This positive attitude on our part and the restraint exercised by us in the face of the recent serious violations of our border from the Afghanistan side are a testimony to our seriousness of purpose.

15. Pakistan is keen to see progress towards the comprehensive settlement and is prepared to co-operate with the Secretary-General in removing any difficulties relating to its own obligations and commitments arising from the comprehensive settlement; but I would like to add that neither Pakistan nor, indeed, the United Nations can be expected to acquiesce in any settlement that fails to address the core of the Afghanistan issue which, in the judgement of the international community, is the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan.

16. A reasonable political settlement should be based on recognition of the situation created inside Afghanistan by the foreign military intervention in that country. Attempts to place the blame on Pakistan, through contrived charges of outside interference, would only serve to thwart the search for a political solution and the return of peace and normalcy to that country.

17. The essentially indigenous nature of the Afghanistan resistance and its nation-wide character are evident from the fact that it pervades the length and breadth of the country. During the past year the intensity of military operations has been heaviest in areas like the Panjshir valley, which lies north of Kabul, far from the vicinity of Pakistan, or in other regions deep in the interior of Afghanistan. There are reports of an increasing number of Soviet troops being deployed in these operations, in the face of the continuing failure of the Kabul authorities to hold an Afghan army together. Outside Afghanistan the resistance enjoys the unanimous support of all Afghan expatriates, who have spoken with one voice against the foreign military occupation of their country.

18. The massive destruction caused by the conflict inside Afghanistan, which is admitted by the Kabul authorities themselves, speaks of the scale and intensity of the resistance and the strength of the national sentiment against the foreign intervention and the régime imposed by it on the people of Afghanistan.

19. Other evidence of the intensity of this struggle is to be found in the vast exodus of Afghan refugees, who have been driven to seek shelter in neighbouring Pakistan and in Iran. People do not leave their homes without a compelling reason for doing so, nor do they sacrifice their lives for an unworthy cause. Clearly it is the independence of Afghanistan, its honour and its national pride, its cultural heritage and its spiritual values which are at stake and which the people of Afghanistan are struggling to defend in their time-honoured traditions as a proud and free nation.

20. For nearly five years now, more than 100,000 Soviet troops have been engaged in an attempt to subjugate the Afghan population. No matter how one interprets the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the engagement of foreign troops to ensure the outcome of an internecine struggle in a predetermined manner is not permissible.

21. The human misery and unspeakable hardship resulting from the Afghanistan crisis are of staggering proportions. There are reports of widespread famine caused by the destruction of villages, dislocation of the population and incessant military action. One in every four Afghans is today a refugee and their number in Pakistan alone exceeds 3 million, representing the largest concentration of refugees anywhere in the world. This unprecedented number would strain the resources of even the wealthiest country in the world. For Pakistan it imposes an awesome burden on our developing economy and our limited resources.

22. We are grateful to friendly countries and international agencies, especially UNHCR, which have been contributing nearly half the cost of the upkeep of the Afghan refugees; yet the combined resources available merely suffice to ensure the bare survival of this displaced mass of humanity. The essential remedy to alleviate their hardship lies in a settlement enabling these unfortunate people, most of whom are women, children and the aged, to return to their homes.

23. However, that is not the only reason why Pakistan has sincerely sought a political settlement of the Afghanistan question. We are concerned about our own security and the security of the region.

24. For quite some time there have been recurring violations of Pakistan's airspace and territory from the Afghanistan side. In the past few months inci-

dents of wanton attacks have seriously escalated in both intensity and frequency. Shelling and bombardment from the Afghanistan side have already resulted in heavy loss of life and damage to property. In fact, nearly 100 innocent lives have been lost in the past three months.

25. The Government of Pakistan has kept the Secretary-General informed about this serious development and, through him, has alerted the international community to the grave consequences of these acts of aggression. Pakistan has shown restraint in the face of these provocations and has refrained from resorting to retaliatory measures. We are hopeful that the solidarity with us expressed by several friendly Member States, which we deeply appreciate, and the international concern over the incidents, which has been loud and clear, will help to bring this intolerable situation to an immediate end. However, if the flagrant violations of our territory and airspace persist, we shall have no alternative but to defend our territorial integrity with all our might and resources and with all the determination at our command.

26. We desire peace and stability in our area and have therefore consistently explored avenues for the settlement of the Afghanistan issue. We are also fully conscious of geopolitical realities and the imperative of good-neighbourly relations with all the countries of the region, including the Soviet Union. Pakistan wishes to maintain cordial and friendly relations with the Soviet Union and will make every effort to develop and to consolidate them further. It is, however, axiomatic that such relations can exist and flourish only on the basis of the principles of mutual respect and peaceful coexistence.

27. For the past five years the overwhelming majority of the international community has been consistently opposing the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Only by accepting the universal call for a withdrawal can peace be restored in Afghanistan and the wrongs against the people of that country be rectified.

28. The call for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan is, once again, embodied in draft resolution A/39/L.11, entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security", which, with your permission, Mr. President, I will now introduce on behalf of the sponsors.

29. In its thrust and content, this draft resolution remains the same as resolution 38/29, adopted by the General Assembly on 23 November of last year. The draft resolution maintains a constructive approach, is free of polemics and does not seek indictment; nor does it attempt to apportion blame. Instead, it outlines unexceptionable principles for the settlement of the Afghanistan issue, namely: the immediate and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan; preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever; and the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

30. The draft resolution addresses both the political and the humanitarian aspects of the Afghanistan

question. On the political level, it reiterates the call of the General Assembly for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops and, consistent with the principles of the Charter, reaffirms the right of the Afghan people to determine freely their own destiny.

31. In regard to the humanitarian aspect of the problem, the draft resolution touches the heart of the matter by calling for the creation of the necessary conditions that will enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour. It renews the General Assembly's call to all States and national and international organizations to continue to extend humanitarian relief assistance with a view to alleviating the hardship of the Afghan refugees.

32. Equally important is the support which the draft resolution expresses for the efforts of the Secretary-General and, significantly and specifically, the negotiating process initiated by him in the search for a comprehensive settlement of the problem. The draft resolution appropriately takes cognizance of the Secretary-General's report and encourages the Secretary-General to continue his efforts so that the diplomatic process initiated by him may meet with success in attaining the desired goal of a comprehensive settlement.

33. The decisions of the General Assembly represent the powerful voice of the international community, which no country, big or small, can afford to ignore. It is therefore imperative for the General Assembly to continue to exert its moral pressure in favour of an early settlement of the Afghanistan problem by indicating its overwhelming support for the draft resolution on Afghanistan.

34. An affirmative vote for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and the defence of the right of its people to be master of their own destiny is also an affirmative vote censuring use of force against the sovereignty and independence of small and vulnerable countries. It is, indeed, an affirmative vote for upholding the principles of the Charter and for strengthening international peace and security.

35. It is our hope that draft resolution A/39/L.11 will—like earlier similar resolutions—receive the overwhelming support of the General Assembly to emphasize its determination to seek a settlement of the Afghanistan issue consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. The Afghanistan problem must be resolved speedily and peacefully so that the tragedy which has afflicted the people of Afghanistan can be brought to an end; so that the fears and concerns which are felt throughout our region can be allayed; so that the threats to international peace and security are mitigated.

36. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The General Assembly is once again being dragged into the discussion of an item which should not have been included in its agenda in the first place. As we have stated in the past, Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter strictly forbids the United Nations to consider any issue that falls within the prerogatives of a Member State. Therefore, the present exercise constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter and is outright and naked interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

37. In the course of the years that the so-called issue of Afghanistan has been debated in the General Assembly, the intentions of the perpetrators of this

unwarranted exercise—namely, United States imperialism, Chinese hegemonism, Pakistan and other reactionary quarters—have become all too clear. In an attempt to disguise their animosity towards the national democratic revolution, which triumphed on 27 April 1978 in Afghanistan, the enemies of our country are resorting to false pretexts. Over the years they have shed lots of crocodile tears in the hope of convincing the Assembly that they are genuinely concerned about Afghanistan's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and that for that reason they deem the presence of "foreign troops" in Afghanistan to be a hindrance to the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Afghan people. They would wish the Assembly to believe that they are earnestly working for the preparation of such conditions as would lead to the withdrawal of those troops. They have told the Assembly that they believe in political solutions to problems and that they are engaged in sincere negotiations for that purpose. They have asked the Assembly to examine the situation around Afghanistan only since 27 December 1979 and not to concern itself with what occurred before that day, particularly during the period beginning with the victory of the April revolution of 1978. Their attempt is aimed at forgetting, and making others forget, the sequence of events which preceded 27 December 1979, while the fact is that the present situation around Afghanistan is the result of plots and conspiracies dating back to the very beginning of the April revolution.

38. The story they have developed serves the logic on the basis of which they repeat the same worn-out and boring propaganda each year in the Assembly. They completely avoid a discussion of the legitimate right of each and every State to self-defence and its right to take individual and collective measures to that effect. Further to confuse the situation, they have resorted to unrestrained falsification of realities and distortion of established facts. Although the flimsy arguments so far advanced are too well known to need any recalling, we shall refer to them in order to expose their baselessness.

39. Portraying the imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary undeclared war against Afghanistan as spontaneous national resistance, they assert that there existed no foreign aggression or threat of aggression against Afghanistan that would prompt the need to seek outside military assistance.

40. I shall dwell on these assertions in order to prove that what they claim to be the reality is exactly the opposite: slanders, lies and fabrications.

41. The problems around Afghanistan did not start on 27 December 1979. The people of Afghanistan, led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and assisted by the heroic armed forces of the country, launched and carried out a victorious revolution on 27 April 1978. This revolution was the outcome of the logical and law-governed evolution of the historical objective and subjective conditions of the Afghan society and a result of the interaction of political and socio-economic factors in that given period of our history. It was based on the age-old aspirations and struggle of the Afghan people and their vanguard political forces to bring about deep and fundamental transformations in the Afghan society. It was guided by widely cherished principles of democracy, social progress and justice. It was sparked by the maturity of the revolutionary conditions and was enthusiastically welcomed and sup-

ported by the overwhelming majority of the Afghan people. The revolutionary order was immediately recognized by all countries of the world, including Pakistan and other neighbours.

42. But, on the other hand, forces of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction, which had lost their hopes of pushing Afghanistan further into their military, political and strategic orbit, redoubled their heinous efforts to subvert the process of the revolution through various forms of interference in the internal affairs of my country. To be sure, they had missed no opportunity in the past, either, to hatch criminal plots against Afghanistan.

43. Leon Poullada, former United States Ambassador to Afghanistan, Tahir Amin, a faculty member of the Department of International Relations of Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad, Pakistan, and many other informed sources have written detailed articles revealing accounts of covert subversive United States and Pakistani actions even before the revolution.

44. As the American magazine *Counterspy* writes in its September–November issue of 1983:

"After planning to create 'tribal rebellions' in the early 1950s and actually setting up the 5,000 member [rebel] force in the early 1970s, it was only a small step for the United States, Pakistan and their allies to support an 'Islamic rebellion' against the People's Democratic Party from 1978 to the present."

Against this background, the intelligence agencies of the United States, Pakistan and their allies launched a fresh campaign to organize their reserve forces in and outside Afghanistan.

45. Once in power, the Party determinedly embarked on the path of the faithful implementation of all promises it had made to the people in the Programme of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

46. It should surprise nobody that the democratic reforms introduced within the socio-economic plans to bring about the desired changes were not readily accepted by those elements in the Afghan society who would lose certain of the privileges that made them the predominant strata in Afghanistan. This obviously resulted in the resistance of some members of those strata to the implementation of the reforms I have mentioned.

