



President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania).

*Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the
expenses of the United Nations (A/ES-6/2)*

AGENDA ITEM 1

**Opening of the session by the President
of the General Assembly**

1. The PRESIDENT: I declare open the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The PRESIDENT: I invite the representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Organization of work

3. The PRESIDENT: With the permission of members, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to rule 63 of the rules of procedure, which states:

"Notwithstanding the provisions of any other rule and unless the General Assembly decides otherwise, the Assembly, in case of an emergency special session, shall convene in plenary meeting only and proceed directly to consider the item proposed for consideration in the request for the holding of the session, without previous reference to the General Committee or to any other committee; the President and Vice-Presidents for such emergency special sessions shall be, respectively, the chairmen of those delegations from which were elected the President and Vice-Presidents of the previous session."

4. I shall repeat the first part of that rule:

"Notwithstanding the provisions of any other rule and unless the General Assembly decides otherwise . . ."

5. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly will proceed in accordance with that rule.

It was so decided.

6. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with that rule, I shall hope to have the assistance of the Vice-Presidents in the exercise of my duties during the present session.

7. The PRESIDENT: Before turning to the next item on our agenda for this afternoon, I wish, in keeping with established practice, to invite the attention of the General Assembly to document A/ES-6/2, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing the Assembly that eight Member States are in arrears in the payment of their financial contributions to the United Nations within the terms of Article 19 of the Charter.

8. In this connexion, may I remind members of the decision taken at the 119th plenary meeting of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, on 4 January 1980, whereby, as an exceptional measure, the Assembly extended the authorization to vote, in the case of the members in arrears, until Friday, 11 January, and invited the Secretary-General to report in this regard by 14 January at the latest.

9. May I take it that that decision is also valid for the present emergency special session as concerns the members referred to in document A/ES-6/2, with the exception of South Africa which has no delegation accredited to the present session of the Assembly?

It was so decided.

10. The PRESIDENT: May I remind the delegations concerned that the matter has become particularly urgent, since the authorization given by the General Assembly expires tomorrow, 11 January.

11. In this connexion, I also draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that the Government of Nicaragua has explained the circumstances which make it unable to pay. I would suggest that the Assembly consider this matter under the second sentence of Article 19 of the Charter at such time as the question of voting arises.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly:

(a) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee

12. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the appointment of a Credentials Committee, as provided for in rule 28 of the rules of procedure.

13. With a view to expediting the work of the emergency special session and in accordance with precedents, it might

be appropriate if the Credentials Committee were to consist of those members which served during the thirty-fourth regular session, namely: Belgium, China, the Congo, Ecuador, Pakistan, Panama, Senegal, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

14. If there is no objection, I shall consider the Credentials Committee constituted accordingly.

It was so decided.

15. The PRESIDENT: I should like to point out that the Secretary-General, in his cable convening this emergency special session, indicated that credentials for those representatives who are not already authorized to represent their Governments at all sessions of the General Assembly should be issued in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure and may be presented by cable.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Adoption of the agenda (A/ES-6/1)

16. The PRESIDENT: The provisional agenda is contained in document A/ES-6/1.

17. Mr. DOST (Afghanistan): Mr. President, it is with pleasure that I see you presiding over the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly. It was because of your able guidance and skilful conduct that the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly was regarded as one of the most successful sessions.

18. My delegation would like to express, on behalf of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the strongest and most categorical objections to the discussion of the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan. The convening of a special session of the General Assembly on this issue constitutes an open and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It contradicts the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations, which says:

“Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; . . .”.

19. The recent developments in Afghanistan, including the Soviet military assistance requested by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, are entirely domestic and bilateral issues. They do not constitute any threat to peace and security in the area, let alone the world at large. The attempts to drag the United Nations into a debate on matters which are entirely within the competence and jurisdiction of the Afghan people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan merely severely undermine the prestige and discredit the authority of this body. Some Powers, prompted by their imperialist and hegemonistic ambitions, try to use the events in Afghanistan as a cover and pretext to justify their efforts aimed at further aggravation of tension in our region, in the Middle East and beyond that area. But the plans and ambitions of

those Powers run counter to the aspirations of those States which are sincerely interested in the maintenance of world peace and security.

20. Guided by those considerations, my delegation is against the adoption of the proposed agenda.

21. Mr. DOLGUCHITS (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Speaking as Chairman of the group of Eastern European States and on the instructions of the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, I should like to state that those delegation vigorously protest the consideration in the General Assembly of the United Nations of the artificially created question of the situation in Afghanistan.

22. It is well known that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly issued vigorous protests against embroiling the United Nations in the discussion of this American-Chinese pettifogging complaint and has called for an end to this inadmissible intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, intervention which constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of that country.

23. The question arises of who has found it necessary to whip up further provocative noisy campaigns around the artificially created Afghan question—and why—after this ploy was defeated in the Security Council. It is obvious that those who initiated this campaign of slander—the United States and China—have not given up their attempts to use the United Nations to cover up their own imperialistic and hegemonistic plans concerning Afghanistan and are attempting to create the atmosphere of the cold war in this international forum. Their objective is to blacken the people's democratic revolution in Afghanistan and its peace-loving foreign policy, which is based on the principles of non-alignment, in order to divert the attention of the international community from their own hostile actions against Afghanistan, Iran and other countries, both in that region and throughout the world. It is the desire of the United States and China to use the United Nations as a cover for their further intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and to intensify tension in the Middle East and beyond its confines. That should give serious cause for alarm to all States that have a genuine interest in the preservation of international peace and security.

24. The attempts to embroil the United Nations even further in the discussion of the so-called Afghan question, in spite of the vigorous protests from the Government of Afghanistan, represent a flagrant violation of the cornerstone provision of the Charter of the United Nations, on the inadmissibility of interference in the internal affairs of States. This can only have the effect of dealing a blow to the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

25. The delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,

the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic can only view this ploy of having the General Assembly consider the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan as an attempt to exploit the United Nations for unsavoury aims, having nothing in common with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

26. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): In the view of my delegation there was no need whatsoever to convene this emergency special session of the General Assembly, especially not on the basis of the dubious resolution 377A (V) of 3 November 1950. The question that is supposed to be considered at this session relates exclusively to the internal affairs of a sovereign country, a full-fledged Member of the United Nations. I should like to place on record our strong objection to the consideration of questions pertaining to the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the General Assembly or in any other United Nations organ.

27. Like the previous speakers, we hold strongly to the view that the consideration of this question notwithstanding the repeated objections of the Government of Afghanistan is a flagrant violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. Furthermore, the recent debate on the question in the Security Council has convincingly demonstrated that the situation in Afghanistan does not pose any threat to the countries of the region or to international peace and security.

28. It is a fact that, since the April 1978 revolution, there have been many instances of and attempts at foreign interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, including armed incursions from a neighbouring country, the aim of which was to provoke civil strife, to return the country to the old feudal régime and to turn it into a springboard for attacks against the Soviet Union and the progressive régimes in that region. It was therefore only natural that the Government of Afghanistan, in conformity with the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation concluded earlier, should have turned to the Soviet Union for assistance in defending its sovereignty and independence and the gains of the revolution. No one can deny that, in so doing, the Afghan Government was acting in strict conformity with Article 51 of the Charter in the exercise of its legitimate right of self-defence.

