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Agenda items 12, 72, 73, 101, 102,
103, 104, 107, 131, 132, 137 and 144
REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY
PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED
NATIONS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY
ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RELIGIOUS
INTOLERANCE
HUMAN RIGHTS AND SCIENTIFIC AND
TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS
QUESTION OF A CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS
OF THE CHILD
INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS
ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES AND WAYS AND MEANS
WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM FOR
IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVE ENJOYMENT OF
HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS
DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF GOOD-
NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN
STATES
REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE
DRAFTING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION
AGAINST THE RECRUITMENT, USE, FINANCING
AND TRAINING OF MERCENARIES
TORTURE AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN OR
DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT

SECURITY COUNCIL
Fortieth year

Letter dated 29 November 1985 from the Permanent Representative of
Afghanistan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you the text of the Declaration of the
Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan dated
19 November 1985.

A/40/458
S/17660
English
Page 2

I have further the honour to request Your Excellency to arrange for the circulation of the Declaration as a document of the General Assembly, under items 12, 72, 73, 101, 102, 103, 104, 107, 131, 132, 137 and 144 of the agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) M. Farid ZARIF
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Declaration dated 19 November 1985 of the Revolutionary Council
of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan

The fundamental theses of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, on the national and democratic character of the April revolution of 1978 and its urgent tasks under the present conditions were unanimously endorsed at the extraordinary of the Plenary session of the Revolutionary Council held on 9 November 1985 with the participation of the leadership group and the activists of the party, State, armed forces, the Central Council of the National Fatherland Front and the social organizations of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The speech of Babrak Karmal received an enthusiastic welcome of the broad masses of the workers, all social groups and stratas of the people, the workers, peasants, intellectuals and students, craftsmen, clergymen, patriots, national, commercial and industrial capital holders, other national, democratic strata, all the peoples, tribes and nationalities of the country and army employees have demonstrated their patriotic determination at their meetings, sessions, dailies, newspapers, radio-television and in their numerous letters for their active participation in the implementation of the provisions of the theses.

The Revolutionary Council, being the supreme organ of the State sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, has officially confirmed and has declared its full support to the theses of Babrak Karmal and deems it advisable to issue the following declaration addressed to the Afghan people and the world people.

The armed uprising of the Afghan people, participated by the patriotic officers and soldiers, triumphed under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) on 7 Saur 1357 (27 April 1978). Thus, the process of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist national democratic revolution was ushered in and new national and historical horizons were opened to our people. The April revolution took place to ensure the national interests and the interests of the broad masses of the people, to materialize those aims and aspirations for which the patriots, freedom-loving, true national progressive and democratic forces have selflessly struggled for many years.

The working and noble people of Afghanistan, all patriots, nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes of the country, the young working class and the vast masses of the peasants in unison formed the political base of the new society and guaranteed the interests of other patriotic strata of the people.

The revolution dealt a devastating blow with all forms of national and social oppression, feudal bureaucratic and usurious system which brought about impoverishment, misery, enslavement for our people in the length of the centuries.

Cultural and religious traditions and customs established the new-type state of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It is highly relevant today that once again we consider the fundamental tasks of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. They are:

- the defence of the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our homeland;

- further consolidation of the achievements of the April revolution and the attainment of its objectives and aspirations;

- ensuring of the vast participation of the working people and the entire progressive forces in the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist national democratic transformations and changing Afghanistan into a flourishing developed State.

During the past seven years and some months, elapsing since the victory of the revolution, our country scored significant success. The socio-economic transformations, including the land and water reforms, are being accomplished in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The national economy and the culture of the people of the country are blossoming and the process of the democratization of the socio-political life is continuing.

The revolution has declared the equality of all tribes, nationalities and ethnic groups of the country as well as the equal rights of all the nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes of the country void of any discrimination and irrespective of their social status, nationality, sex and their religious sects, i.e. Sunni, Shiite, or other religions, which are being realized in practice.