47. The chronology of events testifies to the fact that some of the elements that were stripped of their privileges abandoned the country and sought safe havens in Pakistan and Iran. By then the imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary circles, first and foremost the United States, had already multiplied their subversive efforts aimed at Afghanistan. Afghan fugitives, who carried with them the strong wish to drag Afghanistan back into the old system, provided a timely potential force in support of the covert operations of the enemies of our people, country and revolution.

48. The London-based Institute for the Study of Conflict, in issue No. 161 of its publication *Conflict Studies*, wrote in this connection:

"Across the border in Pakistan, Peshawar rapidly emerged as the chief centre of exile of many Afghan opponents of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). Already established there since 1975 were a small band of Afghan fundamentalists, who seized the chance to declare

themselves the leaders from exile of the Afghan resistance . . . Fundamentalist leaders in exile stood out as determined chiefs of well-organized small parties active in fighting, and supplying limited quantities of small arms to internal resistance groups. Afghan fundamentalists received financial help from Pakistan sympathizers in their aim of bringing down the PDPA régime."

49. Tahir Amin, Professor at Quaid-i-Azam University in Pakistan, in his article published in April 1984 in the United States-based academic journal *Asian Survey*, wrote that by 1978 this group had "already formed trained and well-armed cadres" and that "the earlier covert blessing of the Pakistani Government and the open support of Jammat-i-Islami [of Pakistan], both moral and material, was a great asset to them."

50. The Department of International Relations of the Australian National University, Canberra, has published a book entitled *Refugees: Four Political Case-Studies*, which contains an article by Beverly Male captioned "A tiger by the tail: Pakistan and the Afghan refugees". He writes in this article:

"Within the six weeks of the April 1978 revolution the first counter-revolutionary organization, the so-called 'Afghan National Liberation Front' was established in Peshawar . . . Afghan rebel leaders gave press conferences appealing for support not merely in Peshawar, but in Islamabad and Lahore as well . . . They have continued to organize and propagandise with impunity from Pakistan territory."

51. Referring to the diversity of the Afghan counter-revolutionary groups in Peshawar, a staff report of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations admits that "at least six such groups had formed to oppose the . . . Government of Taraki", that is to say, long before limited Soviet contingents were invited into Afghanistan.

52. Losing no time, small batches of armed saboteurs, composed of loyal servants of ex-feudal lords and tribal chieftains, were formed and infiltrated into Afghan villages located in the frontier areas. The initial purpose of these groups was to spread malicious lies and false rumours among the population of those villages concerning the nature of the new revolutionary Government. In a short while these groups engaged in intimidating the local population into resisting the revolutionary reforms and ultimately forcing them to abandon their villages and seek refuge, mainly in Pakistan. The clear intention of this strategy was to uproot the villagers from their homes and hearths and to increase the number of refugees, from amongst whom counter-revolutionary recruits could be drawn. Once displaced from their villages and towns and confined within the heavily guarded so-called refugee camps, and totally dependent on food rations and other necessities of life distributed through counter-revolutionary groups by Pakistan, the displaced Afghans would naturally be more vulnerable to the pressure and intimidation exerted on them.

53. It has been widely reported by the international mass media, as well as by authoritative United Nations sources, that the so-called refugee assistance has been an instrumental factor in forcing refugee families to join one of the dozen or so pseudo-religious Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations

that were formed in Pakistan before and after the revolution.

54. Beverly Male, of the Australian National University, has described the method through which counter-revolutionary organizations forcefully enlisted the displaced Afghan population into their ranks. I should like also to cite some other observations he has made:

"There is little evidence that Islamabad has made any effort to control the border, merely inviting the Afghan Government to close it if it can. In respect of its other claims the Pakistan Government has been less than honest. Pakistan's encouragement of and support for the rebels has been an important factor in maintaining the insurgency inside Afghanistan, and its policy regarding the refugees cannot be divorced from this sympathetic assistance Pakistan's encouragement of the refugees was discreet, but it appears to have commenced quite early In April and May 1979 several large tribal *lashkars* or armies, numbering some thousands of men, attacked Afghanistan from the tribal areas of Pakistan. The Pakistan Government rejected Afghan protests, against the incursions . . . and in any case maintains that it has no authority to prevent such activities: if Pakistan's tribesmen want to assist their Afghan brothers, Islamabad insists that it is powerless to stop them Pakistan however also insists that it has complete sovereignty over these areas and is quick to protest should Afghan aircraft [allegedly] violate what is considered Pakistani airspace along the border There is no evidence that Islamabad attempted to use its power in this respect to restrain organizers of the *lashkars* which attacked Afghanistan However, persistent unofficial reports within Pakistan tend to confirm the role of the Pakistan Armed Forces in providing support for the rebels."

Beverly Male further continues:

"On a less dramatic level, the more public camps provide support for the insurgents' families and function as 'rest and recreation' centres for the rebels themselves when they return from Afghanistan White House officials [had] acknowledged that the United States had been sending arms to the Afghan rebels and that it was shipping them through Pakistan [This] continued to receive confirmation from Pentagon sources Care was however taken to ensure that only those weapons were sent that could credibly be said to have been captured from Afghan and Soviet forces Care also had to be taken to ensure that the arms got to those rebel groups that would use them rather than sell them, and secrecy was essential not only to prevent further splits among the rebel groups, but also to avoid giving any credibility to Soviet and Afghan accusations Pakistan has also assisted the rebels by failing to make any effort to restrict the movements of the refugees, who move freely from the camps, not only within the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, but back over the border. Some complained that they were not being given any support from the Pakistani Government, in that they had to leave their arms hidden on the Afghan side of the border before they returned to Pakistan, but many of those seen in the camps and around the headquarters of the counter-revolutionary political parties in Peshawar belied this claim."

55. Dozens of other sources hostile to the Government of Afghanistan have confirmed the above-mentioned facts; but the few sources I have cited should suffice to prove that the armed and other forms of aggression by the mercenaries of United States imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and their local reactionary lackeys against Afghanistan have historical roots and reached the level of an undeclared war after the victory of the April 1978 revolution, and especially after its evolutionary phase which started on 27 December 1979. This new episode has also been widely reported in the Western media.

56. *Counterspy* magazine writes in its September–November 1983 issue:

“CIA support for the Afghan rebels is the largest known CIA paramilitary campaign since the mid-1970s when it aided UNITA forces in Angola in an attempt to stifle that country’s revolution The CIA campaign began shortly after the People’s Democratic Party took power in April 1978, and escalated after Babrak Karmal became President in December 1979 In early January 1980, the Carter Cabinet decided that the CIA, in conjunction with China and Egypt, should make a major commitment to support the Afghan rebels in Pakistan. The operation was to be done by a special committee headed by national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski who co-ordinated the programme with four nations: Egypt (which delivers Soviet-made weapons from its warehouses and supplies military trainers), Pakistan (which permits and protects the Afghan rebel military camps on its soil and allows arms shipments through), China (which ships arms and provides training) and Saudi Arabia (which finances some arms shipment and props up the Pakistani Government with economic aid) The weapons supplied by the United States and its allies include rocket-propelled grenade launchers capable of piercing Soviet-made tank armour, plastic-covered land mines, mortars, recoilless rifles, bazookas, and shoulder-fired anti-aircraft guns.”

The magazine continues:

“Ronald Reagan has taken a more overt approach to aiding the counter-revolutionaries Once President, he stepped up the CIA programme.”

57. A report prepared by Francis Fukuyama in September 1980 for the Rand Corporation states that at least eight Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations are headquartered in Peshawar. It goes on to state:

“The Pakistani Government has made no effort to restrict their activities [This] causes a certain amount of resentment among the local Pakistanis who are totally barred from political activities.”

58. In a series of seven articles published in *The Washington Post* in October 1983, William Branigin says that the United States is discreetly financing purchases on the international arms market and helping with logistics for deliveries from foreign countries, such as Egypt, that have stocks of Soviet weapons. Describing a counter-revolutionary camp in Teri Mangal, he says:

“The maze of paths to the side, turned to mud by a summer squall, bustled with Afghans preparing caravans of horses and donkeys for trips ‘inside’. Piles of supplies . . . brand new Chinese-made

Kalashnikov assault rifles, heavy machine guns and anti-tank mines, ammunition for rocket propelled grenade launchers and various other weapons lay on the ground ready to be tied on to the pack animals. The sound of weapons being test-fired echoed through the surrounding hills.”

59. In a special report entitled “Inside CIA, What’s Really Going On”, Robert Dudley and Orr Kelly wrote in the 25 June 1984 issue of *U.S. News and World Report*:

“Covert actions, such as mining of Nicaraguan ports, make the headlines. But developments elsewhere in America’s secret spy agency are even more far-reaching Flush with money and manpower, the CIA is back at work worldwide, operating on a scale not seen since the Viet Nam war . . . [and since] embarrassing revelations in the 1970s that it had engaged in assassination plots, secret wars, coup attempts and other questionable enterprises In Afghanistan, [CIA Director William J.] Casey has expanded clandestine U.S. support for Muslim insurgents Annual assistance for guns, ammunitions and the like now is said to top 75 million dollars.”

60. Tahir Amin of Quaid-i-Azam University in Pakistan writes that:

“Several private organizations sympathetic to the *mujahidin* cause raise funds from the Middle Eastern countries and buy weapons on the international market for the *mujahidin* Governments—particularly China, various Western countries, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the U.S., Pakistan and Iran—also help the *mujahidin* in various degrees . . . the *mujahidin* now possess sophisticated recoilless rifles, Soviet-, Chinese- and British-built mortars, light anti-aircraft machine guns, RPG-7 shoulder-fired anti-armour rocket launchers of Soviet design, heavy machine guns, . . . SAM-7 missiles and plastic-covered Chinese mines.”

61. In an article entitled “Contradictions and Tensions” published in the March 1984 issue of *AfricAsia*, Richard Ward writes:

“Pakistan co-operates with American clandestine efforts (in association with China) to destabilize the Government in Afghanistan . . . in reality, the United States wants this state of affairs to continue in order to justify its own military presence in the Persian Gulf region, under the pretext of protecting it from a mythical Soviet attack. But in buying Pakistan’s co-operation with military aid and thus helping perpetuate its repressive régime, Washington not only opposes the interest of the Pakistani people but also heats up regional tensions.”

As can be seen, these revelations not only shed some light on the scale and scope of the anti-Afghan undeclared war but also unmask the real intentions of its perpetrators.

62. The same issue of *AfricAsia* published an article by Konrad Ege entitled “The Struggle for Afghanistan”, which states:

“According to Congressional sources, CIA aid to the Afghan rebels for the next fiscal year will increase by 20 to 25 per cent to a total of some \$125 million It is the arms coming through [Pakistan-based] groups that seem to keep all the rebel forces—both those inside the country and those in Pakistan—well equipped. The Reagan Administration is strongly committed to continu-

ing its support for these organizations despite repeated claims that it seeks a peaceful solution For Ronald Reagan this is a cheap little war, costing but \$125 million out of an overall annual military and intelligence budget of more than \$200 billion. These CIA payments—the largest known CIA paramilitary operation since the mid-70s—serve to tie down thousands of Soviet troops, and the Administration seems prepared to fund the fight to the last Afghan.”

63. *Newsweek*, in its issue of 25 December 1983, confirms the previous reports of Congressional sources. The same magazine, in its issue of 2 July 1984, reports:

“Afghan rebel lobbyists in Washington . . . claim that the CIA’s four-year \$325 million aid package has been woefully inadequate to support their war On the Senate side, Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts hopes to persuade the Foreign Relations Committee to pass his resolution calling for an expanded Afghan arms programme.”

64. *The Economist*, in its 28 April 1984 issue, writes:

“It is scarcely a secret that the CIA is the primary source of money and supplies for the resistance fighters in Afghanistan. Whether they are doing things as controversial and questionable as the CIA-supported Contras in Nicaragua is not clear, but the distance is greater and the enemy more obviously loathsome politically, and so nobody seems to complain.”