29. Those who are trying to impose the consideration of the so-called question of Afghanistan are in reality trying to divert the attention of the world's public from the burning issues of that region and from their hostile designs and activities against its peoples.

30. I have expressed the views and position not only of our delegation but also of the delegations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

31. The PRESIDENT: May I now take it that the General Assembly adopts the provisional agenda?

The agenda was adopted.

Statement by the President

32. The PRESIDENT: I wish at the outset to express my deep appreciation for this high honour, both to my country and to me, as well as for the trust and confidence which members have placed in me once again. Mindful of the heavy responsibility with which members have entrusted me, I wish to reiterate that I shall do my utmost to live up to their expectations and to assist in the effective conduct of our deliberations in the discharge of the important task before us. In so doing, I feel confident that I shall continue to receive the same active support and positive co-operation of the entire membership as I had the privilege of enjoying throughout the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

33. This sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly is convened against the background of disquieting developments on the international scene which have justifiably caused great concern for the international community. It is convened in the context of the developments in Afghanistan and the escalation of tension in the area as a whole, overshadowed by an ominous buildup of confrontation among the great Powers. In the last several days, the Security Council has held extensive discussions on the issue, which has now been referred to the General Assembly. These discussions have proven to be inconclusive, since the Security Council has been unable to take action because of the lack of unanimity of its permanent members.

34. The maintenance of international peace and security is certainly a matter of concern to all States, big and small, powerful and not so powerful, for a threat to peace and security in any part of the world has, in one way or another, a direct bearing on universal peace and security, and thus no nation or group of nations can claim immunity from such developments. It is therefore only appropriate that the General Assembly, in considering the issue which has led us to meet here, should bear in mind the vested interests of humanity as a whole and the preservation of peace and security.

35. This Assembly, which is representative of the nations and peoples of the world, has a clear responsibility to make its own contribution in that regard. At the same time, our meeting today underscores once again the extremely important role prescribed for the General Assembly in the maintenance of international peace and security—a concomitant responsibility, complementing that of the Security Council as provided for under the Charter.

36. From the proceedings of the Security Council, it is quite evident that in the consideration of this item by the Assembly it may not be possible to arrive at a unanimous position on how best to approach the problem. I believe, however, that it is important that in our deliberations we should all be guided by the principles of the Charter of our Organization, as well as those of many decisions and resolutions which have been adopted by this Assembly. Above all, I trust that members of this Assembly, in addressing themselves to this question, will do so not in a spirit of rancour and acrimony, but rather in a constructive spirit with one objective in mind, namely, the elimination of tension and the preservation of international peace and security. I believe that that noble objective can be realized

only through respect for the underlying principles of our Organization, including the principle of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States and the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States as well as the principle of allowing all States to determine freely their own future and their destiny. These are sacrosanct and fundamental principles which have been affirmed and reaffirmed repeatedly by this Assembly, year in and year out. These are principles which constitute some of the very bases of the fabric of international relations today.

37. This emergency special session of the General Assembly has an extremely heavy responsibility. I hope that our deliberations will be so conducted as to live up to the expectations of the peoples that we represent. I hope that the members of the Assembly will do their utmost to be guided solely by the principles of our Organization and will, in the process, make a vital contribution to the preservation of international peace and security and the upholding of justice.

AGENDA ITEM 5

Question considered by the Security Council at its 2185th to 2190th meetings, from 5 to 9 January 1980

38. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly, we shall now begin consideration of the item that is before the emergency special session of the General Assembly.

39. Mr. DOST (Afghanistan): It is regrettable to note that the General Assembly is being convened in an emergency special session despite serious objections by many delegations, including my own, during the recent meetings of the Security Council on the same subject. We remain convinced that the application of the so-called uniting for peace resolution, which was adopted during the dark days of the cold-war era would not but contribute to reviving the unhealthy atmosphere of the cold-war years.

40. It is the responsibility of this Organization to respond effectively and in a timely way to situations which threaten world peace and security, in accordance with the principles of the Charter. However, it is essential to ensure that a determination of which situations tend to endanger world peace and security shall not be arbitrary or based on misconceptions or subjective interpretations of the relevant provisions of the Charter.

41. The holding of this emergency special session of the General Assembly in fact represents such a misconception about the so-called situation in Afghanistan. The recent developments in Afghanistan are entirely an internal matter and have posed no threat whatsoever to peace and security in the region or in the world to warrant the convening of such a session of the General Assembly. My delegation therefore reiterates its disquiet at the convening of the General Assembly in emergency special session.

42. As I stated in some detail in the Security Council on 5 and 7 January 1980,¹ the people of Afghanistan have

committed themselves with faith and determination to defend the gains of the national democratic revolution of 27 April 1978 which has provided for social and economic transformations and for the elimination of feudalism from the country.

43. Following the victory of the great Saur revolution, drastic measures were undertaken by the Revolutionary Government, in the interest of its toiling people, that implemented successfully a number of decrees issued by the Revolutionary Council. Millions of Afghans and noble peasants have been freed from the inhuman burden of paying interest to the usurers and from the unjust mortgage system imposed on them by the big landowners. Similarly, equality of the rights of Afghan men and women have been ensured. The successful implementation of the land reform programme makes it possible to distribute millions of acres of land to the landless and small landowners. Other major steps—which I do not intend to dwell upon—have been taken to change the lot of the Afghan workers.

44. However, imperialism and international reaction were disturbed and somehow surprised to see the independent and proud Afghan people freely choose the path of their future. These circles spared no effort to create obstacles in the way of the April revolution of the Afghan people. They clearly disregarded the right of the Afghan people freely to choose their own political social and economic system. As a result, aggressions and attacks carried out by armed groups into the Afghan territory considerably increased, seriously threatening the gains of the April revolution and the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan.

45. The despotic régime of Amin, who was playing into the hands of imperialism, offered a good opportunity to the imperialists and reactionary circles to carry out their heinous and provocative designs aimed at undermining the gains of the Saur revolution and its lofty aims. On 16 September 1979, Amin usurped power from Noor Mohammed Taraki, the legal Head of State and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and founder of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, who was later assassinated by Amin.

46. From 16 September 1979 to Amin's fall on 27 December 1979, his fascist régime brought untold suffering to the Afghan people. Amin and his fascist régime subjected the Afghan people to various forms of terror and intimidation. Thousands of our patriotic people and intelligentsia were arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned. Political prisoners were tortured and subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment, a fact that has been reported and confirmed by several international organizations, among them Amnesty International.

47. In summary, Amin and his clique led the country into complete chaos, with its national unity on the verge of collapse. In such circumstances, foreign aggression, armed attacks by groups from abroad and interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan continued and even intensified considerably.

48. To save the country, its independence and national sovereignty and to safeguard the threatened gains of the

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year*, 2185th and 2190th meetings.

April revolution, the Afghan National Liberation Army rose on 27 December 1979 against Amin's tyranny and overthrew his fascist régime.

