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TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 30 OF 5 JANUARY

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON PARIS ROME OTTAWA BONN MOSCOW KABUL
EKING OSLO LISBON DACCA LUSAKA KINGSTON MANILA TUNIS ABIDJAN
EAST BERLIN ISLAMABAD NEW DELHI UKDEL NATO

MY TELNO 24: AFGHANISTAN: SECURITY COUNCIL

1. WHEN THE COUNCIL MET THIS MORNING, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR OBJECTED TO THE AGENDA, SPEAKING ON THE SAME LINES AS THEY HAD YESTERDAY, THOUGH AT GREATER LENGTH. THE PRESIDENT HAD HOWEVER AGREED IN ADVANCE WITH TROYANOVSKY (USSR) THAT THE LATTER WOULD NOT PROLONG THE PROCEDURAL WRANGLE IF, FOLLOWING HIS AND THE GDR STATEMENTS, TWO OR THREE MEMBERS WERE TO STATE THE OPPOSING VIEW BRIEFLY. WE THEREFORE ARRANGED FOR BANGLADESH AND NORWAY TO SPEAK IN FAVOUR OF THE AGENDA. CHINA ALSO SPOKE, IN FORTHRIGHT TERMS. THE AGENDA WAS THEN ADOPTED WITHOUT A VOTE.

2. THE PRESIDENT THEN ANNOUNCED THAT A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES, INCLUDING AFGHANISTAN, HAD ASKED TO TAKE PART. AFTER IT HAD BEEN AGREED WITHOUT A VOTE THAT THEY SHOULD DO SO, I MADE THE STATEMENT IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF YOUR TEL NO 9. SIMILAR STATEMENTS WERE MADE BY PORTUGAL, THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA, AND IN RATHER MORE NEUTRAL TERMS BY NORWAY AND BANGLADESH. TROYANOVSKY SAID THAT HE SAW NO NEED TO REPLY TO OUR "ABSURD STATEMENTS".

3. THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED THAT SOMALIA HAD SIGNED THE LETTER CALLING FOR THE MEETING (SAMOA ALSO SIGNED LATER TODAY).

4. IN HIS STATEMENT ON THE AGENDA TROYANOVSKY MADE A DISOBLIGING REFERENCE TO "BEHIND-THE-SCENES MANOEUVRES BY THE UNITED STATES TO BLOCK THE ELECTION OF CUBA" AS A RESULT OF WHICH THE COUNCIL HAD TO MEET WITH ONLY 14 MEMBERS. BUT HE SAID NOTHING TO IMPLY THAT SUCH A MEETING WAS ILLEGAL.

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5. THE FIRST SPEAKER IN THE DEBATE PROPER WAS THE PHILIPPINES. IN AN UNIMPRESSIVE STATEMENT, YANGO SPOKE ABOUT THE NEED TO ESTABLISH THE FACTS AND, IN VERY GENERAL TERMS, ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF RESPECTING THE PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERFERENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, ETC. IF ARMED INTERVENTION TOOK PLACE, THE UNITED NATIONS OUGHT TO CALL FOR THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES.