65. *The Wall Street Journal* of 9 April 1984, dealing with the complaint with regard to insufficient United States assistance to the counter-revolutionary organizations, states that according to the calculation of Andrew Eiva, a former United States army special forces soldier who heads a rebel lobbying group in Washington, one of the smallest of the counter-revolutionary groups, during a period of two years alone “received 7,577 bolt-action rifles, 2,940 automatic rifles, 18 82-millimeter mortars, 445 rocket launchers and 127 machine guns . . . the U.S. provides Soviet-designed SAM-7 shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles, which the guerrillas say they need badly”

66. *The Washington Post*, in its 7 October 1984 issue, refers to the Teri Mangal area as a guerrilla staging base where explosions destroyed several guerrilla hostels. The writer of the article, William Claiborne, who had seen Afghan counter-revolutionaries with pack horses loaded with artillery shells and other supplies for raids against the Paktia province of Afghanistan, states that:

“Pakistani territory . . . is openly used by the insurgents as a sanctuary Although tribal agency police are constantly present in Teri Mangal, the ostensible refugee camp is openly a staging base for guerrilla raids across the porous border, barely a mile away”

67. *Conflict Studies* writes in its issue No. 161 that:

“The main sources of supply are China, the United States, Gulf States, Egypt and Iran, all of which have paid for or provided sophisticated infantry weapons. It is widely believed that several Western European States (probably Britain and West Germany) are also involved.”

68. *Soldier of Fortune*, that mouthpiece of international mercenarism, which has also formed a fund-raising committee to complement other sources of arms and money to the counter-revolutionaries and has collaborated closely with the counter-revolutionary organizations in Pakistan, reports in its March 1984 issue that the counter-revolutionaries “have started to train seriously for a protracted guerrilla war”. According to the magazine, the counter-revolutionary groups have set up their training camps inside Pakistan, where members are trained for the continuation of the fighting inside Afghanistan.

69. *Time*, in its 10 September 1984 issue, published a report of Robert Schultheis, an American freelance writer who had illegally crossed into Afghanistan with the bands of counter-revolutionary groups from Pakistan. He writes:

“Each night convoys of anywhere from 600 to 1,500 begin the long march westward. They load down their mules and camels with mortars, heavy machine guns and mines, then scramble along steep, rocky trails through the eerily deserted landscape . . . they cross the highlands along the border and descend towards battle.

“The men are Afghans who have spent several years in refugee camps in Pakistan.”

70. The same magazine, *Time*, published an article by Pico Iyer and Dean Brelis in its 11 June 1984 issue which describes in a detailed manner the deep involvement of the United States in the undeclared war against Afghanistan. I shall quote parts of this article which is captioned “Caravans on moonless nights: How the CIA supports and supplies the . . . guerrillas”. Referring to the role played by the United States during recent mopping up operation in Afghanistan, he writes:

“American spy satellites detected movements that allowed agents to warn the rebels of the impending attack. [Counter-revolutionary] radio performance was made possible by the use of more than 40 CIA-supplied portable transmitters. In response to a specific request . . . the CIA also arranged to send hundreds of land mines by plane, ship, truck, camel and pony across three continents and through several intermediaries, so that they got into rebel hands

“the existence of a CIA pipeline to the *mujahidin* has long been an open secret Sources in Asia, the Middle East and the United States have given *Time* some details of how the aid pipeline works. Used selectively, the information sheds light on this operation without exposing individuals and organizations

“As a senior Western military attaché told *Time*:

“Politically the CIA’s main challenge has been to avoid linking its operations to the Government of Pakistani President Zia-ul-Haq “We’re going to keep Zia’s hands clean”, CIA Director William J. Casey told a top aide early on. Says a senior intelligence official: “Ideally, the pipeline had to be invisible, passing through Pakistan”.—The pipeline is probably working at close to its capacity and it is continuing to grow.—As a result, much of the operation is handled with the help of Saudi Arabia. The Saudis’ support for the guerrillas is by no means covert; only six weeks ago,

Crown Prince Abdullah encouragingly assured Afghan refugees in Pakistan, "Your struggle is a jihad because you have taken up arms in defense of Islam. We will continue to assist you as we did in the past. We will always remain on your side"."

71. *Time* gives great details of the CIA network which runs and supervises the whole operation that ensures the continuation and escalation of the undeclared war. Extensive references to this and other sources are based on our hope that those who care for facts will have an opportunity to examine them and to base their judgements on them. Those who are interested in finding out the truth about Afghanistan can refer for details to the sources I have cited and to the publication of the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This publication, which is entitled "Undeclared War", is being distributed to delegations at our request, along with copies of my statement.

72. These hard facts tear aside the dirty veil of demagoguery and hypocrisy behind which our enemies—namely United States imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and their arch-reactionary allies—have hidden their ominous designs against Afghanistan. The facts are that there exists close collaboration amongst the United States, China, Pakistan and certain other reactionary countries' intelligence agencies in organizing, training and arming counter-revolutionaries beyond our borders and co-ordinating their activities inside Afghanistan; that guerrilla training bases and camps are in full swing on the outskirts of major cities and towns along the frontier area; that new channels and pipelines for running arms into counter-revolutionary bastions are established and sources of those arms are expanded.

73. It is also a fact that, investing vast sums of money, the enemies of the revolution have built up strong counter-revolutionary formations that are entering Afghanistan through the countless rugged passes along the long frontier and conducting subversive operations not only in areas close to the frontier but also in the interior.

74. Everybody understands full well that the hue and cry set up by the enemies of our revolution over the entry into Afghanistan of limited contingents of Soviet troops was caused by the virtual collapse of all heinous designs for forcing Afghanistan back into the annals of its past history. Now that those enemies are completely convinced that their initial aims cannot be achieved, they are sparing no effort to prevent a political settlement and to preserve the present tense situation.

75. They are dispatching ever larger quantities of armaments to the counter-revolutionaries and adding more and more sophisticated weapons to those consignments. They are pouring hundreds of millions of dollars each year into the hands of counter-revolutionary ringleaders and bribing the Government of Pakistan with billions of dollars' worth of arms and economic assistance.

76. The fact that this undeclared war is launched and deliberately sustained by imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary forces and would completely disappear as soon as a stop was put to the flow of arms and financial assistance to the counter-revolutionaries has been admitted to by the perpetrators of this war. *The Washington Post* writes in its issue of 22 October 1983 that counter-revolutionaries "need the funds

and supplies . . . as well as the safe havens and services found in Pakistan" in order to continue the war.

77. The international organ of mercenaries, *Soldier of Fortune*, and the leaders of the United States Administration are in full agreement that the war against Afghanistan could not have been fought had there not been the Pakistan factor. *Soldier of Fortune* points out in its most recent issue that "without Pakistan to operate from, the *mujahidin* could not wage a war".

78. United States Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger stated before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States House of Representatives that "without a confident Pakistan, the resistance in Afghanistan will wither . . .".

79. In the initial stages of foreign armed interference in Afghanistan the armed forces of the country were capable of dealing crushing blows to such interference. With the expansion of subversive and terrorist operations and their elevation to an actual undeclared war, the threat to Afghanistan's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity became so grave that it could no longer be contained by internal means.

80. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on many occasions approached the Governments of Iran and Pakistan in order to draw their serious attention to the consequences that would emanate from the continuation of armed interference and urged them to co-operate with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its effort to bring normalcy to the relations between our countries by putting an end to the increasing use of their territories for launching acts of aggression against Afghanistan.

81. On one specific occasion, in July 1979—that is, six months before the limited contingents of the Soviet forces were invited into Afghanistan—a high-level Afghan delegation visited one of the neighbouring countries for negotiations on putting an end to armed intervention and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The head of State of that country told the visiting delegation to its face that protection of Afghanistan's frontiers was not a responsibility that rested with Afghanistan's neighbours and that the internal factors in his country would not permit him to take any decisive action that could effectively stop the use of its territories by the counter-revolutionary bands. On that same occasion, Afghanistan was invited to take whatever measure it deemed appropriate to safeguard its frontiers.

82. After our repeated calls for a more rational and restrained attitude on the part of our neighbours failed to produce any result, and under the conditions of increasing armed interference from outside, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had to pursue more vigorously its request for military assistance from the Soviet Union.

83. We had hoped that the signing of a Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 5 December 1978 would signal to those who had evil intentions with regard to Afghanistan that our country would not be alone if a serious threat were posed to it by our enemies. Falling victim to their aggressive and fanatic illusions, however, our enemies have

relentlessly striven to topple the revolutionary Government by force and to restore the old order in Afghanistan.

84. Making a choice between bowing to outside armed pressure and surrendering the people's power to those who are mercenaries sold out to imperialism, hegemonism and reaction, on the one hand, and, on the other, the safeguarding of Afghanistan's political independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty, and defending the gains of the revolution by every means, including that available from fraternal sources, should not have been a difficult one. But it took the contracting parties to the bilateral Treaty of December 1978 more than 11 months from the initial request of Afghanistan for military assistance to be mutually convinced of the gravity of armed interference and the lack of any realistic hope for a reversal of the situation. By invoking article 4 of the Afghan-Soviet bilateral Treaty of December 1978, and in full conformity with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan exercised its legitimate right to individual and collective self-defence. Ultimately giving a positive response to the repeated calls of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union undertook to fulfil its obligation under the bilateral Treaty.

85. The triumph of the national-democratic April revolution was the logical outcome of the long struggles of our militant people against the tyranny and oppression of the monarchic régime which was characterized by a feudal and pre-feudal social order, a corrupt government apparatus and the failure of the ruling class to solve the urgent economic and social problems of the country. The general goals of the revolution consist of the elimination of feudal and pre-feudal relations, implementation of democratic and just land and water reforms, development of the national economy, improvement of the living standard of the people and democratization of social and political life.

86. During the revolutionary years, great strides have been taken towards the realization of those noble goals. Of course, these achievements would have been much greater and the pace of revolutionary transformations much faster if the grim legacy of the past were not coupled with the adverse consequences on the national economy of the undeclared war against Afghanistan. As a result of the subversive and terrorist acts of the counter-revolutionary stooges of the organizers of this destructive, inhuman and mediaeval war against civilization, the people of Afghanistan have suffered human and material losses of enormous proportions.

87. So far, thousands of innocent people, including children, women and the elderly, among them 200 priests, have been murdered, and public and private property destroyed, including 254 mosques and holy places, 1,800 schools, 104 hospitals, half of government-owned trucks, as well as communication lines, bridges, highways and hydroelectric and thermal power installations. The total cost of this destruction, to the national economy of our country, amounts to around 34 billion afghanis which constitutes three fourths of the total development investment made during the two decades before the revolution.

88. Notwithstanding this damage to the national economy and the fact that the continuation of the undeclared war has caused the channelling of a

considerable amount of human and financial resources into the defence of the independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the country, during the past Afghan year ending 21 March 1984, both the gross national product and the national income of the country surpassed those of the years before the revolution. In comparison with the previous year, the gross national product and the national income of the country showed an increase of 6 and 4.5 per cent respectively. During the current year, work on a total of 180 projects will be accelerated, and work on 29 new projects will begin. Feasibility studies for another 37 projects will also be completed during the same period.

89. One of the major achievements of the April revolution, democratic land and water reform, is being successfully implemented. During the initial phase of the reform, 665,000 hectares of land were distributed to 295,988 landless and land-starved peasant families. The land was taken from 7,000 big landlords who possessed more than 40 hectares of land each, and from 28,000 petty landlords who possessed from 6.1 up to 40 hectares each.