49. Having toppled the despotic Amin régime and Amin's accomplices and their reign of terror, the great national democratic Saur revolution entered a new phase geared towards safeguarding the gains of the revolution by pointing it in the right direction.

50. It is the inherent right under the Charter of every State Member of this Organization to act in self-defence when confronted with armed attack or intervention from abroad. My country, Afghanistan, as all members are aware, experienced such foreign intervention and armed attacks from abroad, contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and norms of international conduct. As I stated earlier, following the victory of the Saur revolution, some States Members of this Organization, imperialists and reactionary circles acting in conspiratorial collaboration with the hegemonists, did everything possible to undermine and to foil that revolution. In the wake of such intensified aggression and armed attacks against Afghanistan, my country had no alternative but to exercise its inherent right of self-defence in conformity with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter and of the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation of 5 December 1978 between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union and to request assistance, including military aid, from the Soviet Union. The dispatch of limited contingents of the armed forces of the Soviet Union to Afghanistan is therefore a bilateral issue, between two sovereign Member States, that cannot be considered a threat to world peace and security.

51. Do we intend to ask a Member State not to fulfil its treaty obligations if they are in the form of military assistance being given to another country party to the treaty, upon the latter's request, because that would run the risk of violating the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country? If so, how would Member States exercise their right to individual and collective self-defence when confronted with foreign armed aggression against their independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity?

52. The limited contingents of the armed forces of the Soviet Union present in Afghanistan have as their limited mission to assist the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to repel foreign aggression and continued armed attacks and intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, with the Soviet Union's complete and traditional respect for the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan, its close and friendly neighbour—respect that is characteristic of 62 years of cordial relations between the two neighbouring countries.

53. I should like to repeat what I stated in the Security Council on 5 January 1980. The people of Afghanistan, with their long and sincere friendship, good neighbourliness and mutually beneficial co-operation with the people of the Soviet Union, have no doubt or concern whatsoever about the motives and intentions of the Soviet Union concerning Afghanistan.

54. The limited contingents of the Soviet Union's armed forces in Afghanistan will be immediately withdrawn from Afghanistan when the threat of foreign aggression, the armed attacks and the interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan cease to exist. So it is up to the imperialists and their lackeys in the region to put an end to their acts of aggression against Afghanistan and the revolution of the Afghan people, thus making it possible for the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to feel that the limited contingents of the Soviet Union's armed forces are no longer needed on Afghan soil.

55. I need not repeat that the freedom-loving people of Afghanistan, which has throughout its national history valorously struggled against colonial and alien domination and secured its national independence and sovereignty, will always remain independent and never compromise its freedom. The imperialists and the reactionary circles that are exploiting the developments in Afghanistan for their heinous designs shall realize that fact.

56. The dispatch of the limited contingents of troops of the Soviet Union to Afghanistan, at the repeated request of the Afghan Government, had nothing whatsoever to do with the developments of 27 December 1979 in my country, developments that included the change of government and its leaders and that are entirely an internal matter of Afghanistan.

57. The presence in Afghanistan of the limited contingents of troops of the Soviet Union cannot and shall not be used by imperialism and other related circles in seeking to preserve and expand the world military system of imperialism or as a pretext for strengthening their military presence and bases in various parts of the world, particularly in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf region. Similarly, this bilateral issue between two countries Members of the United Nations shall not be used as a pretext for expediting the provision of military equipment to Pakistan or for making war preparations with the imperialist and hegemonic Powers in the region. It seems that United States imperialism and its allies intend to create a cold-war atmosphere and a crisis situation without any consideration for peace and security in the region and throughout the world.

58. Inspired by the sincere will of the people of Afghanistan for genuine peace in the region and in the world, the new Government of Afghanistan has outlined the domestic and foreign policies of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as follows.

59. As far as our domestic policy is concerned, the new Government, immediately following the national uprising of 27 December 1979, freed all political prisoners who had been imprisoned without trial by the fascist Amin and had been enduring brutality and torture and inhuman and degrading treatment at the hands of Amin's régime. The political prisoners were freed from gaol without any discrimination or any consideration as to class, faith, language, tribe, nationality, ideology or political or organizational orientation. They were all freed as a result of the general amnesty declared by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic

Republic of Afghanistan. Other revolutionary measures intended by the new Government include the abolition of all anti-democratic and inhuman laws, arbitrary arrests, persecutions and searches; measures to ensure respect for the principles of Islam and religious rites; the protection of the family; observance of the principle of lawful rights; security for all and peace and revolutionary order in the country; the creation of favourable conditions for the implementation of democratic rights and freedoms, including freedom of the press and of assembly and the right to form progressive patriotic parties and mass organizations and hold public demonstrations; the right to work and education; freedom and privacy of correspondents; freedom of travel inside the country; and the right to legal protection of the home.

60. The new Government has officially reaffirmed its strict adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to the policy of active and positive non-alignment. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is desirous of maintaining friendly relations with all peace-loving countries, particularly with its neighbours and the Moslem countries.

61. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will as a non-aligned country continue its efforts for further strengthening friendly relations and co-operation with all its fellow non-aligned countries. Afghanistan will as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement continue its active contribution towards the further consolidation of the Movement and its anti-colonial and anti-imperialist character.

62. The new Government of Afghanistan will continue firmly to support the liberation struggle of peoples and their national liberation movements.

63. The new Government of Afghanistan has firmly set lofty goals for the Saur revolution, namely the building of a prosperous society in the country with the unreserved support and staunch determination of the Afghan people. No Power can divert us from the right course the Afghan people has chosen for itself. The new stage of the Saur revolution, which enjoys the full support of the Afghan people, is part of the prevailing trend in the world towards the emancipation of the oppressed peoples from imperialist domination and exploitation. There are vivid examples of this trend being given effect not only by the Afghan people but also by the peoples of Viet Nam, Iran, Democratic Yemen, Angola, Ethiopia, Cuba, Nicaragua and a number of other countries.

64. The United States and its allies, and other related circles, must yield and accept these revolutionary changes brought about by peoples as an undeniable reality. United States imperialism and its allies are continuing their malicious propaganda campaign for the purpose of black-mailing Afghanistan and the revolution of the Afghan people and distorting the facts about Afghan-Soviet relations. Their ultimate aim is to cover up their nefarious designs in the region.

65. We shall reject any resolution of this session of the General Assembly containing provisions similar to those of the resolution on the same subject that was not adopted in the recent meeting of the Security Council, for reasons we have already explained.

66. If we intend to serve the cause of peace and freedom, let us not allow ourselves to be carried away by the intrigues of imperialism and reaction. We can prevent that only when we respect the right of each people and each nation, big or small, to live in peace and freedom. That is an ideal of the Charter of the United Nations which we all cherish and for the realization of which we are all obliged to work.

67. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): Mr. President, I am very pleased to see you presiding over this emergency special session, because we have full confidence in the great skill and undisputed fairness you have exhibited during the regular session of the General Assembly that has just ended.

