

Afghanistan

Soviet Invasion Attacked in U.N.

January 6, 1980



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Following are Ambassador McHenry's statement before the U.N. Security Council in New York on January 6, 1980, and the text of the draft Security Council Resolution S/13729 of January 6 cosponsored by Bangladesh, Jamaica, Niger, the Philippines, and Zambia. When the Security Council voted on the draft resolution on January 7, it was vetoed by the Soviet Union and not adopted (a veto by a permanent member of the Council prevents adoption of a resolution). Members of the Council who voted in favor of the draft resolution were Bangladesh, China, France, Jamaica, Mexico, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Tunisia, United Kingdom, United States, and Zambia. The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic voted against the resolution.

AMBASSADOR MCHENRY

The Security Council meets today, at the request of more than 50 members of the United Nations from all parts of the world and of all political persuasions. We meet to consider a matter of fundamental importance to world peace and to the principles on which the United Nations was founded.

A member state of this world organization has been invaded by massive contingents of troops from another state. Its government has been overthrown. Its leaders have been killed. Its people have been silenced. Its territory has been occupied.

The United States has joined in the call for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the Soviet Union's

blatant act of aggression against the territory and people of Afghanistan. We have done so because the action of the Soviet Union not only breaches the peace and violates international law, but also threatens the viability of the fundamental principles that underlie the U.N. Charter.

Sequence of Events

The representative of the Soviet Union has offered us a wide and confusing range of rationales for the so-called "limited" but surely deadly assistance foisted on the people of Afghanistan. Let us look at the chilling sequence of events connected with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

- During the first weeks of December, the Soviet Union secured Bagram airfield, north of the Afghan capital of Kabul, by sending the equivalent of an airborne regiment there. It also landed troops and equipment at the Kabul airport and, at the same time, mobilized enormous forces in areas bordering Afghanistan.

- On December 25 and 26, a massive Soviet airlift into Kabul took place. In over 200 flights, roughly 10,000 Soviet troops were transported into Afghanistan.

- On the evening of December 27, a special Soviet assault unit surrounded the presidential palace in Kabul. Afghan soldiers defending the palace were attacked and overcome, and President Amin was summarily executed. Simultaneously, Soviet troops attacked Afghan forces guarding radio Afghanistan and other key government installations and took them under control.

- The first announcement of the Soviet-engineered coup d'etat, and the replacement of President Amin by Babrak Karmal, who had been in exile in Eastern Europe, was made using frequencies purporting to be Radio Kabul. In fact, the transmitters from which these announcements were made were located in the Soviet Union. We know this because the real Radio Kabul continued normal transmissions for at least 1½ hours after these announcements were first heard. Nothing in these broadcasts from Kabul confirmed the content of the Soviet broadcast disseminated in Afghanistan's name.

- Subsequently, Soviet troops captured all key civilian and military installations in the Kabul area and established a defense perimeter around Kabul. Afghan military forces have been disarmed.

- Immediately after the coup, two Soviet motorized rifle divisions entered Afghanistan by land, one at Kushka and the other at Termez. Elements of the western division arrived at Herat, where fighting between Soviet and Afghan forces was reported. Much of the Termez division proceeded to the Kabul area.

- The Soviet Union now has up to 50,000 troops in Afghanistan. There are indications that other Soviet divisions are moving into the Soviet-Afghan border. Soviet forces have moved out to secure other key towns.

The Soviet Union has claimed that the leadership of Afghanistan requested Soviet military assistance. Which leadership? It is beyond doubt that President

Soviet-appointed successor, a man who was not even in Afghanistan at the time of the Soviet intervention but was, rather, in the Soviet Union?

The Afghan people and Afghan army units have resisted this Soviet aggression, despite the overwhelming military superiority of the invader. Fighting continues in several areas of the country.

The facts of the situation are clear. Over a period of months, the Soviet Union carefully planned and prepared to invade Afghanistan, because it was dissatisfied with the degree of subservience of the Amin government and undoubtedly with its performance against Moslem insurgents in Afghanistan who long have been struggling for their rights. The Soviet Union then carried out its military operation—quickly and brutally. They offered no recourse whatsoever to the authorities then in power in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union overthrew the Amin government, which it had previously supported, and replaced it with a puppet regime.