90. Subsequently, another 79,400 hectares of land were distributed before the end of March this year. Up to that same date, property rights of 78,447 peasant families were established, of which 73 per cent received legal land ownership documents. During the current year, another 30,000 landless and land-starved peasant families will receive land; the ownership rights of 45,000 peasant families to over 255,000 hectares of land will be established; and 80,000 legal land ownership documents will be distributed.

91. During the previous year, wheat production reached 2,927,000 tons and grain production as a whole 4,590,000 tons, registering an increase of 1 per cent over the planned target and 2 per cent in comparison with the previous year. In comparison with the year ending 21 March 1979, the level of agricultural production as a whole registered a solid increase of 7.8 per cent during the previous year. In the same year, livestock in the country increased by 195,000 heads.

92. The output of industries, mines and the power sector during the previous year has been evaluated at 32,140 million afghanis, showing an increase of 9.1 per cent over the year before. It is expected that this output will register a further increase of 14.2 per cent during the current year.

93. The role of the State sector in the national economy is rapidly on the increase. In comparison with the years immediately before the revolution, the share of the State sector in the year ending 21 March 1984 increased in exports from 28 to 52 per cent, in imports from 26 to 57.3 per cent, in industry from 76 to 79.3 per cent and in transportation from 2.8 to 4.3 per cent. The total share of the State sector in the gross domestic output increased during the same period from 16.8 to 28.5 per cent.

94. Because of the sound fiscal policies pursued by the Government, the financial situation in revolutionary Afghanistan is also satisfactory. Although Afghanistan is the only country in the region where taxes have not been increased during recent years, the Government is running a balanced budget. During the previous year, the expenditure of Af 5.7 billion afghanis anticipated for development purposes from domestic sources was fully realized.

95. Alongside economic growth, the pace of social progress was also accelerated. Although the criminal counter-revolution has destroyed 1,800 schools so far in different parts of the country, murdering a number of innocent teachers, significant progress has been achieved in the field of education. Apart from reconstruction of the destroyed schools during the current year, many schools were upgraded and new schools were opened. The total number of 452,000 students presently attending schools shows a solid increase of 42 per cent over the years before the revolution. Over 9,600 students are enrolled in various institutions of higher education and 1,400 have been sent abroad for higher studies during the current year alone.

96. An important achievement of the April revolution, the campaign against illiteracy, is gaining momentum day by day. In the course of the five years after the revolution 1,048,000 people became literate and, during the year ending 21 March 1984, 233,000 people were admitted to literacy courses. Currently there are around 20,000 such courses functioning all over the country. It is planned to eradicate illiteracy by the year 1986 in cities and by 1990 all over the country.

97. During the revolutionary years more than 20 new hospitals and health centres have been built in the country. Before the revolution there were only three hospital beds for every 10,000 people. The figure stands at six hospital beds for every 10,000 people today, which is a twofold increase. Similarly, the number of doctors has increased 1.5 times and more and better medical service is being provided for the population.

98. While the savage counter-revolution has destroyed 254 mosques in different parts of the country, the number of mosques built or repaired by the Government during the six revolutionary years exceeds the total constructed or repaired during the 20 years before the revolution. The Islamic Affairs Department, established in July 1980 in the framework of the Council of Ministers, has built or repaired during the past three years 451 mosques, with the expenditure of 65 million afghanis. The total expenditure by the Department for Religious Affairs, which is financed from the State budget, amounted to 210,259,609 afghanis for the past three years.

99. Much attention is being paid to improving the living and working conditions of the people. Twice during the revolutionary years the wages and salaries of workers and civil service employees have been raised. On 21 March 1981 their salaries were increased by 26.6 per cent on average. For the low-income group the increase amounted to between 40 and 50 per cent. Again in April this year salaries and wages were raised by an average of 18 per cent and, in the case of the low-income group, amounted to an increase of between 22 and 34 per cent. Primary commodities are subsidized by the Government. During the current year, 2.5 billion afghanis will be spent for this purpose from the State budget.

100. The role of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan as the leading and guiding force of Afghan society is being further consolidated day by day; 120,000 militant Afghans, of whom a significant 45 per cent are workers and peasants and 11 per cent are women, are fighting in its ranks, leading the way in building a new society. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is a leading member of the

National Fatherland Front, which has united and mobilized, to safeguard the gains of the revolution and for the cause of social progress and justice in Afghanistan, well over half a million collective and individual members all over the country. Its collective members—such as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan; the Democratic Organization of Afghan Youth, with a membership of more than 100,000; the Democratic Organization of Afghan Women, with a membership of over 30,000; the trade unions of Afghanistan, with 160,000 members; the peasants' co-operatives of Afghanistan, numbering 1,274 co-operatives with a total membership of over 200,000; the Supreme *Jirgah* of Nationalities and Tribes of Afghanistan; the Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Organization of Afghanistan; the High Council of Afghan Clergy; unions of artists, writers and poets; journalists; and over 100,000 individual members of the Front—represent all the national and democratic forces of the Afghan society.

101. State power has been consolidated all over the country. Efforts are under way for the implementation of the Law of Local Organs of State Power and Administration, which for the first time in the history of Afghanistan provides for the direct participation of the people, through democratic elections, in the affairs both of their locality and of the country as a whole. Today, in addition to the heroic armed forces, revolution defence groups, self-defence groups, soldiers of the revolution, tribal regiments, people's militia groups and social order brigades are militantly and victoriously safeguarding the gains of their revolution. As a result of their heroic struggle, large formations of the counter-revolution have been annihilated. However, different forms of subversive and terroristic activities are still being continued by the remnants of the criminal counter-revolutionary bands.

102. With the enormity of the social and economic tasks facing the revolutionary Government, it is only natural and logical that Afghanistan should be earnestly desirous of putting an end as soon as possible to the present state of affairs. Guided by its principled foreign policy, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan submitted its well-known proposals of 14 May 1980 and 24 August 1981, which constitute the most realistic basis for a negotiated political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. In conformity with those proposals, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has engaged in serious and constructive negotiations with Pakistan through the intermediary of Mr. Diego Cordovez, the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General.

103. While expressing our appreciation of the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his representative, we believe that our achievements in the negotiations would have been much more impressive had the other side abandoned its intransigence in refusing to negotiate directly and displayed the needed sincerity and consistency.

104. We would like to mention here that those that are hypocritically crying loudest for a solution of the problem are at the same time doing everything possible to subvert the process of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan and to prevent the international community from putting its weight fully behind those negotiations. They are whipping up a monstrous propaganda campaign of lies and false-

hoods and are encouraging extremely harmful exercises, such as the present debate in the Assembly.

105. It was revealed by Selig Harrison, Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment, in his article entitled "The Soviet Union in Afghanistan" that "the American officials . . . ridiculed the continuing efforts of the United Nations" and that:

"[the United States Secretary of State George] Shultz, in the presence of four other United States officials, told [Foreign Minister of Pakistan Sahabzada] Yaqub-Khan and his advisers that the United States considered the United Nations agreement unworkable in the absence of some provision for the replacement of the present [Afghan] Government. It is unlikely that the Reagan Administration would have accepted the United Nations settlement even if agreement had proved possible Washington finds it useful to keep Moscow in the position of defendant."

106. The real intention of Pakistan is also no longer a secret, as Pakistan's Minister of Defence, Ali Ahmad Talpur, while on an official visit to Saudi Arabia in May 1984, made a statement to the Saudi Press Agency in which he called for more co-operation between Islamic countries to "liberate . . . territories of Afghanistan". This was confirmed once again by a statement made by General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq in a March 1984 press conference in Peshawar to the effect that "there is no possibility whatsoever of initiating any direct contact with the [Afghan] régime".

107. By now it should be obvious to everyone that the United States, China and Pakistan and their allies of various forms and colours are not in the least interested in a solution of the problem. There should remain no doubt that the undeclared war against Afghanistan is but a regional extension of the United States global policy of aggression, expansionism, diktat and intimidation. This criminal policy is being implemented either directly, as in Grenada and Lebanon, or by proxy, as in Central America, the Middle East, South Africa and other regions of the world. All peace-loving and progressive humanity has vehemently condemned this policy, which is doomed to failure. The destiny of the United States aggressive policy against Afghanistan can in no way be an exception. The valiant people of Afghanistan, under the leadership of their heroic political vanguard, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, are more than ever determined to continue their victorious march towards a bright and prosperous future.

108. No power on Earth is able to halt that march or to alter the destiny which the people of Afghanistan have determined for themselves. As in the past, our people will ultimately triumph, no matter how great the odds may be. It is with this strong conviction that we are working hard towards establishing complete peace and tranquillity in our region, which would greatly facilitate the early achievement of the noble and humanistic goals of our revolution.

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

110. This constitutes the most logical approach to the solution of existing problems. In our opinion, this is the only viable way by which a settlement can be worked out that will in turn positively affect the common interests of all nations in the region and enhance regional stability and international peace and security.

111. Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, recently stated:

"The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan reaffirm all the initiatives they have previously taken towards the solution of those questions under discussion concerning relations with Pakistan and Iran which have not as yet been solved. As far as Afghanistan is concerned, there exists no problem which cannot be settled through just and democratic means.

"As in the past, we categorically point out that we believe there is no unresolvable issue in these relations. If these initiatives are not positively reciprocated today, we will work together with our friends, with patience and perseverance, towards reaching such a solution on the morrow."

112. Five years of repeated discussion of the artificial question of Afghanistan in this Assembly should have proved the futility of this exercise to exert pressure on Afghanistan and its friends. Our participation in this debate—which is aimed at not allowing our enemies to get away with lies and fabrications—can in no way give legitimacy to this unwarranted discussion.

113. We have categorically rejected and condemned the outcome of this interventionist and illegal exercise in the past and shall cast a negative vote on draft resolution A/39/L.11. No matter how often such a one-sided, biased and unrealistic resolution is adopted, here or in any other forum, it will have no validity and thus will not be binding on us. We urge all delegations which have independent judgement and harbour a wish to contribute positively to an early peaceful solution of the problem to deny their support to this extremely harmful delaying tactic.

114. Let us not allow the shortsightedness and adventurism that have characterized this tactic and the overall strategy of the perpetrators of the undeclared war to block the early attainment of a political solution. Let us forgo the short-term benefits of posing as so-called front-line States and selfish attempts at fishing in muddy waters in favour of long-term stability, friendship and co-operation in our region. Let us abandon rigidity and intransigence in evading direct, fruitful and businesslike negotiations for a more sober-minded and realistic policy that will serve as a positive factor in the interest of all of us.

115. Mr. ABDUL KADIR (Malaysia): Yet again, for the fifth consecutive year, we have before us the item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security". My delegation vividly recalls previous debates on the item: on every occasion, without fail, what stood out most glaringly was the international community's profound sense of indignation and its abhorrence of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. That a super-Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, whose avowed duty it is to preserve and ensure

international peace and security, should instead use its might to subjugate a small, sovereign entity, leaves us all with a sense of foreboding. If it has happened in Afghanistan and elsewhere, could it not also happen to the majority of us who are equally vulnerable? It is therefore imperative that we continue to condemn any violation of the sanctity of a State's right to independence, sovereignty and national integrity.

Mr. Fajardo Maldonado (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.

116. The Soviet Union has failed to persuade us that its intervention, occupation and subsequent imposition of a puppet régime in Afghanistan were at the request of the Afghan people to protect them from external threat. It belies the fact that from the earliest existence of their nation, Afghans have never needed foreign troops to protect their independence. The people of Afghanistan are renowned for their proud independence, and the continuing struggle by the *mujahidin* is ample illustration that they reject the Soviet occupation and the puppet régime imposed on them.