68. It is now almost three weeks since the Soviet Union began its massive military invasion into Afghanistan. The appeals by the international community for the Soviet troops to be withdrawn from Afghanistan and for the principle of non-intervention to be respected have been in vain. There has been no progress towards a solution of the problem. It is regrettable that, in spite of such appeals by the international community, the Security Council has been unable to fulfil its important mandate because of the veto of one of its permanent members. Therefore, it is our earnest hope that, now that this emergency special session has been convened, the General Assembly will be able to carry out the urgent tasks of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. To that end, Japan is eager to extend its fullest co-operation.

69. This problem must be viewed in the first place in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and international law with regard to the principles of non-intervention and the non-use of force in solving disputes. The international community remains clearly unconvinced by the Soviet Union's explanation that in dispatching troops to Afghanistan it was responding to the request of the previous Afghan régime and was exercising the right of self-defence as stipulated in Article 51 of the Charter. During the course of the meetings of the Security Council, in addition to expressions of profound sympathy for the Afghan people at their being denied their right of self-determination, we have heard many expressions of disbelief at the manner in which the facts were presented in the explanation referring to Article 51. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union has offered no further explanation.

70. Secondly, the present crisis bears tremendous political implications, jeopardizing international peace and security and threatening the stability of the region. I should like to point out that many of the countries in the region are still in the process of development. Many of the neighbouring countries, particularly the Islamic countries, have expressed grave concern at the blatant military intervention in Afghanistan. Japan expresses its profound sympathy with their concern. Especially because the military intervention was directed against a non-aligned nation, it has aroused the concern not only of the third world but of the entire international community as well. Japan too fully shares this serious concern. It is our greatest fear that these incipient regional tensions and imbalances might develop to global proportions. Thus we regard this situation as a threat to international peace and security.

71. The Soviet Union, as a permanent member of the Security Council, bears a heavy responsibility for the maintenance of peace. In our deliberations in the forum of the United Nations we have dealt with, for example: the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly; the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente, at the thirty-second session; the World Treaty on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations, since the thirty-first session; and the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations, at the thirty-fourth session. I should like to remind those present that all those items were proposed by the Soviet Union. It is incumbent upon all the Member States of the United Nations to abide by the principles of non-intervention and the non-use of force. Further, we do hope that the Soviet Union, recognizing its responsibility as a major Power, will faithfully and consistently pursue its often proclaimed policy of détente and will not act in such a way that its credibility will be questioned.

72. Itself an Asian nation, Japan has long maintained friendly and co-operative relations with the Government and people of Afghanistan, and it is our earnest hope that we shall be able to continue to maintain such a relationship on the basis of the freely expressed will of the Afghan people. This in no way means that Japan recognizes the Afghan régime which is represented in this General Assembly.

73. In conclusion. I wish to emphasize that the Soviet actions in Afghanistan contravene international law and justice, and we find the use of force in these actions particularly deplorable. We have already expressed our concern that these actions pose a threat not only to the Middle East and South-West Asia but to the peace and security of the entire international community. The Government of Japan steadfastly maintains the position that the Soviet Union must cease its intervention and withdraw its troops immediately and that the people of Afghanistan must be permitted to solve their internal problems by themselves.

74. Mr. KANE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased to see you presiding over this emergency special session. You are our brother, and you know that we hold you in high esteem. You know also how much my country admires and respects yours.

75. The General Assembly, convened in special session under Article 12 of the Charter and General Assembly 377 A (V), is meeting at a critical time in the life of our Organization. The Soviet Union has just used its veto against a draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned countries members of the Security Council and the Philippines,² which did no more than call for respect for the principles underlying this Organization.

76. Senegal cannot fail to be disturbed over the recent turn of events, which has shaken international relations and might, if political leaders do not show more restraint, lead to conflicts that will have serious consequences for mankind.

77. Exactly a year ago Kampuchea was invaded and subjugated by Viet Nam. Today in Iran, despite the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961,³ resolutions of the Security Council and the decision of the International Court of Justice, diplomats are still being held hostage.

78. Since 24 December, the Soviet Union has been setting aside considerations of peace and security in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union is a nuclear Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, and it has sent in its armed forces, which have overthrown the Government of that country.

79. Is the world on the brink of a situation comparable to that which preceded the last world conflict, 42 years ago? We hope not. But the sound of marching men and tanks on the move cannot leave diplomats and statesmen indifferent.

80. At the 2185th meeting of the Security Council, on 5 January, a new member of the Council said that he was surprised that countries thousands of kilometres from Afghanistan were among the signatories of the letter contained in document S/13724 and Add.1 and 2,⁴ calling for the convening of the Council—as if the mere fact of associating oneself with that initiative were blameworthy when countries far from one's own zone are involved. Senegal is in that category, and if we have taken an interest in the case of Afghanistan it is for reasons of principle first and out of Islamic solidarity second. It is because what has happened to the Afghan people could happen to all small countries. And there are very many in this Organization.

81. Can the plight of the Afghan people leave our people indifferent? Certainly not. And that explains my presence here and now at this rostrum.

82. The suffering of the Afghan people is reflected in the predicament of Ambassador Tabibi who, having served his country for 30 years, found himself forced to resign in order to express his repugnance, as a distinguished jurist, a defender of the law and the rules of justice, at the unseemly methods used by a large country to violate the sovereignty and independence of his homeland.

83. My country, Senegal, has been forced on a number of occasions to denounce foreign intervention, from whatever source, aimed at influencing the outcome of an internal struggle for power. In fact, such intervention constitutes a direct threat to the independence and sovereignty of all small countries, and in particular those in an area which a great Power hopes to integrate into its sphere of influence, for ideological, strategic or other reasons.

84. Thus once again we have felt obliged, in view of the Afghan crisis, to express our concern over the proliferation of armed intervention and to exhort the international community to take effective measures to end it if it does not want to see created a medieval system in which the big Powers would become overlords, each having under its protection a host of countries as vassal States. The creation of such fiefdoms would undeniably cause us to deviate

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 500, No. 7310, p. 95.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1980*.

² *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1980*, document S/13729.

from the principle of the equality of States contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

85. The case of Afghanistan bears a strange resemblance to that of a patient who has symptoms of several contagious illnesses, and about whom clusters a group of specialists from different countries to propose a diagnosis and prescribe remedies. There have been foreign aggression, violation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State, violation of the Charter and the principles of the United Nations, violation of numerous declarations adopted by the General Assembly—at times on the initiative of the Soviet Union. And I could mention many other violations.

86. That is really what this is all about. And that is why the case of Afghanistan could be contagious. Aggression which is neither vigorously denounced nor opposed by any resistance could become a contagious illness. Yesterday it was Kampuchea, today it is Afghanistan—not to mention the wounds which have not yet healed in certain parts of Africa. Who will be the victim tomorrow?

87. There are several elements in this debate. First there is the palpable and hence irrefutable fact that Soviet troops have invaded Afghanistan, a non-aligned country, a State Member of the United Nations. Secondly, there is an as yet unproven hypothesis that it was because there had been foreign intervention that the provisions of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation of 5 December 1978 applied.

