



Monday, 29 November 1982,
at 11.05 a.m.

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Moreno-Salcedo (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 25

The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General (concluded)

1. Mr. MUHAMMAD GHAZALI SHAFIE (Malaysia): It is matter of deep regret that for the third time States Members of the United Nations are faced with the fact that a foreign Power, in Afghanistan, has still not found it opportune to remove the bitterness inflicted on a peaceful third-world nation and on a people dedicated to freedom, neutrality and non-alignment.

2. Popular support for the nationalist forces within Afghanistan increases with each day that passes, and international opposition to the foreign interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan has not in any way waned. Indeed, the Afghan national struggle can rightly be considered prominent in the struggle of third-world nations against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and foreign intervention. I cannot help feeling overwhelmed by memories of other similar struggles by third-world countries in the last four decades or so and by the irony of the fact that one of the Powers that used to condemn foreign oppression itself now stands condemned.

3. The Soviet armed adventure into Afghanistan in the winter of 1979 has also brought about a qualitative change in the security environment of the region. Its attendant implications for global peace have been equally serious, legitimately heightening the concern and anxiety of the international community, particularly third-world nations. Such a retrogressive development has also impeded efforts by countries of the area to foster co-operation among themselves and to promote regional peace and stability. Indeed, the unwholesome situation has struck a serious blow to détente and reversed the trend towards the relaxation of international tension, not to mention that it has also complicated efforts at general and complete disarmament. The edifice of trust and confidence so painstakingly built and adjusted among countries of the region and around it has been most brazenly vitiated by this single act of international delinquency in Afghanistan.

4. We need no reminders that the gravity of the situation in Afghanistan continues to be a matter for anxiety and serious attention everywhere, be it in the Move-

ment of Non-Aligned Countries or the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and all the pronouncements and the voice of world opinion have been explicit and unequivocal: the continued presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan cannot be accepted; it is not only against the will and wishes of the people there but a blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

5. My delegation would like to refer to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], in which the Secretary-General decried the ineffectiveness of the United Nations, particularly in respect of the inability of the Security Council to perform the role entrusted to it. Alas, how true that is, and it is all the more worrying when, on occasion, the defaulters include permanent members of the Security Council, which is charged with responsibility for issues of world peace and security. Afghanistan is a case in point, being an example of how a permanent member of the Security Council should not behave.

6. Permit me to delve a little into the recent past, to see whether any lesson can be learned from history. No nation, no Power, no matter how idealistic and no matter what the method employed, has ever succeeded in suppressing the will and determination of another for long. The use of a client leadership, a quisling or a puppet, has been among the methods employed by a Power that seeks domination, dominance and influence, hegemonism—call it what one will—but with disastrous results.

7. We can call to mind the developments in Viet Nam from the 1950s until the middle of the 1970s, when one of the super-Powers was diligently pursuing a policy of containment, with zeal and commitment, inspired by its ideological and idealistic beliefs and its value projections. In actualizing its objectives, client authorities which were considered sympathetic and capable of being manipulated were nurtured and used. However, such arrangements have a habit of resulting in surprise situations, contrary to expectations. Just as the imposing Power would manipulate events and people, so also the Power itself, because of ambitious and shady self-interest, is subjected to manipulation by its clients, which have ideas and dreams of their own, contrary to their master's voice. The bigger the investment of the imposing Power, the greater is the elbow-room for manipulation by the client authority, very much as a man with an oversized loan from a bank makes the banker extremely nervous.

8. Inevitably, from time to time, each client has to be removed or disposed of, making the successor client more dependent and harder to defend, not only against the nationalist forces, but also against rival groups and aggrieved parties. More and more troops are needed, and deeper is the involvement. The net result is that the super-Power is caught in a political

quagmire, both at home and abroad, with the original reason lost and forgotten, or now appearing as something utterly wrong and hateful.

9. Ngo Dinh Diem, Duong Van Minh, or Big Minh, Nguyen Ngoc Tho, Nguyen Khanh, Nguyen Chair Thi, Phan Huy Quat, Nguyen Cao Ky and Nguyen Van Thieu are names which echo in the catacombs of history.