117. The attendant dangers of foreign military intervention should be clear to all. Such action constitutes a serious and blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Particularly when the perpetrator is a major actor in the international system, it calls into question the basic principles of acceptable conduct in relations between States. The Soviet adventurist entry into Afghanistan has undoubtedly resulted in a qualitative change in the security environment not merely in the immediate region but globally as well. That retrogressive development, while impeding and constituting a serious constraint on efforts by countries of the area to foster co-operation and regional peace and stability, has also perceptibly increased international tension. Undoubtedly, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, when viewed in its global dimensions, has exacerbated East-West tension and is one link in the chain of events which has rolled back the process of détente. It has heightened the legitimate concern and anxiety of the international community, in particular small nations.

118. To us in South-East Asia, events in Afghanistan resemble a scenario with which we are all familiar. I refer to the situation in Kampuchea, where a powerful country sent its troops into a weaker State and installed a puppet régime under the pretext that it had been invited by the people of Kampuchea. In that instance, too, that justification is refuted by the resistance put up by the Kampuchean people against the occupation army and its puppet régime, not to mention the hundreds of thousands of refugees. Indeed, both cases represent an act of brazen international lawlessness, in open defiance of the Charter of the United Nations, the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and the sovereign rights of States.

119. We need no reminder that the gravity of the situation in Afghanistan continues to be a matter of anxiety and serious concern everywhere, given its implications for international peace and security. The Soviet action has been condemned by all, save a few of its obvious friends. It has been condemned in the United Nations, by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and by other international forums. The

pronouncements of the voice of the world have been explicit and unequivocal: that the continued presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan cannot be accepted, as such presence not only is against the will and wishes of the people but constitutes blatant disregard of the Charter of the United Nations.

120. Such presence, despite the denials of the Soviet Union, is clearly against the wishes of the people of Afghanistan. The proof of this is the inability of the Soviet Union, despite its fire-power and military might, to break the will of the *mujahidin*. The courage and resilience of the Afghan freedom fighters typify in a true sense the reaction of all peoples against the imposition of a foreign occupation force. Indeed, the cost has been high for the Afghan people. Cities and villages have been bombed and ravaged and merciless reprisals have been conducted against the Afghan people, millions of whom have fled their homes. Yet, despite the enormous price in blood and suffering, despite the odds, despite the destructive might of Soviet weaponry, the resistance continues unabated.

121. Malaysia will continue to support the just cause of the Afghan people in whatever practical way it can in their valiant struggle to free their homeland. In this context, my Government has provided facilities in Kuala Lumpur for the *mujahidin* to maintain an office.

122. I should like to congratulate the Governments of Pakistan and Iran for their forbearance, courage and determination in facing up to the monumental task of playing host to over 4.5 million refugees, all driven from their homes as a result of foreign tyranny. We understand that the refugee figures have swelled to almost 3.5 million in Pakistan and over 1 million in Iran. The flow continues as the Soviet Union increases the tempo of its campaign to subjugate the Afghan people, and the refugees already constitute the single largest such community in the world. That in itself is a telling illustration of the tragedy which has befallen the Afghan people. It makes nonsense of assertions that a foreign army had been "invited" to "save" their country.

123. It is the ardent hope of my Government that the Soviet leadership will recognize the reality of the fact that its attempts to subjugate Afghanistan in pursuance of its strategic design will continue to be resisted by the Afghan people. To pursue the present course will only lead to more bloodshed and turmoil, further endangering the region's stability and that of the world. The only way out is through a political settlement which will return and preserve the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan. My Government, therefore, fully supports the efforts of the Secretary-General, through his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to bring about a peaceful solution. My delegation notes with interest the Secretary-General's report on this item [A/39/513], which states that efforts are continuing in the search for a peaceful and comprehensive settlement. We hope that the efforts of Mr. Cordovez will produce substantive results, consistent with the demands and decisions of the international community.

124. Before us once again we have a draft resolution [A/39/L.11] in which the Assembly reiterates the call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, and stresses, *inter alia*, the need to preserve its territorial integrity, political independence, and non-aligned status. It also urges the

parties directly concerned to work for the immediate achievement of a political solution. My country is one of the sponsors of this draft resolution, which will undoubtedly be adopted by an overwhelming majority as similar draft resolutions have been at previous sessions.

125. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): The crisis in Afghanistan has for the past five years deeply wounded that nation, shaken the stability of the region and caused international relations to worsen. The causes and consequences of this grave crisis are too apparent to be refuted or concealed.

126. Afghanistan, a country with whose people we have deep-rooted historical and cultural ties, has been turned into a battleground, resulting in heavy destruction and immense human suffering. We are deeply concerned and disturbed by the attempts to impose changes on the Afghan people through the use of military means. We think the Afghan people must be free to determine its fate and its internal régime in the framework of non-alignment.

127. It was inevitable that the effects of a crisis of such political and humane proportions could not remain, and they have not remained, confined to Afghanistan itself. Millions of Afghan refugees who have sought shelter in Pakistan and Iran, as well as a modest number of Afghan families who are trying to build a new life for themselves in other countries, including Turkey, are victims of the turmoil that has been created in Afghanistan. The constant increase in the number of Afghan refugees creates a difficult situation that Pakistan and Iran continue to face. We cannot but praise both Governments for providing shelter and humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees.

128. We have taken note of the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report to the General Assembly on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security [A/39/513] that the main concern, indeed, the principal aim of the United Nations in the context of a political settlement should be to end the suffering of the Afghan people. The voluntary return of Afghan refugees to their homeland has been identified as one of the basic requirements of a political solution to the Afghan crisis.

129. We wish to express our concern over the territorial violations and air raids carried out against Pakistan. We deplore these.

130. We have long ago reached the point where all should realize that there can be no military solution in Afghanistan. Delaying a serious search for a political solution and continuing reliance on military means will only add to the human suffering and create graver regional and international tensions.

131. From the very outset of this crisis the Government of Turkey has persistently called for a political solution. We have always emphasized the prejudicial effect of this crisis on international relations.

132. The basic elements of a comprehensive political solution in Afghanistan have already been defined, consistently, by various groups of Member States, which have voiced the expectations of the international community and expressed their readiness to make a positive contribution to such a solution.

133. It is all too clear that for a just and lasting solution in Afghanistan which will permit the restoration of good-neighbourly relations in the region, the

withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan must be ensured. Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status should be restored and guaranteed. The Afghan people must be able to exercise their right to self-determination without outside interference and intervention, and the Afghan refugees must have the right to return to their country.

134. An early political solution which will safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the Afghan people remains the first objective that must be achieved through negotiations. We attach particular significance to the efforts of the Secretary-General, which offer the best hopes for a negotiated, comprehensive, political settlement.

135. As we turn our attention to the next round of indirect talks, which are to take place early next year, we wish to reaffirm our firm support for the Secretary-General in his initiatives. We believe it is time for all concerned to make a forward move towards the settlement of the Afghan crisis. We note once more with satisfaction and appreciation the full cooperation of the Government of Pakistan with the Secretary-General in the process of indirect negotiations.

136. We place our hopes in these diplomatic efforts, which should be encouraged and supported by all concerned.

137. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): The reasons which the Soviet Union has advanced to justify its intervention in and continued occupation of Afghanistan remain unacceptable to the present Australian Government, as they were nearly five years ago to the Government.

138. It is claimed that Soviet troops entered Afghanistan at the express invitation of the legitimate Government at Kabul, yet one of the first acts at Kabul after Soviet intervention was the murder of the then President and the installation of a new and compliant régime. Ordinary logic thus refutes the basis given by the Soviet Union for its actions.

139. The fact is that a small, developing, non-aligned country, with its own distinctive history and traditions, which already had close ties with the Soviet Union, was invaded by its large neighbour to the north, so that a compliant régime could be put in place.

140. Afghanistan never posed a threat to the security of the Soviet Union. Rather, what we witnessed was an attempt to expand further the Soviet sphere of control. Other small, developing, non-aligned Member States were made to feel less secure by this blatant breach of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the norms of international behaviour.

141. Over successive years the General Assembly has passed, by overwhelming margins, resolutions calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan. It has not been possible to implement those resolutions because of the refusal of the Soviet Union to recognize the General Assembly's competence—and that from a super-Power which is only too quick to criticize others for their alleged failure to observe resolutions of the Assembly.

142. The majority by which successive resolutions on this subject have been adopted makes it clear that the international community is not prepared to accept the situation created by the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan; nor, it would appear, are the majority of the Afghan people themselves. Far

from greeting Soviet troops as their liberators, the Afghan people have shown hostility, which has meant that Soviet troops are safe only in well-fortified garrisons in the major cities. They travel in the countryside only at their peril.

143. Not only does the Australian Government condemn the intervention itself, but it deplors the military tactics still being employed by the Soviet forces in Afghanistan in their attempts to subjugate the Afghan people, especially by the use of mass bombings in recent campaigns in the Panjshir and Lobar valleys and elsewhere. Those methods only compound the suffering being inflicted on the Afghan people.

144. The title of the item now under debate has been carefully and appropriately chosen. We are discussing not only the situation in Afghanistan but also its implications for international peace and security. In this context it is worth reminding ourselves that it was the Soviet intervention in and occupation of Afghanistan which did more than any other single act to arrest the process of détente and to pave the way for the tense and dangerous state of super-Power relations which has arisen in recent years. Thus all countries have been affected by the intervention in Afghanistan, although the Afghan people themselves, of course, have had to bear the most tragic consequences.

145. Just as the intervention in Afghanistan has led to the exacerbation of the cold war, it is apparent that nothing would do more to restore the climate of international confidence than for the Soviet Union to accept a political solution in Afghanistan. It is in the interests of all Member States, not least the Soviet Union, that there should be such an improvement in the international climate.

146. In this context the Australian delegation has followed the work of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, with much interest throughout the year and we have studied the report on this question with care. The Australian delegation would like to reiterate to the Secretary-General and Mr. Cordovez its strong support for their efforts and renew to them our assurances of full co-operation.

147. The Secretary-General has been able to report some progress towards a negotiated settlement, and for that he is to be congratulated. It would be naïve, however, to predict that a solution is in sight, given the attitude which the Babrak Karmal régime and its Soviet patrons continue to display. The "proximity" talks held in Geneva by the Secretary-General's Personal Representative in late August 1984 involving representatives of Pakistan and Afghanistan, with a representative of Iran being kept closely informed, appear to have made some useful progress. It is the hope of the Australian Government that the work now being done by the parties themselves to assess the nature, intent and interrelationships of the specific actions envisaged in a settlement might lead to substantial forward movement.

148. We look forward to the further round of talks to be held in February next year. We call on all the parties concerned, but particularly the party which initiated the military action, to approach this next round of talks with a seriousness of purpose which will allow the Secretary-General to report real progress.

149. It would be inappropriate to finish this statement without some reference to the tragic refugee situation. Iran provides shelter to hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees. Pakistan has had to bear an even heavier burden by receiving nearly 3 million Afghan refugees on its soil. This had generated intolerable strains on the Pakistan economy and my Government pays a tribute to the Government of Pakistan for the way in which it has shouldered these heavy responsibilities. We are also highly appreciative of the efforts of humanitarian relief organizations and, in particular, of UNHCR. The Australian Government has demonstrated its solidarity in this international effort by contributing in excess of \$23.6 million in humanitarian and relief aid to Afghan refugees. We shall continue to bear a fair share of these responsibilities.

150. Australia has studied draft resolution A/39/L.11 and my Government will vote for it, as it has for similar draft resolutions in previous years.

151. When this Organization is criticized for its failure to keep the peace, the critics are really criticizing not the United Nations itself but those countries which have broken the peace or which have violated the basic principles of the Charter.

152. The Australian Government believes that the great Powers have a special responsibility to the international community to uphold the Charter and to behave with restraint. The smaller Powers look to the United Nations to protect and reinforce their sovereignty and territorial integrity. Might is not right, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan said in opening the debate this afternoon.