88. I shall not refer to the chronology of events, which was discussed at considerable length in the Security Council, and which proves clearly that the intervention took place before the change of government. That is the reply to the question of whether President Hafizullah Amin could have appealed to “friends” who were thereafter to overthrow and execute him along with the members of his family. What about the law in all of this? The aggressor can only invoke the exception to the rule which is self-defence. But that does not apply here, even if one reads into Article 51 of the Charter what it really does not contain. One cannot, then, justify armed intervention in the internal affairs of a State by any Article of the Charter.

89. We are left then with the famous Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 5 December 1978 and the possibility of giving it priority over the freely and unanimously accepted rules of international law. But here there is no loophole either, since jurists have anticipated such cases and given the answer in Article 103 of the Charter and in article 53 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties.⁵

90. Article 103 of the Charter is clear. It provides that:

“In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.”

⁵ See *Official Records of the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties, Documents of the Conference* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.70.V.5), document A/CONF.39/27, p. 287.

91. For its part, article 53 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, drafted by the International Law Commission, which is an organ of this Assembly, places in even clearer perspective the Treaty of 5 December 1978. It provides:

“A treaty is void if, at the time of its conclusion, it conflicts with a peremptory norm of general international law. For the purposes of the present Convention, a peremptory norm of general international law is a norm accepted and recognized by the international community of States as a whole as a norm from which no derogation is permitted and which can be modified only by a subsequent norm of general international law having the same character.”

92. Any comment on that would be superfluous. There is thus no loophole, of either a legal or a moral nature, to justify what has happened in Afghanistan.

93. In the opinion of my country, the Afghan crisis is a typical example of an effort by a great Power to influence in its favour the outcome of an internal struggle in a non-aligned country.

94. The decision of the Soviet Union to send into Afghanistan an expeditionary force of some 85,000 soldiers—a limited contingent, we are told—whatever reason is alleged, can only interfere with the free exercise by the Afghan people of their right to determine, as a sovereign people, the political and economic system of its choice.

95. It is because my country considers that the recognition of that right is essential to the process of détente and peace in the world that we believe that such an action is serious and disturbing. What would happen if the other Powers acted likewise and intervened to impose on neighbouring countries a régime that was to their liking? No country that cherishes its political independence should underestimate the possible consequences of the situation in Afghanistan.

96. In the course of their Sixth Conference, the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, noted with concern:

“... that interference in the internal affairs of States is becoming one of the chief forms of aggression against the non-aligned countries.”⁶

97. On the subject of interference in the internal affairs of States, the Havana Declaration says:

“The Conference reaffirmed the adherence of non-aligned countries to the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal and external affairs of States, which has been one of the basic principles of non-alignment. It insisted that violation of this principle was totally unacceptable, unjustifiable under any circumstances and incompatible with the obligations assumed by the United Nations Members under the Charter of the United Nations.”⁷

⁶ See A/34/542, sect. I, para. 249.

⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 245.

98. The situation in Afghanistan today justifies this concern expressed by the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana. The presence of troops of one of the military blocs in a non-aligned country directly threatens the non-aligned status of that country. It further constitutes a direct threat to the very existence of a movement one of the principal objectives of which is to remain outside the rivalries of the military blocs.

99. Senegal, for its part, believes that this is a dangerous precedent and that all the non-aligned countries should act unanimously in order to put an end to it as soon as possible. For there is no need to recall that the non-aligned countries would cease to be non-aligned if their Governments were set up and protected by troops belonging to one or another of the rival military blocs.

100. The flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations by one of the permanent members of the Security Council reflects the contempt which is being increasingly shown for the principles that it is claimed are being defended.

101. Today, it is those who play a primary role in the efforts of the United Nations to strengthen the principle of the non-use of force in international relations who are using force. It is those who have called on the General Assembly to condemn the policy of hegemonism who have been caught red-handed in the act of practising hegemonism themselves. These contradictions make it abundantly clear to small countries like my own that we must always place our trust in mealy-mouthed and weak declarations. Action is what matters.

102. The General Assembly, at its thirty-fourth session, adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution on the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations [resolution 34/103]. In the fifth preambular paragraph of that resolution, the General Assembly declared that it was:

“Concerned that hegemonism, global as well as regional, pursued in the context of the policy of division of the world into blocs or by individual States, manifests itself in the use of threat of use of force, foreign domination and intervention”.

103. That text, which was adopted very recently, seems not to have been taken into account by the very country which initiated debate on it.

104. My delegation believes that a bilateral treaty must neither provide a pretext for the violation of the fundamental principles of international law nor prevent the Security Council or the General Assembly from being seized of a problem the consequences of which constitute a serious threat to international peace and security. That is the reply to those who believe that the General Assembly is interfering in the internal affairs of a country by initiating today this debate on Afghanistan.

105. Military intervention and political assassination are methods which violate all the principles which are at the basis of international law, methods which have a harmful effect on human rights. They must therefore be banished.

106. We are convinced that any genuine solution of this matter requires that an end be put to foreign military intervention and interference. The Afghan people must be allowed to settle their own problems. Persistent attempts to find a solution through the use of force will only serve to aggravate the conflict and to increase tension in the area. The proximity of the Arabian Gulf, where the economic stakes are enormous, will only serve to encourage other countries to contemplate taking measures in respect of the conflict and to prolong it.

107. The Helsinki agreement and the hopes it aroused may receive a mortal blow. There will unquestionably be some delay in the ratification and implementation of the SALT I and SALT II agreements, which gave a glimmer of hope in the very complex field of disarmament, and that will not be a good sign for détente and peaceful coexistence among States.

108. Finally, a serious blow has been dealt to the theory that the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are the “natural allies” of non-alignment. It is particularly eloquent and enlightening that those who support this thesis were absent from and did not participate in the Security Council’s debate. I shall not say any more about that, except humbly to draw the attention of the Soviet Union to the consequences of its act.

109. If that country does not wish to be accused of being responsible for the end of détente, for blocking the disarmament process by the non-ratification of the SALT II agreement, for undermining the Non-Aligned Movement, for losing the sympathy of the third world and, finally and even more serious, if that country does not want to be called the grave-digger of our Organization—as Nazi Germany, when it annexed Austria in 1938, destroyed the prestige of the League of Nations—then the choice is clear. That great country must reconsider its position and withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, as urgently called for by the entire international community.

110. We do not want to yield to undue pessimism, as others have already done. The future might be gloomy and peace seriously jeopardized.

111. Senegal hopes that the Soviet Union, bearing in mind the indignant protests of the entire world, will finally heed the only voice which can preserve peace, stability and progress in the world, and withdraw its troops immediately from Afghanistan.

112. Mr. LIEVANO (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This emergency session of the General Assembly has been convened because the result of the debate in the Security Council on the situation in Afghanistan has once again brought out the fact that the United Nations machinery to contain acts of aggression and proscribe war-like conduct functions only when such acts of aggression are committed by or among small nations. On the other hand, the preservation of peace and the defence of the independence of Member States are paralysed when unlawful international conduct and aggression are committed by the super-Powers. The veto then becomes a guarantee for impunity and the international community is powerless as it witnesses the success of armed coups by the powerful against the defenceless peoples of the earth.