On the basis of the objective principles of the PDPA and the real conditions of national, cultural and traditional relations of the people of the country, the way for the creation of new civil organizations on national basis will be specified and determined in the interest of the consolidation of our united State, the new, independent revolutionary Afghanistan.

The State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan earnestly respects, observes and supports the sacred religion of Islam. The international position of our country is being consolidated, its role in the Non-Aligned Movement became evermore active and its relation with the progressive countries has assumed ever-wider scopes.

All these changes are taking place under the conditions when international imperialism and its hirelings resort to armed encroachments in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and under such conditions the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is obliged to launch an intensified struggle against the internal and imposed external counter-revolutionary forces.

The convocation of the Loya Jirgah (Grand Assembly), the High Tribal Jirgah (Council) and the successful commencement of the elections of the Local Organs of State Power and Administration manifest the enthusiastic support of the people in endorsing the foreign and domestic policy of the party and the State as well as the process of the revolutionary transformations in Afghanistan.

But the enemies of the revolution of Afghanistan resort to the most ominous plots and conspiracies in order to create stumbling blocks on the path of the progress of the country towards the realization of the revolutionary, democratic and progressive social transformations and the building of a new democratic society. They are attempting to label on our revolution such kinds of forged and fabricated trumped-up charges and spread out moral rigidity and ethical corruption which are in full contradiction with its noble goals and tasks.

Imperialism does not want to accept the reality of our revolution, and by ignoring the will of free Afghan people, it is trying in vain to deprive them from the right of choosing their path of development and social progress and to intimidate and encroach upon their security.

The Revolutionary Council points out that the path of progress of the revolution in our country has not been smooth and it is a long process that moves from phase to phase. The complication of the democratization process of the socio-political life and the realization of the important socio-economic transformations in the country not only emanates from the backwardness and the problems of the past and the difficulties of struggle against the internal and external counter-revolution, but serious mistakes, errors, and deviations had also played their tragic role in this regard. The criminal actions of Hafizullah Amin and his band inflicted heavy and harmful losses on the course of the national-democratic revolution of our country.

The experiences prove the fact that there is no any other humane patriotic alternative than the realization of the principles of freedom, democracy and social progress for the emancipation of our people from centuries-old backwardness.

But the realization of these principles have never been and will never be an easy task. It should be taken into consideration that under the present situation, the growth and development of the national-democratic revolution in Afghanistan is objectively a long

historical process and phase. It emanates first and foremost from the fact that the new democratic system in Afghanistan has inherited a backward economy, illiteracy, obscurantism, poverty, hunger, unemployment, disease, social backwardness of the absolute majority of the people, backward feudal and pre-feudal social relations of medieval centuries and dispersion of the democratic forces and national discord from the past regimes.

Therefore, achieving moral and material progress in our country necessitate a long persistent work with patience.

In the country as a result of heroic efforts of the working people, the realization of the programme and the needs of national democratic revolution is continuing. This revolution is in full conformity with the wishes of the absolute majority of our people. Therefore, all the patriots who heartedly cherish the lofty aspirations of the revolution have the right to and should take part in building a new and democratic Afghanistan.

In no way, it should be permitted that leftist-extremist deviations in the process of national, democratic revolution of our country, emanating from the subjectivist, dogmatic and voluntaristic approach or from the negligence of the crystal clear realities of our society, shall emerge on the basis of the adventurous attitude, infantile disorder of glossing over the national-democratic character of the national-democratic revolution.

Our basic objective is to pave the ground for such conditions throughout the country under which all the national questions in the country under discussion shall be solved in a humanly, free and democratic atmosphere with a sense of trust, co-operation, co-ordination, equality and brotherhood collectively and in a peaceful atmosphere on the basis of the principle of national interest and national conciliation without any resort to arms.