153. Resolutions which attract very large majorities in the General Assembly, like the draft resolution before us, do carry the weight of what can be called world opinion and, with that, a certain moral force. The Soviet Union, like other countries, is accountable for its actions to the world community through the judgement of this Assembly.

154. The Australian delegation can think of no greater contribution to the strengthening of the authority of the United Nations than the Soviet Union could now make than to negotiate the prompt withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan, in conformity with four—soon to be five—successive resolutions of the Assembly.

155. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly's handling of the political problems in the world is in fact a test of the ability and the effectiveness of the United Nations in fulfilling its basic function under the Charter. This function is the maintenance of world peace and security. Consequently, the persistence of the General Assembly in debating a certain political problem for more than one session and without any change in the nature and methodology of the way the matter is handled is an indication of the Organization's failure in that test and in overcoming obstacles and difficulties. At this point the logical question arises—why this failure and this stumbling? Is it because of a lack of the political will on the part of Member States to apply resolutions they have agreed upon and adopted? Is it because the States directly concerned in the problem resort to the principle of force and dependence on force in international relations at the expense of the principles of truth and justice, the rule of law and respect for the desires of the peoples?

156. Unfortunately, it seems to my country's delegation that the last hypothesis shows the real position. As long as the concept of force overrules the concept of truth, as long as the principles of the equality of rights and duties of nations are ignored and as long as policies of dominance and the creation of spheres of influence override the rights of countries and peoples to independence, sovereignty, peace and stability and the principles of non-interference in the domestic affairs of others and the peaceful coexistence of neighbouring countries, in particular, it is logical that problems should remain without a solution—indeed, should increase and flare up anew.

157. The issue before us today is the problem of Afghanistan, which is one of the problems with the characteristics I have indicated. The Secretary-General has exerted great efforts to ensure the implementation of previous General Assembly resolutions on this matter. Under his auspices, and with the help of his Personal Representative, many rounds of protracted negotiations have been held, as mentioned by the Secretary-General in his report on this question. Although the report offers a ray of hope and faint gleams of light, they are not yet sufficient to illuminate the darkness which hangs over the friendly Moslem people of Afghanistan and to light for them the path to peace and stability.

158. My country's delegation concurs completely with the sentiment expressed in the report of the Secretary-General when he states: "I have consistently felt that the main concern, indeed the principle aim, of the United Nations in this context should be to end the suffering of the Afghan people." [See A/39/513, para. 2.]

159. Kuwait is deeply and increasingly concerned about the continuation of the suffering of the friendly Muslim Afghan people, the continuation of the foreign occupation of its territory, the usurpation of its right to independent and free political decision and the compelling of millions of Afghans to bear the humiliation and the hardships of migration to neighbouring countries, fleeing the oppression and tyranny of the occupying foreign forces which are controlling the fate and interests of this independent and non-aligned people.

160. In the spirit of the divine teachings of Islam and the principles of truth and justice, Kuwait can only support its friend in its weakness and hardship and strengthen it against the difficulties it is experiencing. As we hail the heroism of this Muslim people, which is devoted to its divine faith and its full commitment to its right to live in peace under the protection of the régime it chooses, free from any external intervention in its affairs from any source, we reiterate our appreciation of those countries now acting as host to the refugees—in particular, Pakistan—and of the humane assistance being provided by countries and by specialized agencies to alleviate some of the suffering of the Afghan refugees. We call upon the international community to increase this aid, and to undertake continued individual and collective work through all the international and regional organizations to facilitate the return to normal life of the Afghan people.

161. In the opinion of my delegation, the reason for the persistence of the problem can be attributed to inflexibility and the refusal to deal with the question of the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from the Afghan territories leaving that people itself to deter-

mine its destiny without any external interference in its affairs. Consequently, as the occupation continues, violence becomes more pervasive and more destructive, the emigration more widespread and the problem more complicated. Kuwait, therefore, urges the Soviet Union, the friendly State which, as one of the two major Powers in the world, bears special responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace and security, to respond to the many international resolutions regarding the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

162. Once again, we repeat that in no circumstances is it possible to accept an attack on the freedom, sovereignty or territorial integrity of any independent State, wherever it may be, despite all excuses and all attempts at justification which have been, or can be, put forward. There is no acceptable excuse for intervention in any continent, region or any place in the world. Kuwait also strongly rejects the arbitrary violation of any people's or country's permanent rights of independence, free choice of its destiny and way of life without interference.

163. The denial of those rights will undoubtedly undermine the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and lower the level of international relations, delivering them to the rule of force, chaos and the law of the jungle.

164. In this respect, Kuwait therefore blesses and supports all the efforts of the Secretary-General, and it is looking forward to the coming round of negotiations to be held in February next year. It hopes that they will be successful and that an early withdrawal of Soviet troops will be brought about, so that the refugees may return to their homes and to their free and dignified life, and so that the Afghan people can exercise its free will to choose its political and economic régime, without any form of foreign intervention.

165. Allow me to conclude my statement by quoting from the final paragraph of the Secretary-General's report:

"At the same time I would earnestly hope that, given the objectives that they have set themselves to achieve through the diplomatic process, both Governments will not allow their attitude at the negotiating table to be negatively influenced. They must recall that the comprehensive settlement was from the beginning conceived as the most effective way to resolve all the issues that have brought about the present situation and to lay solid foundations for good-neighbourly relations in the area." [Ibid., para. 9.]

166. My delegation shares the Secretary-General's hopes and assures him of its support in his noble mission.

167. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): The situation in Afghanistan continues to be one of the central issues on the agenda of this Assembly. It is a problem with far-reaching implications, not only for the stability of that region of the world, but also for international peace and security.

168. The continued foreign military intervention in Afghanistan constitutes a serious contravention of some of the most fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations: the principle that States should refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of any State; the principle of non-interference in the

internal affairs of States; and the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, including the right to the free choice of their own political, economic and social system.

169. These are the basic principles which must govern the orderly conduct of relations between States. They form a vital part of international law, to be regarded as *jus cogens* and not open to selective interpretation. No State can remain indifferent in the face of open and continued violation of those principles. When a Member State of the Organization, particularly one that bears special responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council, disregards those principles and the resolutions of the Assembly, it seriously undermines the very foundations of the Organization and its ability to maintain and foster international peace and security.

170. Moreover, the tragic events unfolding in Afghanistan constitute a serious impediment to any improvement in the international climate, and to the restoration of a sense of confidence among the major Powers that is necessary to the process of arriving at common solutions for other pressing global problems.

171. There is yet another aspect of the situation in Afghanistan which has given rise to legitimate concern. The situation in Afghanistan has resulted in a serious humanitarian problem of considerable proportions. Nearly a quarter of the population of Afghanistan have been displaced from their homes and forced to seek shelter in refugee camps in the neighbouring States, in particular Pakistan and Iran. We in Thailand are faced with similar burdens arising from the similar situation in Kampuchea. The Thai delegation, therefore, wishes to take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to Pakistan and Iran for their untiring efforts to alleviate the suffering of the unfortunate Afghan refugees. Indeed the Afghans in Pakistan constitute the largest refugee population in the world. It remains our hope that conditions will soon be created to enable the long-suffering Afghan refugees to return to their homes safely and with dignity.

172. The heroic resistance of the Afghan people and the *mujahidin* testifies to the truth that foreign military intervention in Afghanistan will not succeed. The Afghan people have demonstrated that they are not prepared to accept alien domination and foreign occupation. My delegation firmly believes that history will once again bear testimony to the resolute will and successful achievements of the Afghan people in their present struggle for freedom and independence.

173. Afghanistan and Thailand became Members of the United Nations in the same year, 1946. Our two peoples have a similar heritage and tradition of self-respect and independence. It was undoubtedly the common aspiration of both countries and peoples to play a constructive role in the community of nations that brought them together to this forum. As with others, both countries undoubtedly placed their hopes for the future in the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Therefore Thailand is deeply disturbed that Afghanistan for the fifth year continues to suffer under the yoke of foreign military intervention and a government imposed upon it by a foreign Power. In the face of such a dangerous precedent involving the blatant disregard of fundamental international norms and

principles, no State, however large or small, can feel totally secure.

174. Recognizing the grave consequences of the military intervention in Afghanistan, the General Assembly, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have all expressed deep concern and have repeatedly called for the immediate and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan, in order to allow the Afghan people to exercise their right to self-determination. Thailand has consistently supported these calls, for we believe that a comprehensive political settlement of the Afghanistan problem continues to be a matter of the utmost concern and urgency.

175. Such a comprehensive settlement needs to be based upon the four elements repeatedly emphasized by the Assembly: the immediate, total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever; the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; and the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

176. Thailand welcomes the efforts of the Secretary-General and those of his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to pursue a political solution and to expedite the diplomatic process designed to bring about a comprehensive settlement in line with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly. It is our earnest hope that these efforts will gain further momentum and receive the fullest co-operation of all parties concerned, particularly those vested with the special responsibility of strengthening and enhancing the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

177. Draft resolution A/39/L.11, which was eloquently introduced by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan earlier this afternoon, provides the framework for such a comprehensive settlement in Afghanistan. It also serves to underline the strong and consistent desire of the Assembly to see the effective application of the fundamental principles of the United Nations as well as to ensure the efficacy of the Organization. My delegation, as a sponsor of the draft resolution, believes that the reaffirmation of the will of the world community in support of the legitimate rights and interests of the peoples will keep alive and fulfil the hope for a just and lasting settlement in Afghanistan for the people of Afghanistan.

178. Mr. LEE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): It is with regret and concern that the Assembly is forced to consider this year, once again, the situation in Afghanistan. More than four years have passed since Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, and the Assembly has debated and adopted, overwhelmingly, no fewer than five resolutions condemning the continued Soviet occupation of that formerly non-aligned nation. Other respected international bodies, such as the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Commonwealth, have joined the General Assembly in the demand for the withdrawal of foreign

troops and the restoration of Afghanistan's independence. Yet the Soviet Union has ignored these appeals from the international community and has even attempted to exclude the question from our agenda. In the face of such intransigence, Canada has no choice but to reiterate its strong objections to the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan.

179. The Soviet Union has been unable to demonstrate any sign of external aggression against Afghanistan from other nations. The only country to take such action has been the Soviet Union itself. The régime of Babrak Karmal, installed in power in Kabul four years ago by force of arms, remains as unpopular as ever. The fierce popular resistance that continues against its rule bears eloquent testimony to its failure to establish any semblance of political legitimacy. The frequent defections to the resistance by members of the Afghan Army and civil service indicate the inability of the Karmal régime to command even the loyalty of its own agents. It is clear that the occupying Soviet forces serve no purpose except to defend the Karmal régime against its own people.

180. In the mean time, the war being fought to keep that régime in power has brought more devastation and misery to the people of Afghanistan. An estimated 20 per cent of the entire population of the country has been forced to seek refuge in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. Moreover, it is impossible to estimate how many more civilians still in Afghanistan have had their livestock and homes destroyed and their relatives maimed or killed in this vicious war. As the major Soviet offensive in the Panjshir valley this year has shown, the level of violence has not diminished but, rather, has increased since the last time the Assembly debated this issue.

181. The Soviet occupation has also had serious repercussions beyond Afghanistan's borders. The neighbouring States of Iran and, particularly, Pakistan have had imposed upon them the enormous burden of sheltering the millions of refugees fleeing this war. In the last year, Pakistan has suffered incursions of its airspace and attacks upon its territory, resulting in the loss of more than 50 lives. Many nations, including Canada, have condemned these violations of Pakistani sovereignty. Furthermore, the presence of more than 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan has had a destabilizing effect on the South Asian region as a whole. It has directly impeded, for example, further progress towards such international objectives as the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Overall, the Soviet occupation, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, has undoubtedly contributed to the atmosphere of international distrust that prevails today.