U.N. Principles

The armed intervention of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and the presence of an uninvited occupation force in that country is a gross and blatant violation of the most important principles of international law and of the U.N. Charter. What are those principles?

- That one state must not use force against the territorial integrity and political independence of another state;

human rights must be respected by all governments; and

- That states must settle international disputes by peaceful means.

The Soviet claim that it was acting in furtherance of collective self-defense under Article 51 of the Charter is a perversion of the Charter—an insult to the intelligence of the members of this Council. Article 51 can be invoked only “if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations.” From whence came the armed attack on Afghanistan? The only armed attack on Afghanistan was the one launched by the Soviet Union. No one can believe the claim that the Soviet Union was requested by the Afghan Government to intervene in Afghanistan in the fashion in which it did, unless one also believes that President Amin invited the Soviet Union in to overthrow him. Article 51 of the Charter requires that measures taken by members in exercise of their right of self-defense “shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the . . . Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.” That neither the Soviet Union, nor the puppet regime it has installed in power in Kabul, has given the required notice to the Security Council under article 51 is itself evidence of the hollowness of the Soviet Union's refuge behind the Charter.

Nor can one believe that the Soviet Union was requested by the Afghan Government to intervene in Afghanistan pursuant to the terms of the so-called Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation it entered into with that country in 1978. For the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan violates the Soviet Union's obligation, under the terms of the treaty, to respect Afghanistan's national sovereignty and to refrain from interfering in its internal affairs.

The U.N. Charter does not give the Soviet Union or any nation, the right to take military action in another country or to replace its government because it disagrees with the policies or performance of the existing government. The fact is that the Soviet Union has flouted international law and has violated regional and international peace and stability. That the Soviet Union has done so with cold calculation and advance planning, in an area of the world which is now experiencing particular instability and tension, makes its act even more egregious and irresponsible. That the Soviet Union is taking military action against a deeply religious and fiercely independent people, who are

Article 51 of U.N. Charter

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Amin was still in office when the Soviet troops attacked the presidential palace and when he was executed. Are we to believe that President Amin invited Soviet troops to come into Afghanistan in order to oversee his own downfall and his own execution? Or was it the leadership of Babrak Karmal, President Amin's

- That a state must not intervene by force in the internal affairs of another state;

- That all states must respect the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;

- That fundamental principles of

struggling for human and religious rights, underscores the brutality and illegality of its action.

The Need for U.N. Action

Accordingly, it remains for this Council to take action under the Charter to restore international peace and security.

A terrible miscalculation has been made by Soviet authorities. The ramifications of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan are enormous. For no state will be safe against a larger and more powerful neighbor if the international community appears to condone the Soviet Union's armed intervention. This must be of particular concern to states whose territories lie near the Soviet borders.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon this Council and upon every nation that believes in the rule of law and opposes the use of force in international affairs to denounce this dangerous breach of peace and security. It is incumbent upon this Council to make the weight of world opinion felt.

We note that the Soviet Union has stated that it intends to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan at some point. We urge the Soviet Union to do so immediately and to allow the people of Afghanistan to conduct their own affairs, to choose their own system of government, to choose their own national leaders

without outside pressure and interference. Only in this way can the grave threat to international peace and security created by the Soviet Union be diminished and this most serious challenge to the basic principles of the United Nations be removed.

No state, not even a great power, can be allowed to ignore with impunity the responsibilities, obligations, and commitments it assumed when it became a member of the United Nations. The United States therefore calls on all members of the Council to act vigorously in discharge of their Charter obligations.

DRAFT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION

The Security Council,

Having considered the letter dated 3 January 1980 addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13724 and Add.1 and 2),

Gravely concerned over recent developments in Afghanistan and their implications for international peace and security,

Reaffirming the right of all peoples to determine their own future free from outside interference, including their right to choose their own form of government,

Mindful of the obligations of Member States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of

any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations,

1. *Reaffirms anew* its conviction that the preservation of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State is a fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations, any violation of which on any pretext whatsoever is contrary to its aims and purposes;

2. *Deeply deplores* the recent armed intervention in Afghanistan, which is inconsistent with that principle;

3. *Affirms* that the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan must be fully respected;

4. *Calls* for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social systems free from outside intervention, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report on progress towards the implementation of this resolution within two weeks;

6. *Decides* to remain seized of this question.

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