113. The countries of the third world and the developing nations had believed, perhaps optimistically, that the time had passed when the major Powers would send their soldiers and tanks into small countries and that war-like aggression had been ruled out as legitimate conduct in international life. But they were mistaken. Over the past few days, armed divisions equipped with the most modern instruments of destruction have invaded the territory of a small country. The governmental authorities were brutally eliminated and the defenceless inhabitants have today been overrun by the lightning offensive of the tanks of the invaders.

114. How many victims of that armed assault are there? What kind of treatment is now being meted out to the people living in the zones occupied by the military forces of a foreign nation? What do the people of Afghanistan think about the authorities who have been imposed on them by the invaders? Do those authorities truly represent the will and the aspirations of the Afghan people? Do those authorities need the support of a foreign army to maintain a Government in power? Those are questions which cannot be answered with certainty because an iron curtain has fallen on that nation which is the victim of the aggression, and that curtain conceals the tragedy of a people that is subjected to the arbitrary will and military commands of the occupying force.

115. Those facts eloquently point to a case of flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the conditions which should govern decent conduct in international affairs; they also contribute to the eclipse—it is to be hoped a partial one—of the hopes of the peoples of the earth that their rights and sovereignty will be respected by the super-Powers.

116. My country, which has always defended the principles of the sovereign equality of States and non-intervention, can hardly remain silent in the face of this tragedy now unfolding in a small country, nor can it fail to express in this Assembly its deep concern over the fait accompli in Afghanistan. We should like as a developing country to join the protest against this wayward attempt in 1980 to replace the civilized rules of international conduct and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations by this lightning strike by armoured divisions. The peoples of the third world, the non-aligned countries, the Arab and Moslem nations, the Palestinians and those countries recently freed from colonialism and *apartheid* view with alarm the serious consequences of this attempt to return to those times when the brazen use of armed force was tolerated and regarded as a lawful practice in international life.

117. The United Nations would be ill-advised to remain a passive bystander now that the outrageous threat of replacing law by the aggressive action of tanks and of subjecting the freedom and independence of defenceless peoples to the savage onslaughts of new and old forms of imperialism is hovering over the world. That would be a return to the law of the jungle in this era of nuclear weapons, and the very least that can be expected from the highest international Organization is that it should deal, and deal seriously, with the tragedy which is unfolding on the soil of Afghanistan and victimizing its people. If this act of aggression should meet with no suitable response from the

international community, the impunity thus granted will encourage an extension to other States in the area and thus the doors will be open to colonialist adventurism which would again threaten the independence and sovereignty of small nations.

118. The General Assembly must unequivocally call for the withdrawal of the foreign troops which are today occupying Afghanistan and it would be ill advised not to condemn this act of aggression against a small country. It would be paradoxical if the theory that, to defend the independence and sovereignty of States, groups of a country's population, lacking the support of the population as a whole and committed to foreign interests and ideologies, could request the invasion of their homeland to make up for their lack of popular support by detaining the aid of the bayonets, napalm and tanks of a foreign invading army were now to be accepted as the latest international doctrine.

119. To the people of Afghanistan, a people that has fought heroically against old forms of barbarism, that is the heir to the values of a very ancient culture—a culture which is proudly shared by others that are its blood brothers and share the same creeds—I express the solidarity of my country, and the fervent hope that the men and women of Afghanistan may preserve their political, economic and monetary independence and emerge free from the test to which they are being subjected today, by the crass materialism of those who have arrogantly abused their power.

120. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): I should like at the outset to put on record my Government's strong objections to the convening of this session to discuss the situation in Afghanistan and, in particular, to its convening in accordance with the procedure applied. The objections we had regarding consideration of the situation in Afghanistan by the Security Council—namely, that it is legally unfounded, politically wrong and counter-productive, as well as ineffective on its merits—apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the consideration of this issue by the General Assembly.

121. I shall not repeat in detail all the reasons which led us to adopt such a position, since I already expounded them at length when I addressed the Security Council on 5 January.⁸ However, since in spite of similar objections voiced by other Member States discussion of this question has been imposed on us, my delegation wishes to present its position.

122. There is no doubt that the so-called situation in Afghanistan is a matter falling exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of that State and that the United Nations has, in accordance with the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, no right whatsoever to interfere in it. In doing otherwise, the Assembly is acting not only in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations, but also against the clearly and unequivocally expressed will of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

123. The exercise by the Government of Afghanistan of its sovereign right to resort to the provisions of the

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, 2186th meeting.*

Afghan-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation, in full conformity with Article 51 of the Charter, cannot be challenged.

124. In Afghanistan we have witnessed external forces organizing, aiding and abetting an armed rebellion by elements of domestic reaction against the authorities of a sovereign State, utilizing ethnic, religious and social factors for actions aimed at overthrowing the country's legal Government and stopping the process of progressive development it had embarked upon. We have witnessed steadily increasing military incursions from the outside, mounting provocations and continued attempts to destabilize the internal situation in that country.

125. It is precisely against that background, clearly covered by the provisions of article 3 (g) of the Definition of Aggression contained in the annex to General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, that Afghanistan has made repeated requests to the Soviet Union for military assistance, in accordance with the Afghan-Soviet Treaty of 5 December 1978, article 4 of which stipulates:

“The High Contracting Parties, acting in the spirit of the traditions of friendship and good-neighbourliness, and also in keeping with the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, will consult each other and, with mutual consent, take appropriate measures in order to ensure the security, independence and territorial integrity of both countries. In the interest of strengthening the defence capacity of the High Contracting Parties, they will continue to develop co-operation in the military field.”

126. Neither those repeated requests by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan nor the positive response of the Soviet Union can in any way be construed as endangering international peace and security; nor do they in any way threaten regional stability. Attention should also be drawn to the temporary character of the presence of the limited Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan, as has been repeatedly and emphatically stated by both countries.

127. It might be worthwhile to recall at this juncture that it is not the first time in the history of Afghan-Soviet relations that the Soviet Union has gone to Afghanistan's assistance. In 1919, when Afghanistan was defending its independence against a direct armed aggression by one of the big Powers of those times, the young land of the Soviets responded favourably to Afghanistan's request for assistance, including military aid.

128. Poland is in full solidarity with Afghanistan in its persistent struggle in the defence of its political independence and territorial integrity, as well as in its endeavours for economic development and progressive social transformation. This solidarity fully conforms to the spirit of the long-standing ties of friendship and co-operation between our two countries and peoples. It was more than half a century ago that the first treaty of friendship was signed between Poland and Afghanistan.