10. As we look at Afghanistan, we are struck by the similarity of pattern and methods, although the ideological motivations were different from the previous situation in Viet Nam. The cruel fingers of fate are seen again at work, beckoning another Power progressively into the same bog. The genesis of Soviet involvement produced a pattern originating with the overthrow of Zahir Sháh in 1973; later, enter his successor Daoud, and the emergence of a more recognizable client in the person of Taraki.

11. Then came Amin, who was soon replaced by the present client incumbent authority, who may turn out to be an agile manipulator for more power, much as the previous clients were prepared to be manipulated into power. How many more Soviet troops will be needed to protect the client authority, not only from the *mujahidin* but from the rival groups? But what if the present client begins to have ideas? How many more will come thereafter? And to protect each one of them in succession, how many more forces will be heeded, all in the name of security? While one by one their names will litter the pages of history, history will also record the sacrifices of the valiant *mujahidin*, who, as they once fought the British, are now dying in the plains, in the valleys and in the mountains of Afghanistan in order that Afghans may always live in freedom and pride.

12. To meander a little, I see the same development taking place in Kampuchea, where the puppet régime of Heng Samrin is being defended by a foreign Power, in the name of security, with Pen Sovann in the wastebin of Kampuchean politics. And in Viet Nam itself, the régime which is carrying out a senseless occupation of Kampuchea is being propped up by the Soviet Union for no other reason than to gain influence in a zone which should be one of peace, freedom and neutrality.

13. Mr. President, I have craved your indulgence to make this short journey into history because my delegation feels that there is much to be learned from it. If a Power like the United States could prove its greatness and that of its people by withdrawing from Viet Nam with grace and dignity before it was too late, it is time now for the Soviet Union likewise to withdraw from Afghanistan, in co-operation with the Secretary-General, so that the world may once again see that the champion of the oppressed is oppressing no more, and so that credibility may be returned to a super-Power which, by right, should play an effective role in the Security Council for the maintenance of world peace and security.

14. On behalf of my delegation, I congratulate the Government of Pakistan on its patience, courage and determination in facing the monumental problems of the refugees who have to be fed and sheltered—all because they have been forced out of their homeland. The Iranian Government, too, has its share of the

same problem, while it has other problems of its own. My delegation salutes both Pakistan and Iran for seeking, with their quiet diplomacy, a political and peaceful solution to the problem which scourges Afghanistan. We wish all the parties concerned everything that will conduce to success in restoring to the people of Afghanistan their inalienable right to be free.

15. Malaysia fully supports the efforts of the Secretary-General to find an honourable political solution to the Afghan problem based on the withdrawal of foreign forces, the restoration of that country's non-aligned and Islamic status, the honourable and safe return of Afghan refugees to their homeland and recognition of the right of the Afghan people to have a government of their own choice. It is my delegation's sincere hope that the Soviet Union will respect the efforts of the Secretary-General and heed the voices of all third-world countries regarding a political solution in Afghanistan.

16. As in previous years, my delegation is happy to be a sponsor of the draft resolution before us today. We are heartened by the fact that it is supported by more than 40 countries, comprising almost one third of the total membership of the Assembly. This broad support is a further manifestation of the recognition given by Member States to the basic principles governing inter-State relations and the peaceful resolution of disputes. My delegation is confident that this draft resolution will be adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes—as similar resolutions have been in previous years—because it embodies the necessary elements for an honourable solution of the problem.

17. Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan): Once more, the General Assembly is taking up an issue of fundamental importance, with serious implications for international peace and security. It is indeed regrettable that the unfortunate circumstances that necessitated the convening of the sixth emergency special session, following the foreign intervention in Afghanistan, still exist, and with no solution in sight. Although more than two years have elapsed, foreign troops are still in Afghanistan, violating its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as the cardinal principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of others and the inadmissibility of the use or threat of force in inter-State relations.

18. The continued impasse in Afghanistan and the suffering of its people are indeed cause for concern and anxiety to my country and my people. The consequences of foreign intervention in Afghanistan are very clear and need no elaboration. Millions of refugees have been compelled, and others are being compelled even today, to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. As a country which has itself faced the problem of refugee influx from neighbouring countries, Sudan is fully aware of the very heavy burden the neighbours of Afghanistan are bearing in such circumstances.

19. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which both my country and Afghanistan are founding members, was created because of the concern of its members for the right of all our peoples to enjoy full freedom and independence, their right to the free choice of forms and ways of internal development, their right to sovereignty and territorial integrity and

their refusal to mortgage their independence at any price whatsoever.

