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TELEGRAM NUMBER 31 OF 5 JANUARY

MIPT: AFGHANISTAN: SECURITY COUNCIL

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF MY STATEMENT:

MR PRESIDENT

THERE IS A FEATURE OF THE LANDSCAPE OF THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH HAS BECOME ONLY TOO FAMILIAR TO ALL OF US. THIS IS THE ANNUAL PRESENTATION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY THE SOVIET UNION OF AN ELABORATE PROPOSAL ON SOME SUBJECT CONCERNING RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS. THESE PROPOSALS ARE INVARIABLY DEPLOYED IN HIGH SOUNDING AND PIOUS LANGUAGE, PREGNANT WITH SENTIMENTS WHICH ARE, I PRESUME, FASHIONED WITH THE OBJECT OF CONVINCING THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE PACIFIC INTENTIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND OF ITS PROFOUND ATTACHMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF OUR ORGANISATION. IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS THESE INITIATIVES HAVE INCLUDED, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, A PROPOSITION AIMED AT CONCLUDING A WORLD TREATY ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; A DRAFT DECLARATION CONCERNING THE DEEPENING AND CONSOLIDATION OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE AND PREVENTION OF THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR; A PROPOSAL THAT THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT CONSIDER APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES; AND, THIS YEAR, A PARTICULARLY CURIOUS ITEM ENTITLED "ON THE INADMISSABILITY OF A POLICY OF HEGEMONISM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS". HEGEMONISM, WE WERE TOLD, MEANS STRIVING FOR WORLD DOMINATION, FOR DOMINATION OVER OTHER COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES. AND THAT, MR PRESIDENT, IS WHY WE ARE HERE TODAY.

OVER THE YEARS WE, THE BRITISH, HAVE DETECTED A FEELING AMONG EAST EUROPEAN DELEGATIONS THAT MY DELEGATION IS LESS THAN ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THESE GRANDIOSE GESTURES. THE FACT

IS THAT MY COUNTRY IS DISPOSED TO JUDGE OTHER STATES BY THEIR ACTIONS RATHER THAN BY THEIR WORDS. WE REMAIN UNIMPRESSED BY HIGH FLOWN RHETORIC: THE HIGHER FLOWN THE RHETORIC THE MORE SUSPICIOUS WE ARE OF THE MOTIVES THAT LIE BEHIND IT. AND SHOULD WE NOT BE SUSPICIOUS? WE FORGET AT OUR PERIL WHAT HAS BEEN DONE OUTSIDE THIS BUILDING BY THE PROPONENTS OF THESE INITIATIVES EVEN AS THEY HAVE BEEN DISSEMINATING UNEXCEPTIONABLE PHRASES, SUCH AS NON-INTERFERENCE AND PEACEFUL COOPERATION, TO ALL OF US HERE.

THE SUBJECT OF TODAY'S DEBATE, MR PRESIDENT, IS A STARK CASE IN POINT. IN THIS YEAR OF 'ANTI-HEGEMONISM', UNDER THE CLOAK, ALBEIT THE EX-POST FACTO CLOAK, OF A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION, AND A TRULY REMARKABLE INVOCATION OF ARTICLE 51 OF OUR CHARTER, THE SOVIET UNION HAS MOUNTED A MASSIVE ARMED INTERVENTION INTO A NEIGHBOURING STATE: AN ASIAN STATE: A NON-ALIGNED STATE: A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS: AND, FOR THE FIRST TIME, A STATE NOT DIRECTLY WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION'S OWN SPHERE OF INFLUENCE.