182. Canada wishes to applaud the efforts of the international community to alleviate the situation in Afghanistan. UNHCR has done impressive work in trying to meet the basic needs of the Afghan refugees. It has been aided in its work by the two nations of refuge and by many foreign countries, including Canada, that have provided humanitarian assistance to those people. Canada also wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative on all that they have done so far. Canada supports their efforts, which it believes should facilitate a political settlement acceptable to all and consistent with the four elements mentioned in draft resolution A/39/L.11. Finally, we must pay tribute to

Pakistan for its persistence in supporting those four elements, which are essential to any peaceful settlement in Afghanistan.

183. Canada hopes that the Soviet Union will reassess its involvement in Afghanistan and recognize the legitimacy of the four pre-conditions laid down in the draft resolution for the restoration of peace in that country. We urge the Soviet Union to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his efforts to find a just political settlement to this grave international issue that could restore to Afghanistan its independence and sovereignty and enable it to recover its true non-aligned status.

184. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

185. The Soviet Union's large-scale military intervention in Afghanistan almost five years ago—an act of force against the people of a developing and non-aligned country—shocked the international community. Today its continuing occupation of that country continues to be of profound concern to us all. By its actions in Afghanistan, in flagrant breach of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, the Soviet Union has clearly demonstrated its willingness to pursue its aims by the use of its massive military power. The overwhelming majority of the international community has rejected this attempt to impose a régime by force on the people of Afghanistan. Year after year the Assembly has condemned the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan and called for the withdrawal of the occupying forces and for a negotiated settlement which would permit Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status to be restored, allow the Afghan people to exercise fully their right to self-determination and enable the Afghan refugees to return home in safety and honour. The Soviet Union's unrelenting occupation, however, continues.

186. In recent months the Soviet Union has intensified its military efforts against the resistance forces. The human misery now being endured in Afghanistan is enormous. It is clear that all the Afghan people desire is the freedom to determine their own future. That is their right. Yet innocent men and women continue to lose their lives and homes as the occupying forces attempt to suppress a courageous resistance. The Ten condemn these attacks on Afghan civilians and the widespread destruction of villages, irrigation work, farming land and crops, as well as the indiscriminate mining of country tracks. They are concerned at reports of food shortages, malnutrition and high infant mortality in rural areas of Afghanistan. Growing international concern over the violation of human rights in Afghanistan was demonstrated this year by the decision of the Economic and Social Council, on the recommendation of the Commission on Human Rights, to appoint for the first time a special rapporteur on Afghanistan.¹ The Ten look forward to studying the report of the appointed rapporteur to the forty-first session of the Commission.

187. More than 20 per cent of the Afghan population has been obliged to flee the country. The exodus is continuing and additional refugees reach the camps in neighbouring countries each month. In Pakistan alone there are almost 3 million Afghan refugees, the largest concentration of refugees in the world. The Ten are deeply concerned that Pakistani

civilians and Afghan refugees have been killed in attacks on Pakistani territory from within Afghanistan, and they deplore these violations of Pakistan's border.

188. The Ten are deeply conscious of the great burden the refugees place on the host countries. The European Community and its member States have been making a significant contribution towards the international relief effort and will continue to do so for as long as the need persists.

189. However, while the plight and suffering of the refugees must not be forgotten, assistance to them can be no more than a temporary palliative. What they want is to be able to go home. Before they can do so, however, in full security and dignity, there must be a genuine political solution enabling Afghanistan to return to its traditional independent and non-aligned status, free from external interference and with the Afghan people having full capacity to exercise their right to self-determination. This requires above all the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. These principles, which should be observed in the search for a solution to the Afghanistan issue, have been clearly laid down by the Assembly. The Ten deplore the refusal of the occupying Power to accept a resolution in accordance with those principles, although they have been endorsed by the United Nations.

190. The Ten have supported various proposals put forward for a political solution based on the principles of the United Nations resolutions. They gave their support and encouragement to the initiatives of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and welcomed the efforts of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. They also gave their full support to General Assembly resolution 35/37, which led to the appointment by the Secretary-General of a Personal Representative who would be able to exercise his good offices in promoting a political solution in accordance with the provisions of that resolution. They recall the European Council proposal of 30 June 1981 for a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict. That proposal, while taking fully into account the legitimate interests of the countries of the area, sought to bring about the cessation of external intervention and the establishment of safeguards to prevent such interventions in the future. While the Ten maintain this proposal and their readiness to enter into discussions about it, they are prepared to support any other constructive initiative aimed at a satisfactory political solution. They continue to believe, however, that only a settlement which is ultimately endorsed by the Afghan people and which takes fully into account their fundamental right to self-determination will make possible lasting peace and stability in the area.

191. The Ten continue to follow with interest the current efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to achieve a political settlement within a United Nations framework. They are concerned, however, about the slow pace of the indirect discussions and the difficulties encountered in overcoming existing obstacles. They regret that the Soviet Union has not yet made the necessary positive contribution to enable these efforts to succeed. In particular they are concerned that no progress has been made on the question of the withdrawal of the occupation forces, which remains the key requirement of any solution.

192. The Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan is a continuing threat to the stability of the region and a constant danger to international peace and security. This debate highlights the importance which the international community continues to attach to the question of Afghanistan and reaffirms the refusal of the General Assembly to accept a *fait accompli* in the situation. The Ten are confident that the General Assembly will once again confirm, by its vote on this issue, its constant desire to see a genuine political solution in Afghanistan.

193. Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The United Nations, according to its Charter, is an instrument to maintain international peace and security and to promote mutual understanding and co-operation among peoples. But, regrettably, attempts are made to use this important instrument for selfish interests in a malicious and unworthy way. And this is occurring at the current session of the General Assembly, which is once again implicated in the consideration of the so-called situation in Afghanistan. The very title of this item as it appears on the agenda indicates the fact that its main point is an attempt to prevent the Afghan people from developing the political, economic and social system which it chose as a result of the April revolution. This is indeed a desire to undermine the security of Afghanistan and an attempt to deny the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan—a peace-loving, non-aligned Member State of the United Nations—the sovereign right to resolve those matters exclusively under the domestic competence of the people and the Government of that country. Such attempts and such acts are in blatant conflict with the generally recognized norms of international law and a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

194. That is why the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR fully shares and whole-heartedly supports the position expressed by the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which at the beginning of this session—and once again today—expressed its firm rejection of the idea of discussing the so-called Afghan question.

195. Our delegation is nevertheless taking part in this discussion because we wish to come to the defence of the legitimate rights and interests of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, to support the efforts being undertaken by that country in order to bring about a normalization of the situation in that part of the world, and, in the light of the true facts and data, to demonstrate what are the real purposes of those who are whipping up here an anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet propagandistic frenzy.

196. The essence of the problem is that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan—which arose as the result of the national democratic revolution carried out by that country—from the very first days of its existence encountered fierce resistance on the part of international imperialism and its henchmen and reactionary forces of all hues, which resorted to a wide-scale co-ordinated armed intervention in the affairs of that country. From the very outset, the purpose of this intervention was perfectly obvious: to bring back on Afghan soil the dark days of feudalism and the Middle Ages and at the same time to intimidate other peoples struggling for their national and social liberation, for freedom and independence. That cannot be concealed by the malicious inventions, the verbal acrobatics or the vicious accusations

that have been resorted to by some speakers even at today's meeting.

197. The main responsibility for the continuing tension existing around Afghanistan and in the region of South-West Asia in general lies squarely with the United States of America. In an attempt to avenge the weakening of their strategic position in the Persian Gulf area, the United States is resorting to terrorism—which has been promoted to the rank of State policy—and doing everything in its power to maintain a highly charged atmosphere in that part of the world in order to take advantage of the situation for unconscionable intervention in the affairs of the States of the area, just as it has done in the Middle East, in South-East Asia and in Latin America. In waging its undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Washington has been financing the Afghan counter-revolutionary splinter groups to the tune of more than \$300 million over the past three years. On Washington's instructions these terrorists are supplied with mortars, rocket launchers, mines, poisonous substances, automatic weapons and sniper rifles. It is precisely from Washington that assurances are being given to these bandits about "comprehensive support". It is precisely its emissaries who are ostentatiously handing over, for "the needs" of the counter-revolutionaries, cheques for many millions and lavishing promises that assistance will continue to expand and the number of American advisers to grow.

198. The undeclared war being waged against Afghanistan is only part of a far-reaching United States plan to destabilize the situation throughout the entire region—from South Asia to the Persian Gulf. In the context of this policy, a specific role has been allotted to Pakistan, whose territory is used for preparing aggressive actions and then carrying them out against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. On the soil of Pakistan there are approximately 100 subversive diversionary guerrilla centres providing training for armed bandit formations. Financing for such activities is channelled through American sources and also comes from the \$3.2 billion military and economic assistance provided by Washington to Islamabad under an agreement concluded between them.

199. From these centres, starting in 1978, bands of counter-revolutionaries equipped with modern weapons began in growing numbers to infiltrate the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, where they sow death and destruction.

200. As was indicated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, Shah Mohammad Dost, in his statement in the general debate at the present session of the General Assembly:

"Thousands of innocent people, including children, women and the elderly . . . have been murdered. . . . The total cost to the national economy of our country of this destruction is almost 34 billion afghanis, which is equal to three fourths of the total development investment during the 20 years before the 27 April 1978 revolution."
[See 12th meeting, para. 78.]

201. But those who are waging and fomenting the undeclared war against Afghanistan regard this as negligible. The visit to Pakistan of the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. G. Bush, in the second part of May this year, showed both the intention of Washington to increase the supply of weapons to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries and to give the ag-

gression a so-called qualitative new aspect, and demonstrated also the desire of the United States to draw Islamabad even further into its web. It is in Pakistan, which is threatened by no one, that the Central Command of the United States has been located, whose sphere of activities includes 19 States of Asia and Africa, among them Afghanistan. That Command is also in charge of the rapid deployment forces. That country has increased its supplies of American weapons, including F-16 fighter bombers, mobile artillery facilities and armoured transports, and others. The United States is clearly goading Pakistan to even more reckless actions against its neighbour and is itself demonstrating heightened interventionist activity.

202. In addition to the undeclared war against Afghanistan, as was mentioned by Mr. Zarif in his statement this afternoon, there are a number of facts to show that, besides the United States and Pakistan, some other countries, including China, have become willing or unwilling accessories to those who initiated this undeclared war. The range of hostility and aggressiveness which has been shown Afghanistan, a peaceful, developing, non-aligned country, is wide indeed. We believe we should draw attention to the fact that in continuing their policy of pressure and blackmail against Afghanistan, the United States, and those who act as its accomplices, this year prevented the Governing Council of UNDP from approving a programme of assistance for Afghanistan. This action undoubtedly deserves outright condemnation. It indicates that the imperialists will stop at nothing in order, as it were, to "punish" those who dare to decline their diktat. This goes against the fundamental provisions underlying the very creation and activities of UNDP.

203. The acts and policies of those who support the Afghan counter-revolution are fundamentally opposed to the national interests of the Afghan people. That is why the attempts of those forces against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are doomed to failure. The Afghan people, which made its choice in April of 1978, is fully resolved to protect the achievements of its revolution from outside enemies. Despite the ongoing undeclared war, the achievements of this country in the field of social and economic development are considerable. Various stages of democratic land and water reform have been successfully carried out. Agricultural co-operatives and peasant committees have been set up. Agricultural output has risen, and the volume of industrial output has grown in comparison with previous years. On the whole, during the year ending 20 March 1984, the gross national product increased by 6 per cent and the national income of the country by 4.5 per cent, which means that during the past year more goods and services were produced in comparison with pre-revolutionary years. The country continues to expand its systems of education and public health, and a campaign to eliminate illiteracy is gaining ground. By 1986 it is planned that illiteracy will be eliminated in the towns and, by 1990, throughout the entire country.