20. The Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung, and the conferences of Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, held at Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers, Colombo and, recently, Havana, not only asserted those principles but also strengthened our will to resist any attempts or designs to drag us into zones of influence and military alliances. During the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana from 31 May to 5 June 1982, the non-aligned countries called urgently for a political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops, full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in its internal affairs [see A/37/333, sect. A, para. 164].

21. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has equally demonstrated to the whole world the serious dimensions of the flagrant presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan. It has condemned the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan, called for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of military forces from Afghanistan and appealed to those concerned to respond to the legitimate demands of the people of Afghanistan and respect their right to self-determination and full independence. We should like to reiterate those appeals today, hoping that they will not, like those which preceded them, fall on deaf ears.

22. In his report [A/37/482], the Secretary-General told us of the efforts he had been making to facilitate negotiations among the parties concerned with a view to achieving a fair political solution which would ensure that the people of Afghanistan would be able to determine their own destiny, free from foreign intervention and interference. In this connection, we should like to welcome the appointment of Mr. Diego Cordovez and express our appreciation of the efforts which the Secretary-General and his personal representative have made. We hope that the continuation of those efforts will help to overcome the present deadlock and promote progress towards the political solution which the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and General Assembly resolution 36/34 have called for.

Mr. Kuen (Austria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

23. My delegation is a sponsor of the draft resolution before us, which the representative of Pakistan so eloquently introduced last week [78th meeting]. Its central objectives are consistent with the earlier relevant General Assembly resolutions, of which my delegation was also a sponsor. The draft resolution also accords with our steadfast belief that any solution to the crisis of Afghanistan should include the following: first, immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; secondly, preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; thirdly, the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint; and, fourthly and lastly, the creation of the neces-

sary conditions enabling the refugees to return home voluntarily.

24. The members of the General Assembly are therefore called upon to lend their full support to this draft resolution. In so doing, they would once more clearly demonstrate their unflinching commitment to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

25. Mr. MORENO-SALCEDO (Philippines): The foreign military intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979 was a clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the universally accepted principles of international law. On three occasions since then, the international community has deplored the armed intervention; appealed to all States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan and to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of that country; called for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops; urged all parties concerned to assist in bringing about conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees to their homes; and called upon the Security Council to consider ways and means which could assist in the implementation of these resolutions.

26. These calls, regrettably, have gone unheeded. Afghanistan remains a country under foreign military occupation. The Afghans, a fiercely independent and religious people, continue to resist the military occupiers and the régime imposed on them by force of arms. In the cruel conflict in that tortured land, thousands of innocent people have died and millions of others have sought uncertain refuge in alien lands, their homes abandoned or in ruins, their flocks dispersed and their families broken apart.

27. Both reason and justice demand that we put an end to this terrible conflict; that we restore confidence among States so that, though they may be small, weak or defenceless, their independence and territorial integrity will not be violated.

28. The restoration of the independence and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and of peace and freedom to the Afghan people is a moral imperative we can no longer ignore. The situation in Afghanistan cries out for a solution because it has adversely affected the conduct of East-West relations, destabilized regional peace and stability and heightened global tensions.

29. The Philippines remains committed to a just, peaceful and comprehensive political solution to the situation in Afghanistan, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, which were sponsored by my delegation and adopted by overwhelming majorities of votes.

30. May I recall that, on the occasion when the Security Council was unable to pronounce itself on the Afghanistan problem because of the lack of unanimity of the permanent members of the Council, the Philippine delegation and that of Mexico, then non-permanent members of the Security Council, sponsored a resolution referring the matter to the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly [see Security Council resolution 462 (1980)]. We shared in undertaking such an initiative because

of our conviction that the gravity of the issue was the legitimate concern of the international community.

31. Three crucial elements are at stake in the Afghan issue: first, the inalienable right of a people to determine its own form of government and its social, economic and political system, free from external imposition or coercion, including armed intervention; secondly, respect for the sacrosanct principles of international law as enshrined in the Charter and in the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, particularly those referring to non-interference in the internal affairs of a country, respect for the sovereignty, equality and territorial integrity of nations, and the non-use of force in the settlement of disputes between Member States; and, thirdly, the principles of non-alignment, which are the bases of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which Afghanistan is a founding member.