IT NOW SEEMS TO BE UNIVERSALLY ESTABLISHED THAT THERE ARE THE BEST PART OF 50,000 SOVIET TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN. WE ARE ASKED TO BELIEVE THAT THIS IS A 'LIMITED' MILITARY RESPONSE TO AN APPEAL FROM A GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION SIGNED IN 1978. WE ARE ALL FAMILIAR WITH THE EVENTS IN AFGHANISTAN SINCE APRIL 1978 WHEN, AFTER A BRIEF BUT BLOODY CONVULSION, MR TARAKI EMERGED AS THE PRESIDENT OF AFGHANISTAN. SOME FOUR MONTHS AGO HE, IN TURN, WAS OVERTHROWN IN SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES BY MR HAFIZULLAH AMIN. HE, WE ARE GIVEN TO UNDERSTAND, LIKE HIS PREDECESSOR, MADE REPEATED APPEALS FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM HIS NORTHERN ALLY IN ACCORDANCE YET AGAIN WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP. THE SOVIET INVASION WAS IN RESPONSE TO THIS CALL, FREQUENTLY REPEATED, WE ARE ASKED TO BELIEVE. IS IT NOT STRANGE AND PUZZLING THAT THE NEXT DEVELOPMENT WAS THE OVERTHROW AND DEATH OF MR AMIN AND HIS REPLACEMENT BY MR KAMAL, WHO APPEARS TO HAVE ARRIVED IN THE COUNTRY ONLY AFTER SOVIET FORCES HAD MADE IT SAFE FOR HIM TO DO SO? MR AMIN, IT SEEMS, WOULD HAVE BEEN WISE NOT TO HAVE INVOKED THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, BUT HE DID NOT LIVE TO CORRECT THIS MISTAKE.

● WOULD TAKE A CREDULOUS PERSON TO BELIEVE THAT MR KAMAL'S GOVERNMENT CAME TO POWER IN RESPONSE TO THE FREELY EXPRESSED WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN AS A WHOLE. IF THIS IS THE CASE, WHY HAS THE MILITARY INVASION BEEN NECESSARY, WHY HAS THE MASSIVE SOVIET MILITARY BUILD-UP CONTINUED EVEN SINCE THE 'ELECTION' OF MR KAMAL? WHY HAS IT BEEN NECESSARY TO DESPATCH SOVIET TROOPS TO ALL PARTS OF AFGHANISTAN TO QUELL A REBELLIOUS PEOPLE? THE FACTS AS THEY APPEAR TO THE WORLD JUSTIFY TO MY GOVERNMENT THE VIEW THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS RUTHLESSLY ACTED WITH MILITARY FORCE AGAINST A SMALL AND DEFENCELESS NEIGHBOUR. THE TALK OF A RESPONSE TO OTHER OUTSIDE INTERVENTION, INCLUDING THE STATEMENT WE HAVE JUST HEARD FROM THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION STRAINS OUR CREDULITY WELL BEYOND BREAKING POINT. AND THEN, WE ARE TOLD THAT WE, THE SECURITY COUNCIL, SHOULD NOT BE DISCUSSING THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN. SUCH DISCUSSION, WE ARE TOLD, CONSTITUTES AN UNWARRANTED INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF AFGHANISTAN. HOW MANY FOREIGN-ASSISTED COUPS MUST THERE BE IN AFGHANISTAN BEFORE WE, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, ARE ALLOWED THE PRIVILEGE OF EVEN SUGGESTING THAT ALL MIGHT NOT BE WELL THERE AND THAT EVENTS IN THAT COUNTRY HAVE WIDER REPERCUSSIONS? WHAT PRICE THESE TREATIES OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION? THE GROWING AWARENESS THAT MOSCOW ABIDES ONLY BY THOSE TREATY PROVISIONS WHICH SUIT ITS ENDS, HAS ALREADY RESULTED IN TWO COUNTRIES REVOKING SUCH AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. MR PRESIDENT, THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN IS A DIRECT AND FLAGRANT VIOLATION, NOT ONLY OF THE MASS OF RESOLUTIONS BROUGHT BY THE SOVIET UNION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY BUT ALSO OF THE MORE SOBER AND COMPELLING LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER TO WHICH ALL OF US SUBSCRIBE. AS I SAID EARLIER, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVIET UNION LOSE NO OPPORTUNITY IN THIS AND OTHER PLACES TO REMIND US OF THEIR DEVOTION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERVENTION, RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY, NON-USE OF FORCE AND NON-AGGRESSION. I WOULD ASK THEM TO RE-READ, AND RE-READ CLOSELY, CHAPTER I OF THE CHARTER THAT BINDS US ALL.