The Revolutionary Council believes that the nature of the State sovereignty in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan emanates from the character of our national and democratic revolution. This sovereignty takes into consideration and guarantees the right for the vast participation of all genuine patriots, representatives of all social strata and groups of the country including workers, peasants, middle landowners, craftsmen, intellectuals, employees of the armed forces -ranging from a soldier to a general -, private entrepreneurs, national commercial and industrial capital holders, the clergy and influential social personalities of all nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups, that is, the representatives of the entire people of Afghanistan in the administration of the organs of power and state affairs as well as the political, socio-economic and cultural activities.

The revolutionary State supports the Jirgahs or Councils of the Elders, being operative in some localities, as a traditional form of self-administration. Had it not been for the imposition of the

foreign reactionary and imperialist interference and the armed struggle against our people, the Government organs would have been long ago created on electoral basis. Holding of such elections have been, and is, our pressing task.

It is obvious, therefore, that basic measures will be taken to expand the social bases for constructing a new just society and all political allies related to various strata of the society will be attracted to participate in all Organs of the State Power and Administration. Therefore, the Central Committee of the PDPA, the Revolutionary Council and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan deem it necessary to put forward new approaches for the expansion of social bases of the people's sovereignty.

The new approach towards the issues of expanding the social pillars of the revolution are as follows:

- preparedness for broad nation-wide cooperation relying on the basis of the interest of all the people and on national good .

- enlarging composition of the state leadership organs, that is, the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by the inclusion therein of the prestigious representatives of the people who can reflect the interest of diverse strata and different groups of our society.

- widening of the talks, contacts and understanding with those elements who are unconsciously standing in a hostile position against the revolution or repenting their anti-national and counter-revolutionary deeds.

- possible and principled tolerance for the sake of national accord, principled and flexible conciliation compatible with the national good of the country and nation-wide peace and security.

Therefore, we invite all countrymen and genuine patriots of free and independent Afghanistan to actively take part in the historic revolution and national resurgence as well as the prosperity of their future generations.

The doors of the homeland are sincerely and with full security wide open to all Afghan citizens living abroad without any discrimination for the sake of the advancement of the independent, democratic and new Afghanistan with the preservation of human dignity.

The Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the future, too, will pay a permanent attention to the evermore attraction of the working people in building a new society and in leading the state affairs for elevating the level of their material and subsistence, working and living conditions of the workers and employees as well as ensuring possibilities for constructing residential buildings.

The just solution of the land and water question in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the interest of the working peasants taking into account the peculiarities, the legal and legitimate rights of other united strata of the peasantry and middle non-fruit bearing landowners, the owners of gardens and fruit-bearing trees taking into consideration the right to private land and livestock ownership, attracting the entire peasants for active participation in the ongoing land reforms, rendering all-sided assistance to the peasants in the spheres of providing them with credit, sowing seeds and chemical fertilizers, providing them with essential commodities, helping them in selling their products, assisting them in forming peasants' cooperatives on a full voluntary basis and elevating the cultures of the broad masses of peasants of the country with due consideration to the local conditions and characteristics are of prime importance for us.

The State promises that increasing the volume of agricultural products, bringing under cultivation of virgin lands and establishing of state farms, improving the supply of the foodstuffs to the people and raw materials to the industry, expanding the agriculture and irrigation of the land shall be ensured with the help of the state funds. The Revolutionary Council draws the attention of the fact that the encouragement and support of the initiatives of the private sector in connection with the boosting of agricultural goods and merchandise, legal admissibility of the creation of privately-owned big mechanized agricultural farms on complexes of virgin land and the land which is not being practically used is a principled policy under the condition of the national and democratic revolution. Preservation and safeguard of water resources and networks of irrigation are considered as the general duty of the people.

The policy of our revolutionary national and democratic State has never been directed to the detriment of the interests of the national private sector which plays an important role in the economic life of the country.

On the contrary, it is our objective to ensure confidence and sincere cooperation between the State and the national private entrepreneurs. The State intends to expand the economic and legal bases for organizing mutually beneficial relations between the national entrepreneurs and the State in the framework of the mixed sector and individual cooperation, to assist the entrepreneurs of the private and mixed sectors to get secured against the competition of foreign capital and to protect them. The State intends to provide practical possibilities for the national entrepreneurial circles in representing themselves and defending their interests in the State organs and in the National Fatherland Front.

