

But it all hangs on Soviet troop withdrawal. That is the *sine qua non*. Everyone understands it. If we are back here, same time, next year, it is solely because the Soviet Union continues to believe that nihilism is preferable to negotiation; that butchery is preferable to bargaining. It all raises a series of inescapable hypocrisies. Here we have a country, the Soviet Union, which regularly reminds this Assembly, during debates on regional conflicts, that resolutions, once passed, must be honoured. But this resolution, on the "Situation in Afghanistan and Its Implications for International Peace and Security", is never honoured by the Soviet Union.

Here we have a country, the Soviet Union, which regularly — almost obsessively — lectures this Assembly on the right to self-determination of certain peoples. But self-determination, when applied to the people of Afghanistan, becomes a nullity. Here we have a country, the Soviet Union, which regularly denounces, in this Assembly, acts of territorial aggression, and proclaims, in this Assembly, the sanctity of territorial borders. But when it comes to Afghanistan, the aggression is naked, and the increasing cross-border violations of Pakistan's territorial integrity matters not at all. It's awfully useful to have a dialectic which is so infinitely malleable.

Here we have a country, the Soviet Union, which is forever reminding this Assembly of "gross and massive" violations of human rights. Yet before us is Afghanistan, where violations of human rights are not merely gross and massive, they are grotesque and universal. Nothing could convey it better than this excerpt from the Helsinki Watch report whose findings, incidentally, were largely confirmed by the Special Rapporteur of the UN Human Rights Commission. I quote:

"From our interviews, it soon became clear that just about every conceivable human rights violation is occurring in Afghanistan, and on an enormous scale. The crimes of indiscriminate warfare are combined with the worst excesses of unbridled state-sanctioned violence against civilians. The ruthless savagery in the countryside is matched by the subjection of a terrorized urban population to arbitrary arrest, torture, imprisonment and execution. Totalitarian controls are being imposed on institutions and the press. The universities and all other aspects of Afghan cultural life are being systematically 'Sovietized'."

Here we have a country, the Soviet Union, which worries, in the Assembly, about demands placed upon important agencies within the United Nations system. But directly because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, there has been created in Pakistan, the largest refugee population in the world, exacerbating significantly the crisis of resources within the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Were it not for the selfless response of the government of Pakistan, coupled with the extraordinary work of the UNHCR, we would have an ever greater disaster in Southwest Asia. None of that, however, seems to matter to the Soviet Union.

Above all, here we have a country, the Soviet Union, which regularly instructs this Assembly on the imperatives of peace. But this is a highly selective application of the principles of peace. It is meant for all the rest of us. It carefully omits Afghanistan.

As Canada said earlier, Afghanistan will not submit. The conflict may be taking an incredible toll, but there is no sign of subjugation. Karmal remains in power purely by force of Soviet arms. Hostility grows