129. It was therefore with particular satisfaction that we listened to the statements of Mr. Shah Mohammad Dost

before the Security Council on 5 and 7 January, in which he announced the measures introduced by his Government to restore law and order, as well as national unity and political stability, including, *inter alia*:

“... respect for the principles of Islam, freedom of conscience, religious belief and performance of religious rites, protection of the family, observance of the principle of lawful possession of property, including private property ...”⁹

He also stated that:

“The new Government has released all the political prisoners and announced the formation of a Front comprising people of all walks of life. It will adopt a new progressive and democratic constitution and arrange elections for the provincial and national assemblies in the near future. It will work hard to realize the lofty goals of the Saur revolution and to build a society free from exploitation of man by man.”¹⁰

130. We welcome also the enunciations made on the same occasions by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of the basic principles of the foreign policy of his country. He stated, *inter alia*:

“The new Government has officially reaffirmed its strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to the policy of active and positive non-alignment. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is desirous of maintaining friendly relations with all peace-loving countries, particularly with its neighbours and the Moslem countries.”⁹

He also emphasized that his Government believes “in the policy of peaceful co-existence”. He continued: “We strongly believe that every people has the inherent right to choose its own socio-economic system without any interference from anywhere.”¹⁰

131. We have noted with satisfaction the reiteration of those principles in the Foreign Minister's statement made in this Assembly earlier this afternoon.

132. As numerous delegations have stressed in their recent statements in the Security Council, and again in the General Assembly, the issue of the “situation in Afghanistan” has been artificially created to serve aims other than those professed by its sponsors. In reality, it is a decoy to divert the attention of world public opinion from the true burning problems of today. It is at the same time a smoke-screen to cover the aggressive designs of the most reactionary circles of imperialism still dreaming about the establishment of a chain of new military bases along the so-called strategic crescent and, in particular, desperately trying to recover ground lost because of the revolution in Iran.

133. The same circles, acting in collusion with the forces of hegemonism, are attempting to utilize in their subversive

⁹ *Ibid.*, 2185th meeting.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2190th meeting.

actions a country which only very recently joined the Non-Aligned Movement and which previously had for years belonged to two aggressive military and political groupings set up and directed by imperialist Powers.

134. Particularly odious are the attempts to exploit religious beliefs and the cynical donning of the mantle of defenders of Islam by those who have shown their true colours in the stand they persistently maintain on the Middle East problem, in particular on the question of the inalienable national and religious rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

135. During the debates in the Security Council several States expressed the opinion that détente had to be considered in a global context. Let me, then, recall here that it is precisely the States of the socialist community, including Poland, that for a long time now have been coming out in favour of the universalization of détente and its extension to all regions of our globe, as well as the broadening of its substance, in particular by extending it to the military field and bringing about meaningful progress in disarmament. It is not the fault of the socialist States that their endeavours have not brought results in the measure expected, results that would benefit all countries of the world.

136. One has only to recall the attempts to impose neo-colonial solutions in southern Africa, the artificial prolongation of the Middle East crisis by support for separatist agreements and refusal to recognize the rights of the Palestinians, the introduction of new types of medium-range missiles into European countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the attempts at destabilizing progressive developing countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia, including, last but not least, subversive actions in Afghanistan, to realize with full clarity from which direction the real threats to international peace and security come.

137. As far as my country is concerned—and the same is true of other socialist and progressive countries and forces—we continue to be firmly in favour of positive actions aimed at strengthening détente and the elimination of negative phenomena from international relations. At the same time, we cannot fail to note with deep concern the attempts by some of the initiators of this very debate to exploit the recent developments in Afghanistan—developments which fall within the exclusive domestic competence of the sovereign authorities of that country—to fan anti-communist hysteria, advocate a return to the cold war, aggravate the international situation and escalate the arms race.

138. It is especially hypocritical and perfidious of the initiators of the attempts to draw the United Nations into an intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan—a non-aligned and developing country—to try to use for their nefarious purposes precisely some non-aligned and developing States. The aims of those tactics are, of course, perfectly obvious and indeed transparent. They will deceive no one and, I am confident, least of all the non-aligned and developing countries.

139. If one only looks at the history of international relations in the twentieth century, one will easily discover

that were it not for the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 and the anti-imperialist policy consistently followed thereafter by the Soviet Union, joined by other socialist and progressive States and forces, the great majority of the present States Members of the United Nations—with all due respect for their heroic struggle for national liberation and independence—would probably still be under the yoke of their respective colonial rulers and imperialist oppressors. Throughout the almost 35 years of the existence of the United Nations, the Soviet Union, together with other socialist States, has steadfastly assisted those countries, both politically and otherwise, in their efforts towards attaining and strengthening their national political, economic and social emancipation.

140. As far as the history of decolonization within the framework of the United Nations is concerned, it should suffice to recall that it was precisely the Soviet Union that was at the origin of one of the milestones of our times, namely, the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)*]. We are deeply convinced that the newly liberated countries—as, indeed, all the developing and non-aligned countries—are aware that, as in the past, they can rely now and in the future on the friendship, assistance and co-operation of the Soviet Union and other States of the socialist community.

141. We are all aware of the difficulties facing the new Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its ambitious task of overcoming centuries-old social backwardness and economic underdevelopment, establishing a just and democratic political system and giving concrete form to the welfare and happiness of its people. We firmly believe that the realization of these lofty goals would not only be in the vital interest of the Afghan people but would also greatly enhance good-neighbourly relations and stabilization in the region. The United Nations should therefore, instead of engaging in legally unfounded and politically sterile debates, extend its full understanding, assistance and co-operation to the Government of Afghanistan for the speedy implementation of those objectives.

142. The sooner certain quarters realize that simple truth, the better for the authority and effectiveness of our Organization.

143. As we have already stated, there is no legal, political or other valid ground or justification for the United Nations to intervene in the internal affairs of Afghanistan or in its bilateral relations with other countries. The Polish delegation will therefore strongly oppose any proposal or draft resolution that might constitute an attempt at such intervention.

144. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Mr. President, first of all, allow me, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, to extend warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly.

145. A couple of days ago, at the request of more than 50 Member States, the Security Council considered the question of Soviet aggression against Afghanistan. However, the

Soviet representative flagrantly vetoed the draft resolution which was co-sponsored by six third-world member States of the Council and which won the support of an overwhelming majority of 13 affirmative votes, thus unreasonably preventing the Security Council from exercising its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In these circumstances, it is most timely and entirely necessary to hold an emergency special session of the General Assembly for consideration of the question of Soviet aggression against Afghanistan.

146. Beginning from 24 December last, the Soviet Government, after meticulous planning and preparations, carried out flagrant and massive military aggression and intervention against Afghanistan, an independent, sovereign State. At present, such aggression and intervention are being intensified. Soviet troops are stepping up their brutal repression of the Afghan army and people, who are resisting Soviet aggression. Up till now, more than 80,000 Soviet regular troops have entered Afghan territory. Having taken control of the capital of Afghanistan and overthrown the Afghan Government, the invading troops have spread out to occupy places of strategic importance, and advance units have reached areas close to the border between Pakistan and Iran. No one can deny that not only have the Soviet acts of aggression grossly encroached upon the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan and crudely trampled upon the Charter of the United Nations and norms of international relations, but they pose a grave threat to the peace and security of the region, the rest of Asia and the world as a whole.