The rights and authorities of the Economic Consultative Council and the role of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry will be further expanded and upgraded in the economic life of the country.

We will endeavour to ensure a continuous increase in the volume of industrial output through rapid growth of State and mixed sectors,

encouraging the creation of cooperatives, provision of assistance to the private entrepreneurs, artisans and craftsmen workshops. As regards the establishment of light and food industries, necessary facilities and possibilities will be provided for the national private capital holders so that they may establish small and medium-sized beneficial firms capable of compensating their investment in a short period of time. In our financial policy, taxation, credit, custom and price setting policies of the State, the interests of the private sector in industry, transport, commerce and services, will also be taken into consideration.

The Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan attaches high importance to the great and worthwhile role of science and culture, teachers, lecturers, physicians, engineers, architects, experts of different fields and the state employees for the cause of the revolution.

The State as usual draws the intellectuals in the work for the accomplishment of cultural transformations and promotion of economic and social status of the country and will assist in further activating the work of their creative unions. No one intends to prevent the creation of other organizations reflecting the interests of the intellectuals.

National crusade and struggle against illiteracy, especially among the youth, will be intensified. The slogan to the new society is "whatever is the best should be at the service of the children". The emerging generation of the country will be provided with whatever is necessary for their successful education and physical and cultural growth, and with whatever possibility which will bring them up as real and fervent patriots.

Ever-greater attention will be paid to the protection of the schools, hospitals, kindergartens, creches, mosques, madrassas, other sacred places and for the construction of the new establishments. Further care and attention will be paid to the martyrs' families. The Revolutionary Council is determined to issue a special decree in these respects.

The Revolutionary Council guarantees and endeavours in practice that all fraternal nationalities and tribes residing in our united homeland, the new and democratic Afghanistan, not only enjoy legal equality, friendship and brotherhood but shall also enjoy practical equality in the economic life and the growth of their ancient cultures, including education in their native languages.

In order to achieve this end, the further growth and progress of the socially backward areas of the national minorities and tribes should be ensured and the grounds should be provided for the just representation of the tribes and nationalities in the central and local state and social authorities and in the National Fatherland Front.

We declare that the policy of good trust, peace and cooperation will be pursued towards the tribes as usual. The Revolutionary Council is confident that in the present complicated moment the tribes will ever increasingly take part in the state affairs and foremost in the defence of the homeland against the aggressions of the reactionary imperialist forces and their hirelings.

The State of the Democratic Republic of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan keeps in high esteem the tradition of Jirgahs (Assemblies) as a form of free and traditional self-administration of the tribes. The State believes that these Jirgahs will actively cooperate with the local organs of State and social organizations.

The State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, observing and respecting the traditional aspects of the tribal life, will utilize all possibilities to provide the frontier tribes of Pashtoon and Baluch with necessary fraternal, economic, commercial, social and cultural assistance.

The Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is seriously and persistently striving for the consolidation of the National Fatherland Front and the enhancement of its democratic rights and authorities so that all those who are sincerely wishing to take part in the construction of a new Afghanistan and are respecting the laws, traditions and customs of our people, shall be drawn to work and struggle for this cause. Likewise, the activity of the mass social organizations such as the trade unions, the Democratic Women and Youth Organizations of Afghanistan and the unions of creative intellectuals will be expanded and improved.

There will exist no obstacle on the way of creation of their organizations and other socio-political groups, provided that they do not run contrary to the objectives of the April revolution and be ready to cooperate with the National Fatherland Front and the organs of people's power and assist and help in coordination of the needs and interests of the diverse strata and classes of the people with the general objective of the State and do not fight against the national and democratic State. In this case, our relation with them will be established as allies.

The Revolutionary Council once again reiterates that the respect and support of the sacred religion of Islam and ensuring the complete freedom for the performance of religious rites have been guaranteed in the Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and by the practical activity of the revolutionary solidarity the State is helping and assisting the Islamic scholars and clergy in their patriotic activities.