32. The elements I have referred to are reflected in draft resolution A/37/L.38 and Add.1, sponsored by my delegation along with 44 other delegations and introduced at the 78th meeting by the representative of Pakistan.

33. We cannot turn a deaf ear to the cries of the Afghan people or close our eyes to their suffering. Every effort must be made to promote a just and peaceful solution to the Afghan problem, in accordance with the Charter and the principles of international law. We are thus gratified to note from the report of the Secretary-General that he has appointed a personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, to explore ways and means of settling the problem. The continuing efforts of the Secretary-General, through his personal representative, deserve our full support and encouragement.

34. To many of us in the developing world, Afghanistan is a mirror of ourselves. If we were to leave it to its present fate, this could be our ultimate fate also.

35. My delegation therefore hopes that draft resolution A/37/L.38 and Add.1 will receive the unanimous support of this body and be heeded by all the parties concerned.

36. Mr. KOH (Singapore): In chemistry, a blue substance called litmus is used to detect the presence of acids. When an acid is present, litmus turns from blue to red. This procedure is called the litmus test. For most of the countries of the third world, Afghanistan has become a litmus test of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Why do I say this? I say this because how can we believe that the Soviet Union is a peace-loving country when 100,000 Soviet troops are waging a brutal war against the people of Afghanistan? How can we believe that the Soviet Union is in favour of the non-use of force in the settlement of disputes between States when force is being used by the Soviet Union to subjugate the people of Afghanistan? How can we believe that the Soviet Union supports the purposes and principles of the United Nations when every day the Soviet Union is violating in Afghanistan some of the most fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations? How can we believe that the Soviet Union supports the Move-

ment of Non-Aligned Countries when the Soviet Union is seeking to turn non-aligned Afghanistan into a Soviet satellite?

37. In the course of this debate, an attempt has been made to rewrite history. It has been argued that our discussion of the situation in Afghanistan constitutes interference in the internal affairs of that country. It is said that what has happened in Afghanistan in the past three years is the result of an indigenous revolution and is irreversible. This attempt to rewrite history has convinced no one.

38. The whole world knows that, prior to 25 December 1979, there were no foreign troops in Afghanistan. On that day, Soviet troops crossed the international border between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, by land and by air, occupied Afghanistan, assassinated its leader and imposed a puppet régime on the Afghan people. During the past three years, Soviet troops have intensified their campaign to subjugate the Afghan resistance. They have bombarded Afghan villages from tanks, from helicopters and from airplanes; they have destroyed crops and irrigation systems; they have planted mines in the hillsides.

39. In spite of these attempts, in spite of the overwhelming odds, in spite of the use by the Soviet Union of the most modern and sophisticated weapons, the spirit of the Afghan resistance is unbowed and unbroken. I have no doubt that the tough and tenacious people of Afghanistan will succeed in throwing off the yoke of foreign domination.

40. An attempt has also been made in this debate to transform the problem of Afghanistan from an international question into a bilateral one. Some have urged us not to internationalize the problem of Afghanistan. They have said that the solution to the problem lies in direct talks between the puppet régime in Kabul, on the one hand, and the Governments of Iran and Pakistan, on the other.

41. The fact that there are nearly 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan should not lead us into the error of thinking that the problem is a bilateral one. It is not a bilateral dispute between Afghanistan and Pakistan or between Afghanistan and Iran that has caused the present situation in Afghanistan. The cause of the problem is the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. If there is a dispute, it is a dispute between the Soviet Union and the Afghan people. The solution to the problem, therefore, does not lie either in Islamabad or in Tehran: it lies in Moscow. The problem of Afghanistan can be resolved only if the Soviet Union is prepared to withdraw its forces and if it is willing to let the Afghan people exercise once again their inalienable right to choose their own government and their own social, economic and political system and to determine their own destiny.

42. Draft resolution A/37/L.38 and Add.1 has been criticized as being biased and one-sided. This criticism appears to my delegation to proceed from a very questionable premise. The premise seems to be that we should seek to produce a draft resolution which is as favourable to the aggressor as to the victim of aggression. Such a draft resolution would be unjust. The question is not whether the draft resolution is even-handed between the aggressor and the victim of aggression; the question is whether it is faithful to

the principles of the Charter and to the pillars on which the United Nations collective security system rests.