6. MY PAKISTAN COLLEAGUE, BY CONTRAST, MADE AN EXCELLENT SPEECH. THE INTRODUCTION OF 50,000 FOREIGN TROOPS WAS A SERIOUS VIOLATION OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UN CHARTER, AND CONSTITUTED A SERIOUS THREAT TO PEACE AND STABILITY. PAKISTAN HAD TRIED TO ESTABLISH FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN AND HAD BEEN THE FIRST ISLAMIC COUNTRY TO RECOGNISE THE TARAKI REGIME AFTER THE APRIL 1978 REVOLUTION. RELATIONS HAD BEEN COMPLICATED BY THE INFLUX OF NEARLY 400,000 AFGHAN REFUGEES, WHOM PAKISTAN HAD FELT OBLIGED TO LOOK AFTER. CHARGES OF PAKISTANI INTERFERENCE IN AFGHANISTAN HAD BEEN REPEATEDLY REFUTED BY THE PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT. NAIK THEN DETAILED THE SOVIET INTERVENTION DURING THE LAST TEN DAYS OF 1979: THERE WAS NO LOGIC IN SAYING THAT THE AMIN GOVERNMENT HAD INVITED FOREIGN TROOPS INTO AFGHANISTAN TO LIQUIDATE IT. THE OUTRAGEOUS SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION HAD AROUSED THE INDIGNATION OF FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. THE RESIGNATION YESTERDAY OF TABIBI, THE NUMBER 2 IN THE AFGHAN MISSION HERE AND A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION, HAD SPOKEN FOR MILLIONS OF AFGHANS WHO WERE RESISTING EXTERNAL INTERVENTION IN THEIR COUNTRY. THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD CALL FOR THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS, FOR THE CREATION OF CONDITIONS FOR SELF-DETERMINATION IN AFGHANISTAN, FOR RESPECT FOR THAT COUNTRY'S SOVEREIGNTY ETC, AND FOR THE VOLUNTARY RETURN OF THE REFUGEES.

7. THE NEXT SPEAKER WAS DOST, WHOM THE PRESIDENT INTRODUCED AS 'H.E. THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF AFGHANISTAN'. IN A STUMBLING AND CONFUSED STATEMENT, HE SPOKE MAINLY OF THE INIQUITIES OF THE AMIN REGIME AND OF IMPROVEMENTS BABRAK KAMAL HAD ALREADY INTRODUCED. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL HAD VERIFIED AMIN'S FASCIST OPPRESSION: THEY AND THE ICRC SHOULD RETURN TO AFGHANISTAN TO OBSERVE THE AMNESTY INTRODUCED BY KAMAL AND THE ATMOSPHERE OF

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PEACE AND SECURITY WHICH NOW PREVAILED IN AFGHANISTAN. THE SOVIET CONTINGENTS HAD COME IN RESPONSE TO REQUESTS ORIGINALLY MADE BY TARAKI IN DECEMBER 1978 AND REPEATED DURING AMIN'S RULE, IN ORDER TO PUT DOWN FOREIGN INTERFERENCE. AFGHANISTAN WANTED TO MAINTAIN FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY THE MUSLIM COUNTRIES AND HER FRIENDS IN THE NAM.

8. AFTER A BRIEF BUT HELPFUL SPEECH BY JAPAN, DESCRIBING THE SOVIET INTERVENTION AS "UTTERLY DEPLORABLE" AND REJECTING SOVIET INVOCATION OF ARTICLE 51, THE EGYPTIAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE MADE A LONG AND MAGISTERIAL STATEMENT IN WHICH HE QUOTED TO GREAT EFFECT FROM SPEECHES MADE BY THE SOVIET UNION DURING THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS IN FAVOUR OF THEIR ANNUAL ITEMS IN THE FIRST COMMITTEE ON THE INADMISSIBILITY OF INTERVENTION IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF STATES, THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ON RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES, THE NON-USE OF FORCE, HEGEMONISM ETC. ABDEL MEQUID CHALLENGED TROYANOVSKY TO SAY WHETHER THIS LATEST MANIFESTATION OF HEGEMONISM INDICATED A DEPARTURE FROM THE TRADITIONAL ATTITUDE OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD MOBILISE SUPPORT FOR THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE AFGHANISTAN PEOPLE. HE CALLED FOR A COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON THE SAME LINES AS THE PAKISTANI HAD SUGGESTED.