It takes special care of the mosques and religious institutions and the financial state of clergymen, the education of the young clergy and the convocation of Islamic conferences in the country.

Nobody is permitted to abuse Islam for their filthy purposes in the interest of the enemies of Afghanistan, the colonialists, the imperialists and the mercenaries against the interests of the working, noble, free born and Moslem people of Afghanistan.

The Revolutionary Council points out that the revolutionary Afghanistan not only has friends but enemies as well. The international imperialism and regional reaction have imposed an undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan which is being continued along with a vast campaign of lies and fabrications against our country and have imposed an armed struggle on us vis-a-vis our will.

In order to defend the State sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence of Afghanistan against foreign interventions, the State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had to request for a necessary assistance from the Soviet Union - the traditional and sincere friend of Afghanistan - on the basis of international law and norms and the United Nations Charter which was rendered in time. Our State emphatically points out once again that as soon as the foreign armed intervention in the affairs of our country is ceased and its non-recurrence is credibly guaranteed, the Soviet limited military contingents will be withdrawn from Afghanistan. At present, the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan together with the Central Committee of the PDPA and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are consistently trying and endeavouring to complete, in our country an integrated system and a defence complex, consisting of the armed forces, the Tsarandoi (police gendarme), state information services, groups for defence of revolution, militia, soldiers of revolution, self-defence groups, various units of tribesmen and others.

Every patriotic individual in Afghanistan is dutybound to strive for all-round strengthening and consolidation of the armed forces of the country, and for elevating the level of its combat readiness, so as the armed forces independently will be able to fulfill their duties and carry out their sacred mission for the people and homeland in preserving the national independence of the country and defending the revolution.

Consolidating the defence capability of our country and moving onwards for a national interest and reconciliation is an important factor in putting down the outside armed intervention and the psychological war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It should be seriously pointed out that the self-sacrificing, just and consistent struggle of the Afghan people is being continued against the foreign aggression and interference in our internal affairs and our people firmly believe in the victory of their struggle in the near future.

The Revolutionary Council declares that the foreign policy objective of the State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is to strengthen all-embracing peace and expansion of all-sided

international cooperation. The State activity in the sphere of foreign policy is based on observance of the United Nations Charter, principles of peaceful co-existence, and on de-escalation of tensions and is destined for peace and mutually beneficial friendship with all countries of the world, active and positive non-alignment, strengthening of friendly relations with non-aligned countries and all Islamic nations and peoples and particularly the neighbouring countries.

The State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan with the sense of responsibility before the people and the history is earnestly desirous for the peaceful solution of the situation around Afghanistan. Our traditional friendship with the Soviet Union has successfully emerged the tests of time and has become a precious treasure for the peoples of our two countries.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan selflessly plays a vanguard role in the process of the revolution. Our party, being a directing and organizing force of our society, reflects the basic state and national interests of the people of Afghanistan.

Party members enjoy no privileges other than the privilege of fighting in the fore-front of self-sacrificing combatants for the cause of the people's progress and prosperity as well as the cause of building a new democratic Afghanistan. People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan does not impose its ideology and concepts on anybody and pays high respect to the beliefs of all the patriots and democratic forces. Relations of the party with all the patriotic strata of the people of organizations with all its allies are based upon the principles of fellow-citizenship, mutual respect, compliance, constructive cooperation as well as on trust and sincerity.

At this historical moment, we clearly conceive that for the realization of the lofty aspirations and objectives of the national democratic April revolution, unity, solidarity and cooperation among all Afghan citizens, all the national patriotic, democratic and progressive forces of the country are as vitally needed as is respiration for man.

The Revolutionary Council invites the esteemed compatriots, brothers and sisters:

- Let all of us join hands for revolutionary work and struggle.
- Afghan have a single heart, that is, their united homeland,
- All on the path of unity and solidarity of all the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan,
- Further onward actively for the historical reconstruction of Afghanistan.

The revolution moves onwards, victory is ours.