43. Reference has been made to the efforts of the Secretary-General and his personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to find an internationally acceptable solution to the problem of Afghanistan. The indirect talks conducted by Mr. Cordovez in Geneva this year have been described as being constructive and as a step in the right direction. It has been argued that the adoption of the draft resolution, which has been opposed by the Soviet Union, would jeopardize the future prospects of the Geneva talks and the efforts of the Secretary-General. In the view of my delegation, this line of reasoning is mistaken. It is absolutely necessary to maintain the pressure of world public opinion against the Soviet intervention in and occupation of Afghanistan in order to persuade the Soviet Union to come to the negotiating table. If the pressure of world public opinion is reduced, if the world begins to forget or to lose interest in the valiant struggle of the Afghan people for their freedom, then there will be less of an incentive for the Soviet Union to negotiate.

Mr. Hollai (Hungary) took the Chair.

44. Only a few days ago, the world joined the Soviet people in mourning the passing of President Leonid Brezhnev. A new leader has emerged in the Soviet Union. I hope the new Soviet leader will seriously reconsider the course which the Soviet Union has pursued in Afghanistan during the past three years. I hope he will consider carefully the following open letter addressed to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by Mr. Muhammad Yusuf, a former Prime Minister of Afghanistan. Mr. Yussuf wrote:

“Your bombers have destroyed our cities, towns and villages, turned 4 million of our people into refugees and, at the lowest estimate, have killed half a million of our men, women and children.

“The tiny Afghan Communist Party, which you use—and whose members murder each other—is isolated, despised and hated throughout the country.

“You have ruined the economy of the Afghan State and annihilated its fundamental institutions.

“At the same time, you have provoked throughout the country such a spirit of resistance that you cannot bring it under your control despite your use of the most modern weaponry.

“You have given a deep shock both to the Non-Aligned Movement and to the Islamic Community. They will henceforth judge you by your invasion of Afghanistan.

“In addition, you stand repeatedly condemned by the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations.

“Finally, you are causing the death of a great number of your own young men. You depict to them this unjust and unequal war under the colours of friendly assistance extended to a country imperilled by external invasion; you send them to save Afghanistan from the armed interventions of the Americans and the Chinese, and instead of Americans and Chinese they meet Afghans who are

prepared to defend their soil and independence with determination.

“Of course, you always have the option of increasing your bombing raids on our villages and slaughtering our population, all the while sending an increasing number of your young men to be killed. But then you will have to find some other justification for this than ‘brotherly assistance’, not only to world public opinion but also to the mothers, fathers, sisters and children of your dead soldiers....

“Another option remains open to you if you truly wish to attain your goal of peace and disarmament throughout the world in a general climate of trust. All you have to do is withdraw your armed forces from Afghanistan, and you thus immediately offer the world evident proof of the sincerity of your intentions. I can assure you, Mr. General Secretary, that the Afghans are capable of putting their own affairs in order. A free, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan has never served and will never serve as a tool or base of operations for any Power whatsoever against the Soviet Union; in the same way Afghanistan today does not allow you to use our country in your own interest.”

45. The PRESIDENT: I call now on those delegations that wish to explain their vote before the voting.

46. Mr. WABUGE (Kenya): My delegation has asked to speak to explain its vote before the voting on draft resolution A/37/L.38 and Add.1. As our position remains the same as in the past on this issue, Kenya is going to vote in favour of the draft resolution in the hope that the Secretary-General's diplomatic process will at long last be given the opportunity and shown the good will that it so much deserves by the parties directly concerned in these serious efforts to resolve the problem obtaining in Afghanistan.

47. My delegation has noted the efforts so far exerted to resolve the issue, as outlined by the Secretary-General in his report. However, we regret to observe that, in the words of the Secretary-General, “the most critical stage of the diplomatic process undoubtedly lies ahead” [see A/37/482, para. 10]. What that means to us in the Kenya delegation is that those directly concerned with causing the problem have not been co-operating in a serious endeavour to resolve the problem, that they are unrelenting and that their original objectives remain the same.