147. Soviet military aggression against Afghanistan is a serious escalation of Soviet aggression abroad. It also marks a new stage in its expansionist activities in the third world. This is not an isolated event, but an important component of the Soviet global strategy of pushing southward to the Indian Ocean, controlling the sea lanes, seizing strategic points, outflanking Europe, threatening Asia and then dominating the world. One may recall that on almost the same day in December 1978 the Soviet Union incited Viet Nam to launch a massive armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. A year later, the Soviet Union itself wantonly initiated a large-scale armed aggression against Afghanistan. Instead of using proxies, the new czars have now come out into the open themselves, thus piercing their thin veil of "peace" and "détente". It can be seen clearly that Soviet social-imperialism is the most dangerous source of a new world war.

148. In order to camouflage its naked acts of aggression, the Soviet Government has concocted a number of incredible myths. At the meetings of the Security Council, the Soviet representative kept on saying that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was undertaken in fulfilment of "treaty obligations" upon the "invitation" of the Afghan Government and that, therefore, it was in accord with the Charter of the United Nations. Is that true? Is it conceivable that any State in the world would invite another State to send troops into its own territory to overthrow it?

149. It is known to all that the massive invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet troops started on 24 December last. It was only after the seizure of Kabul by the Soviet troops

on 27 December and the subsequent overthrow of the Afghan Government and the assassination of its leader, Amin, that TASS hastily declared that Soviet troops had entered Afghanistan upon the invitation of the Afghan Government.

150. During the whole debate in the Security Council, the Soviet representative was unable to answer the simplest question. Upon whose invitation did Soviet troops invade Afghanistan and how was the invitation extended? Was it extended by Mr. Amin? Obviously, Mr. Amin was not that stupid. Then, was it extended by Mr. Karmal? But at that time Mr. Karmal was somewhere in Eastern Europe and, by the way, he was not then the leader of the Afghan Government. There is only one answer, namely, that it was the Soviet Government itself that "invited" Soviet troops to invade Afghanistan. People will recall the striking similarity between the current Soviet pretexts and those used a year ago when the Soviet Union instigated Viet Nam to invade Kampuchea. The two lies are of the same manufacture. In both cases the occupation of the capital of the invaded country by foreign aggressor troops preceded the so-called invitation extended by the puppet fostered by the aggressor troops. If there is any difference between the two, it lies in the fact that this time the Soviet Union has come out into the open from behind the scenes, changed from the use of proxies to the direct sending of its own troops and will be ready to invade and occupy any State it pleases on the same pretext and by the same logic.

151. Looking back a bit further into the past, we see that the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops in 1968 was carried out using a similar pretext and logic. The slight difference is that the Soviet Union has now extended the use of its notorious "theory of limited sovereignty" from its so-called "community of nations" to a non-aligned and Islamic country of the third world. If Soviet aggression is not stopped, people will have reason to worry that some day they will find Soviet troops suddenly reaching their capital, occupying their territory and overthrowing their Government upon self-extended "invitation".

152. It is even more absurd for the Soviet representative to claim that the Soviet armed aggression against Afghanistan is for the purpose of "repelling external threat". One may ask: Is there a single soldier of any foreign country other than the Soviet aggressor troops that can be found on Afghan soil today? Is it not the large number of Soviet regular troops which have marked into Afghanistan and massacred the local population that constitute the external aggression and threat to Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries?

153. At the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Union submitted an item on the inadmissibility of hegemonism, like a thief crying "stop thief". Nevertheless, have not the Soviet acts fully shown that the Soviet Union is the biggest hegemonist and aggressor of our time? Have not the facts proved this self-styled "natural ally" of the third world and non-aligned countries to be the most vicious enemy of the third world and all peoples?

154. The series of grave events occurring in the short span of the past year fully reveal the extreme insanity and recklessness of the policies of aggression and expansion

pursued by the Soviet Union. This reminds one of some of the events before the outbreak of the Second World War and the close resemblance between the truculent new czars of the present time and the Hitlerites who ran amok in those days. At the same time, it cannot but elicit deep thought on the part of all those who love peace and cherish their independence. What attitude should one take vis-à-vis the real threat posed by intensified Soviet aggression and expansion all over the world? Just as Hitler overran Austria and Czechoslovakia one after the other in order to unleash the war, the Soviet Union is resorting to the tactics of taking advantage of the weak points and crushing them one by one in its current aggression and expansion abroad. Having swallowed up one State, it looks around to see if there is any strong reaction, and then it proceeds to swallow up the next and so on *ad infinitum*.

155 If the Soviet Union's action is condoned and it is allowed to succeed in its aggression, its appetite will be whetted and its target will not be confined to the neighbouring States but will cover all places where Soviet power can reach. In that case, nothing will be left of the real security of any State. However, we believe that no peoples that have won their national independence through protracted valiant struggle and that cherish their national sovereignty and security would ever tolerate the wanton aggression by Soviet hegemonism and willingly see their countries being reduced to vassals and colonies of a super-Power. Retreat and fear could only court greater catastrophe. The only reliable way to maintain world peace and safeguard the independence and security of all peoples is for all the justice-upholding countries and peoples to unite further and take practical actions to frustrate the aggression and expansion of Soviet hegemonism.

156. The draft resolution submitted by the six third-world States members of the Security Council reflects the common desire of the third world and non-aligned countries to oppose Soviet aggression and maintain world peace. The flagrant Soviet veto of such a draft further revealed the Soviet Union's utter contempt for the Charter of the United Nations and its grave provocation of the people of all countries. But the strong will of the people of the world to resist Soviet aggression cannot be vetoed. The heroic Afghan people, who have a glorious tradition of struggle, are invincible. At present, the broad masses of the Afghan people are taking up arms to fight the aggressors relent-

lessly. We are convinced that, with the support of the people of the whole world, the Afghan people will severely punish the Soviet aggressors and finally drive them out of their territory.

157. In the view of the Chinese delegation, the United Nations should exercise its responsibility in response to the will of the world's people, condemn in the strongest terms the Soviet authorities' military aggression and intervention against Afghanistan, unequivocally call upon the Soviet authorities to cease forthwith such aggression and intervention, firmly demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet armed forces from Afghanistan, and give firm support to the Afghan people, who are valiantly resisting Soviet aggression. The General Assembly should also enjoin the Soviet authorities to stop their threats to the countries neighbouring Afghanistan and put an end to their aggression and expansion in various parts of the world, and should call upon all Governments and peoples to take all effective measures to oppose categorically and frustrate the Soviet authorities' acts of aggression and expansion.

158. The accelerated pace of Soviet aggression and expansion in one area after another in the world is an omen that the international situation in the 1980s will be more tense and turbulent. The people of the world are faced with the common struggle and lofty duty to combat hegemonism and defend world peace. We are fully convinced that, although the hegemonists may be temporarily on the rampage, it is the will of all peoples and their united struggle that will decide the destiny of the world. Like all aggressors in history who were formidable for a time, the hegemonists will not escape the end of being burned by the fire they lit themselves. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, stand by all the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and peoples and join them in unremitting struggles against the hegemonistic policies of aggression and expansion and for the maintenance of world peace.

159. The PRESIDENT. Before adjourning, I should like to request representatives participating in the debate to inscribe their names on the list of speakers. I intend to close the list tomorrow, Friday, 11 January, at 12 noon.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.