IT IS NO WONDER THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION IN AFGHANISTAN HAVE CREATED EVER WIDENING RIPPLES OF DEEP CONCERN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. THESE FEELINGS MUST CLEARLY BE HELD

MOST STRONGLY IN THOSE COUNTRIES NEIGHBOURING AFGHANISTAN AND THE SOVIET UNION. CONDEMNATIONS FROM CHINA, PAKISTAN AND IRAN HAVE BEEN FORTHRIGHT. MANY OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION, INCLUDING SEVERAL OUTSIDE THE LONG LIST OF TODAY'S PETITIONERS TO THE COUNCIL, HAVE DENOUNCED THE SOVIET INVASION. THEY MUST PERCEIVE THAT, IF THE SOVIET UNION, WITHOUT AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE PRETEXT, CAN MARCH INTO A NEIGHBOURING COUNTRY, THEY THEMSELVES ARE IN DANGER. IT IS TEMPTING TO SPECULATE ABOUT WHAT CONCEPT OF THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS HAS MOTIVATED THE SOVIET UNION TO ACT AS THEY HAVE. STUDENTS OF HISTORY WILL RECALL, NOT WITHOUT IRONY, THE AIMS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY TSARIST RUSSIA, AND THE FATE OF THE THEN INDEPENDENT STATES OF CENTRAL ASIA.

MR PRESIDENT, THE PRESENT SITUATION, IN THE VIEW OF MY DELEGATION, UNDOUBTEDLY CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND AS SUCH IT IS ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD BE IN URGENT SESSION. THE SOVIET UNION MUST WITHDRAW ITS INVADING TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN AND ALLOW THE PEOPLE OF THAT BELEAGUERED COUNTRY DEMOCRATICALLY AND FREELY TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN LEADERSHIP, AND TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE. I URGE THE SOVIET UNION TO STICK BY THE PRINCIPLES STATED ONLY THREE MONTHS AGO BY MR GROMYKO, IN THE GENERAL DEBATE, THAT THE SOVIET UNION IN ITS APPROACH TO ALL CONTINENTS AND COUNTRIES DOES NOT APPLY DIFFERENT YARDSTICKS WHEN IT COMES TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF STATES, THE FREEDOM OF PEOPLES AND GENUINE HUMAN RIGHTS. HE TOLD US THEN, AND RIGHTLY, THAT ONE CANNOT HOLD ALOFT THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER IN ONE SITUATION AND HIDE IT UNDER THE TABLE IN ANOTHER.

IN CONCLUSION MR PRESIDENT I SAY THIS. WE LIVE IN A DANGEROUS WORLD, RIVEN BY CONFLICTS OF VIEW, DIVERGENT INTERESTS, DEEP SEATED DISPUTES, AND WIDELY DIFFERING POLITICAL SYSTEMS. IT IS NOT A WORLD WHICH CAN OR WILL BE CONTROLLED BY THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE BY POWERS GREAT OR SMALL. THAT WAY LIES DESTRUCTION, DEATH, HUMAN MISERY. OUR ONLY HOPE IS TO RESOLVE OUR DIFFERENCES PEACEFULLY, TO SUBORDINATE NAKED NATIONAL INTEREST TO THE WIDER IMPERATIVES OF PEACE AND SECURITY AMONGST NATIONS AND PEOPLES. WE MUST ABIDE BY THE PRECEPTS OF THE CHARTER OF WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS THE ULTIMATE GUARDIAN.

THE COUNCIL MUST EXPRESS ITSELF IN THIS GRAVE CRISIS WHICH WE ARE CONSIDERING TODAY. IT MUST DO SO IN PLAIN LANGUAGE, CLEARLY AND WITHOUT EQUIVOCATION. ONLY IF THE SOVIET UNION IS READY TO RIGHT THE WRONG WHICH IT HAS COMMITTED CAN ALL OF US FEEL A SENSE OF CONFIDENCE AND RENEWED SECURITY. THE SOVIET UNION IS A GREAT POWER AND GREAT POWERS SHOULD SUFFER NO COMPLEXES OR INHIBITIONS WHEN IT COMES TO THE REVERSAL OF ACTIONS WHICH ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

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