48. In the view of my delegation, there would have been no large numbers of Afghan refugees fleeing their country had there not been interference and intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan. A foreign people has taken it upon itself to organize the affairs of Afghanistan against the will of the Afghan people. In this respect, let me underline Kenya's belief in the principle of non-interference in relations between sovereign States. We cannot find any justifiable reason that would give any State Member of the United Nations the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another State Member. To accept interference in the internal affairs of other States would be tantamount to accepting anarchy, totally endangering international peace and security. Nor can we condone foreign intervention in the political life of any country under any pretext, least of

all when the political climate is as fluid as has been the case in Afghanistan.

49. The consequence of the failure of the Soviet Union to respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan forced it to occupy militarily the territory of the proud and valiant people of Afghanistan. That military occupation has compounded the problems of that country. While the problems continue, involving the flight of refugees and their resistance to occupation, the Soviet Union has remained oblivious to the plight of the Afghan people as a whole. It has made no effort towards the withdrawal of its unwelcome troops from that country. This obstinate attitude has continued despite the efforts of the international community to create the necessary conditions for the Soviet Union to extricate itself honourably from the ugly situation of its own making. In our view, this can be done by the withdrawal of its troops from the territory of Afghanistan. We feel that its attitude does not befit a super-Power, particularly a Power whose good will and intentions are heavily counted upon in the solution of international problems.

50. With that in mind, my delegation cannot but wholly support the call for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the territory of Afghanistan so that internationally accepted arrangements may be made to eradicate the effects of the occupation, thus affording the Afghan people the opportunity to end the fighting among themselves and to stem the flow of refugees.

51. Mr. YAQOUB (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya reaffirms its support of the independence, sovereignty and non-alignment of Afghanistan, as well as the preservation of its Islamic character. We have officially declared this in all international forums on many occasions. I should like to recall the statement made in the General Assembly by the head of our delegation on 6 October 1982 that:

“The Afghan war and the situation in Kampuchea represent areas of tension in South-East Asia aggravated by foreign interference in the affairs of those countries. Therefore my country affirms the right of those peoples to exercise their freedom of choice. My country supports the principle that Afghanistan should be an independent, non-aligned country following the path of progressive Islamic States.” [*See 19th meeting, para. 34.*]

52. My country emphasizes respect for the free will of the Afghan people and the fact that this situation is being exploited by imperialist States for their own interests, and not, as they claim, to preserve Islam and Muslims in Afghanistan. At the same time, these imperialist States have played a major role in encouraging Zionist invaders in their aggression against the Islamic nation, their violation of the sacred Islamic relics of Al-Quds al-Sharif and its occupation, and their killing of innocent Muslims in the neighbouring countries in their attempt to annihilate the Muslim people of Palestine.

53. Draft resolution A/37/L.38 and Add.1 does not satisfy all parties to the dispute or contribute to a final settlement of the problem, and for this reason my country's delegation will vote against it.

54. Mr. CANDA MORALES (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Nicaragua is taking part in this debate in order to place on record its concern over the situation in South-West Asia and the need to find a political solution to it.

55. We are especially concerned over the polemical and recriminatory tone that is characterizing the discussion. Instead of facilitating the opening of a dialogue, polemics divides by encouraging the maintenance of rigid positions. We have seen how some countries are exploiting and heightening differences to further their global interests. We are particularly displeased to see that one permanent member of the Security Council invokes the sacred principle of the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force against the independence of any State in the case of Afghanistan, but does not apply, or even admit the validity of that principle where Central America is concerned. How can anyone condemn the Soviet presence in Afghanistan but remain silent about the occupation of Namibia and other acts of aggression committed by South Africa against the front-line countries? How can anyone praise the rebellious Muslims in Afghanistan while at the same time supporting those who are killing Muslims, Palestinians and Arabs in the Middle East?

56. Nicaragua considers that peace, security and stability are far-reaching and indivisible. Our own status as a country under threat leads us to emphasize that the threat or use of force, as well as any form of intervention or interference, are serious causes of imbalance and insecurity in any region. It is with this in mind that Nicaragua will continue to maintain its position of principle in insisting that political solutions have to be framed within the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and, in particular, that all intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other States must cease completely. We do not accept any artificial distinction between open and covert interference. Any such distinction would not be in conformity with the Charter, with our position as a non-aligned country or with our undertaking to defend the inalienable right of every nation to decide its own future and to choose its own form of Government.