204. The success of the Afghan people, who are also reaping the fruits of their revolution, as was mentioned very cogently by the representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan from this rostrum today, would be incomparably greater if their development along the path they have chosen was not impeded by the forces of imperialism and

reaction who are waging an undeclared war against them and are trying, as a diversionary tactic, as it were, to raise some sort of propagandistic hullabaloo in the United Nations about a so-called Afghan question.

205. Firmly rejecting such attempts, the United Nations should do everything it can to promote a genuine political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, which would be in full accord with the peace-loving principles and foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and which it has sought throughout these years. The foundations of this settlement are to be found in the well-known proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 14 May 1980 and 24 August 1981. These proposals are comprehensive in nature and embrace all aspects of the situation around Afghanistan. These initiatives are realistic and flexible, since they provide for protection of the national sovereignty, and at the same time are responsive to the interests of all States in that region.

206. It is precisely because of this sober and consistent position taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan that positive steps have been outlined which are aimed at a political resolution of those questions which have deliberately been heaped around Afghanistan. Reference has been made to ongoing talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan which took place in August of this year at Geneva through the mediation of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Cordovez. In the report of the Secretary-General the following is stated on this point:

“The interlocutors indicated that the discussions had proved to be useful and felt that they had been conducted in a business-like manner. My Personal Representative has reported to me that the new format of proximity talks does accelerate the process. The interlocutors were of the opinion that the texts under consideration required careful study, and they indicated their readiness to hold another round of talks in February 1985.”
[A/39/513, para. 8.]

207. Fully supporting as we do the efforts of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to reach a peaceful political settlement of the situation surrounding that country, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would once again like to indicate that, as before, we are firmly in favour of the full cessation and the guaranteed non-resumption of armed intervention, or any other form of intervention from outside, in the internal affairs of that country, and the creation of conditions whereby such intervention would be precluded in the future. We favour a normalization of relations between Pakistan, Iran and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. That is why we are convinced that the United Nations should not be made use of in order to add fuel to the flames and artificially to fan high feelings.

208. Referring now to draft resolution A/39/L.11 which the Assembly has before it, it should be pointed out that its very substance is diametrically opposed to the interests of the Afghan people and is in conflict with the Charter of the United Nations, which does not allow interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States. This draft resolution is an exact replica of a similar resolution, introduced last year, which was also devoid of political realism, ignored objective realities and took no account of the

legitimate interests and the constructive initiatives and proposals made by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. We firmly object to this draft resolution and consequently our delegation will vote against it.

209. Mr. FERM (Sweden): Once again the General Assembly is debating the situation in Afghanistan. It is a question on which fundamental principles of the Organization are at stake. For five years the military intervention has caused the inhabitants of Afghanistan untold suffering. The invading Power has relentlessly employed the most modern means of warfare in its efforts to quell popular resistance. Several million Afghan citizens have been forced to abandon their homes.

210. The armed intervention by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan constitutes a grave violation of the fundamental rules of international relations and must be unequivocally condemned. The Charter of the United Nations admits of no exceptions to its prohibition of the use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of other States.

211. The Soviet Union is a permanent member of the Security Council, a fact of great relevance to the question of Afghanistan. The provisions contained in the Charter must guide all countries, large or small, in their relations with other nations. But the permanent members of the Security Council have been entrusted under the Charter with the particular responsibility of upholding its principles as they relate to international peace and security. These Powers are expected to set an example for the rest of the world.

212. The armed aggression against Afghanistan demonstrates that a permanent member of the Security Council does not face its responsibilities in this respect. On the contrary, it openly displays the arrogance of power based on military superiority.

213. Most countries are small or medium-sized. Universal respect for international law is a particularly important element for the national security of these nations. But in the overall perspective, the big Powers also stand to lose from an erosion of the principles that guide relations between independent sovereign States. No country will gain from a trend towards international anarchy.

214. Advanced military technology is used in Afghanistan in an attempt to suppress the popular resistance. The situation has been aggravated by the Soviet policy of indiscriminate bombing, including area bombardment from high altitudes. These military tactics have resulted in immense suffering for the civilian population and considerable destruction of the material and economic infrastructure.

215. It must be recalled that customary international law and international conventions embody principles designed to prevent certain forms of indiscriminate warfare and the use of certain particularly inhumane weapons in civilian surroundings. There are well-documented reports from Afghanistan about serious violations of these principles of international law.

216. It should be noted that the Soviet Union participated actively in the negotiations leading to the important Additional Protocol (I²) to the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The Soviet Union, furthermore, has signed this Protocol. The Protocol reflects the status of international law by including a general prohibition against indiscriminate attacks. The Soviet Union is also a party to the Convention on the

Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.

217. A number of reports indicate also that forces under Soviet control have gravely violated the territorial integrity of Pakistan and caused substantial human and material damage in that country.

218. The Soviet repression has forced a substantial part of the population of Afghanistan to flee their homes and, in many cases also their country. The swelling stream of refugees has also placed a heavy burden on the neighbouring countries, especially Pakistan, which has shown great generosity in admitting and assisting these refugees.

219. In this context, I would like to reiterate my Government's appreciation of the humanitarian activities carried out by UNHCR and non-governmental organizations. Over the past year my Government has continued to extend humanitarian aid to the suffering people of Afghanistan through UNHCR and non-governmental organizations. It is my Government's sincere hope that the most vulnerable groups of the Afghan people will be provided with further international humanitarian assistance to ensure their survival.

220. I have dealt here mainly with the legal and humanitarian aspects of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Soviet Union's armed intervention in Afghanistan has also been a major factor in the deterioration of the international political climate in the last few years.

221. The relevant resolutions adopted by the Assembly over the years identify the necessary elements for a just solution: namely, that all foreign forces must be withdrawn from the country; that the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government must be respected; that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan must be upheld; and that the millions of Afghan refugees must be able to return to their homes in safety and honour.

222. These important principles are again present in the draft resolution that is before us. I am convinced that the Assembly will confirm them once again and by an overwhelming majority. These principles provide the basis for the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General towards achieving a peaceful solution to the conflict. His endeavours in this regard have the full support of my Government. When the direct involvement of a permanent member precludes any action by the Security Council, it remains for the General Assembly to express the collective will of the international community and for the Secretary-General to exercise his good offices and to seek to work, in any way within his power, for peace.

223. Therefore, while fully supporting the efforts of the Secretary-General, my Government is nevertheless concerned that the situation in Afghanistan itself is going from bad to worse. A most necessary diplomatic process is kept in motion. This does not change the fact that a lasting solution to the problem requires an end to Soviet aggression against the people of Afghanistan. The single most important element in finding a political solution is the prompt withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

224. Mr. AL-ANSI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The continuance of the present situation in Afghanistan, with its concomitant difficulties unprecedented in modern history, has prompted the international community to denounce the foreign intervention in Afghanistan's internal affairs and the attack against the national sovereignty of that country and its struggling Muslim people, which is renowned for its patience, perseverance and determination to safeguard its character, existence, sincere belief in freedom and continuous rejection of subjugation to foreign domination.

225. On the basis of the continuous, consistent international solidarity with the people of Afghanistan, the General Assembly is considering at this session—and it has since 1981—the question concerning the situation in Afghanistan and its grave implications for international peace and security.

226. Foreign armed military intervention in the internal affairs of any sovereign State is something that must be rejected and opposed. The situation in Afghanistan has persisted for several years. It is very difficult to restore normal conditions unless the foreign forces, which are resisted by the Afghan *mujahidin* with unprecedented valour and courage, are withdrawn from that country.

227. The present situation in Afghanistan constitutes a grave threat to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and its continuance is opposed by all freedom- and peace-loving peoples of the world because of the problems it entails for the daily life of that country and its people and, above all, the high costs in human lives. Every day, many people are killed, maimed or displaced and forced to live in very critical health and other conditions.

228. The present situation in Afghanistan also affects neighbouring States, particularly Pakistan, where the number of Afghan refugees at present totals approximately 2 million. Fortunately, Pakistan, despite its well-known economic difficulties, has undertaken, for humanitarian reasons, to shelter and provide for those people, until they are able to return safely to their homes and country, once the circumstances that compelled them to leave have changed.

229. We live in an area close to Afghanistan and to the events that are happening there. We believe that one of the principal objectives of the foreign military presence there is to threaten the situation in the Gulf area, the Arabian peninsula, the Horn of Africa, the Indian subcontinent, the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Oman. All that increases the anxiety and instability in that part of the world and does not help the establishment of equal relations among countries. That is why we have called for the complete withdrawal of all foreign military forces from Afghanistan and the re-establishment of stability and tranquillity in that country and in neighbouring countries.

230. Only yesterday some Member States sponsored draft resolution A/39/L.14, concerning the right of peoples to peace, introduced by Mongolia. Various countries put forward their views on the concept of the right of peoples to peace. We supported that draft resolution because we recognize the importance of sincere international action to establish peace and the right of peoples to peace. We welcomed the initiative, and our pleasure and support would be increased if it were applied to the situations in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Central Ameri-

ca and other regions afflicted by raging wars and devastating conflicts.

231. We in the Sultanate of Oman, like other members of the Gulf Co-operation Council cherish peace. We seek safety and well-being for ourselves and other peoples. We support everything that may create the conditions for a better life for ourselves and others who share our feelings.

232. Thus, we have consistently supported the worthy efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Cordovez, as well as of international organizations and the States concerned, to give an impetus to the diplomatic process aimed at a just and rapid solution of the Afghan problem.

233. We are one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/39/L.11, on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, as we have been of similar draft resolutions submitted to the General Assembly in the past few years. This is because of our desire for the early and successful solution of this important human problem.

234. Mr. SILWAL (Nepal): The General Assembly is once again deliberating the grave situation in Afghanistan created by the presence of foreign forces in that country. More than four years have elapsed since the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling for the complete withdrawal of foreign forces in order to allow the people of Afghanistan freedom to determine their own destiny. Since then the Assembly has repeatedly called for the peaceful settlement of the problem. However, the situation in Afghanistan remains unchanged.

235. Nepal's position on this issue has been made clear many times in the Assembly and other forums. Nepal has consistently opposed the threat or use of force to settle international disputes. It is our firm belief that all States, big or small, have the right to live under the political, economic and social systems of their own choice. Those principles are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and are the very basis of amicable and just relations between States. Nepal believes that international peace and security

can be achieved only by strict observance of the Charter by all Member States and by honouring its principles.

236. Following those fundamental principles, Nepal has often reiterated its position that the withdrawal of foreign forces is an essential prerequisite for the peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan situation. The people of Afghanistan should be able freely to exercise their sovereign right of self-determination. Furthermore, in our pursuit of a just settlement of the Afghanistan situation, we must also take into account the problem of the refugees. Favourable conditions should be created to make it possible for the Afghan refugees to return to their homeland.

237. Nepal has always supported the various attempts by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference aimed at finding a peaceful solution to this problem. My delegation would like to express our appreciation and support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to achieve a political settlement in Afghanistan. We sincerely hope that the continuing efforts to find a solution will be successful.

238. The delegation of Nepal believes that the search for ways and means to find a political solution to the issue should be continued. Therefore, we appeal to all the parties concerned to give their support to the Secretary-General in his efforts to help achieve a peaceful settlement of the problem.

239. My delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/39/L.11 because we believe this provides the only valid basis for the solution of the present situation in Afghanistan.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹Economic and Social Council resolution 1934/37.

²See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1125, No. 17512.