9. THERE WERE TEN MORE SPEAKERS AT THIS EVENING'S SESSION. TROYANOVSKY (USSR) WAS FIRST, AND REHEARSED ALL THE NOW FAMILIAR ARGUMENTS IN DEFENCE OF THE SOVIET ACTION. HE ACCUSED THE UNITED STATES, WESTERN COUNTRIES AND CHINA OF ARMING, TRAINING AND SUPPLYING AFGHAN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES. IT WAS WELL KNOWN THAT SOME OF THESE GROUPS HAD HAD MEETINGS IN LONDON. THE US AND WESTERN COUNTRIES HAD ONLY BROUGHT THE ISSUE TO THE COUNCIL TO CAMOUFLAGE THE AMERICAN MILITARY THREAT TO IRAN AND ITS REVOLUTION, AND TO HIDE HER INTENT TO DESTABILISE THE ENTIRE REGION. THEIR BASE AT DIEGO GARCIA WAS BEING STRENGTHENED, AND AN ARMADA OF NAVAL FORCES WAS NOW IN THE PERSIAN GULF. ANY ISSUE WAS BEING SEIZED ON BY THOSE OPPOSING DETENTE AND HOPING TO REVIVE THE COLD WAR. THE CHINESE WERE NO BETTER, AND HAD CLEARLY NOT LEARNED THE LESSON OF THEIR DEFEAT IN VIETNAM. BUT FOR ITS PART, THE SOVIET UNION WOULD FIRMLY PURSUE ITS UNWAVERING POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND DETENTE.

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10. CHEN CHU (CHINA) SPOKE IN PREDICTABLY ACID TERMS, ASKING WHETHER THERE COULD BE ANY GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD WHICH WOULD ASK ANOTHER COUNTRY TO SEND TROOPS TO HELP OVERTHROW ITSELF. REFERRING TO THE SOVIET INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, CHEN CHU SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD NOW EXTENDED THE USE OF ITS NOTORIOUS 'THEORY OF LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY' FROM ITS 'COMMUNITY OF NATIONS' TO A NON-ALIGNED AND ISLAMIC COUNTRY OF THE THIRD WORLD. WHO WOULD BE THE NEXT VICTIM? THE COUNCIL SHOULD NOT ONLY CONDEMN THE SOVIET MILITARY AGGRESSION IN THE STRONGEST TERMS, BUT SHOULD UNEQUIVOCALLY CALL FOR THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL SOVIET FORCES.

11. I SPOKE NEXT. THE TEXT OF MY STATEMENT IS IN MIFT.

12. THE OTHER SPEAKERS WERE COLOMBIA, BULGARIA, KAMPUCHEA, SAUDI ARABIA, POLAND, NEW ZEALAND AND TURKEY. POLAND AND BULGARIA FOLLOWED THE SOVIET LINE. KAMPUCHEA'S PARTICIPATION, ALTHOUGH OF COURSE CRITICAL OF THE SOVIET UNION, HAS PROBABLY NOT HELPED OUR CAUSE. SAUDI ARABIA, IN A GOOD SPEECH, REMINDED THE SOVIET UNION OF THE RESPONSIBILITY IT HAD TAKEN ON WHEN, WITH THE OTHER FOUR, IT ESTABLISHED ITSELF AS A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL WITH THE POWER OF VETO. THEIR BRAZEN AND UNWARRANTED INVASION WAS COMPLETELY CONTRARY TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER. SAUDI ARABIA CONDEMNED IT IN THE STRONGEST TERMS AND ASKED THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO GET RID OF FOREIGN TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN. NEW ZEALAND SAID THAT IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN REMOVING ONE GOVERNMENT AND INSTALLING ANOTHER. THIS WAS BLATANT INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF AFGHANISTAN, AND THE SOVIET EXCUSES HELD NO CONVICTION. MOREOVER THEIR COUNTER ALLEGATIONS HAD NOT BEEN SUBSTANTIATED. THEIR ACTIONS BROUGHT INTO DOUBT THE DEGREE OF SOVIET COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES IT HAD SWORN TO UPHOLD. COLOMBIA AND TURKEY ALSO SPOKE FIRMLY AND WELL.

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13. THE COUNCIL WILL MEET AGAIN TOMORROW AT 1600Z. THERE SEEM TO BE PLENTY OF SPEAKERS TO COME. THE NON-ALIGNED ARE WORKING ON A RESOLUTION. I EXPECT IT TO BE CIRCULATED SOME TIME TOMORROW WITH A VOTE ON MONDAY.

14. SO FAR ALL HAS GONE AS WELL AS WE COULD EXPECT.

PARSONS

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