57. On the basis of these principles, which were set forth in the declaration adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at New Delhi from 9 to 13 February 1981,¹ Nicaragua supports any endeavours to facilitate constructive dialogue that will take into account the interests of the countries and peoples of the region. As we have said on many occasions with particular reference to Central America, but with reference also to other regions of the world where there is conflict, dialogue must be based on objective recognition of the political realities of the region, with due regard for ideological pluralism and processes of social change, in order to bring about peaceful coexistence.

58. Again we say that the international community has an obligation to avoid any increase in tension in areas of conflict around the world. That can be done only by providing the right conditions for dialogue.

59. There is no denying the fact that the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the question of

Afghanistan have not had any significant impact on the situation. The flexibility and moderation which are so essential to dialogue and to a political settlement of disputes are not reflected in the draft resolution before us. In view of the foregoing considerations, and of the efforts of the Secretary-General, as well as his report on this issue, Nicaragua would prefer a broader, more conciliatory and more up-to-date text that would reflect the present situation in its true dimensions. For these reasons, my delegation will abstain in the vote on this draft resolution.

60. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): In explaining its vote on draft resolution A/37/L.38 and Add.1, the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan would like from the outset to point out that it considers the submission of this draft resolution to be a gross violation of the United Nations Charter and an outright and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of a Member State. Therefore, the draft resolution as a whole is rejected by our delegation and we will vote against it.

61. Even if approved, the draft resolution will be illegal and will in no way be binding on the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. In violation of the Charter, the sponsors of this draft resolution have arrogated to themselves the right to tell the Afghan people what kind of domestic and foreign policies they should pursue. This is ridiculous, and we resolutely reject such attempts. We must emphasize that the Afghan people have already chosen their path and that nothing will deter them from following it. Despite all the difficulties posed by armed incursions from outside, which continue on an ever-broader scale, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, firmly supported by the majority of its population, is determined to go on implementing a comprehensive programme of economic and social reforms to benefit the noble and proud people of Afghanistan, as provided for in the fundamental principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the programme of action adopted at the nation-wide conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

62. The draft resolution also contains a reference to refugees. We have heard a lot of hypocritical hue and cry about them. To clarify the issue, I should like to say first of all that the number of refugees mentioned during the debate in the General Assembly was highly exaggerated. The figures cited include nomads who seasonally migrate from the Hazarajat Mountains to the banks of the Indus River and back, as well as seasonal workers who had left the country looking for work long before the April revolution. The figures also include former feudal landlords, bureaucrats and exploiters of various kinds who were stripped of their privileges by the April revolution. In addition, bandits whose hands are stained with the blood of innocent Afghan people are also included in the number of refugees.

63. The figures with regard to these refugees have been deliberately and irresponsibly multiplied in order to secure more and more income from international sources. The number of bona fide refugees is rather limited, and they constitute no problem. Deceived by imperialist and hegemonist propaganda, blackmailed and uprooted by bandits, or simply seeking refuge

from the atrocities perpetrated by bandits, they can freely return to their homes at any time they wish.

64. In this connection, I should like to call the attention of representatives to the message of Babrak Karmal, President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, addressed to Afghan nationals living abroad, which has been circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under the symbol A/37/438. This document once again confirms the protection of the rights, freedom, property and privacy of individuals, and all those rights were enacted by the Decree of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council on General Amnesty, dated 18 June 1981.

65. In response to that appeal, tens of thousands of refugees have returned to their homeland. This number would have been even greater had it not been for the hindrances put in their way by the counter-revolutionary ringleaders, helped by the Pakistani authorities.

66. The draft resolution also refers to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. It must be understood that the limited Soviet contingent which was invited to my country by its lawful Government to help combat the armed aggression from abroad will be withdrawn by agreement between the Afghan and Soviet Governments only as and when the armed and other interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan has ceased and its non-resumption has been guaranteed. Judging from the actions and statements of the sponsors of this debate, it can be rightly concluded that they are not the least interested in the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops. By the provision of arms to the counter-revolutionary bandits and by other means, including the futile debate in the Assembly, they are out to intensify armed and other forms of interference against my country and thus make it impossible for us to arrange further withdrawal of the troops to their peace-loving country. This intervention and interference lies at the heart of the grave situation around Afghanistan, and the only way to expedite a comprehensive political settlement is to put an end to all kinds of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and to the resulting bloodshed and crimes committed by the mercenaries and terrorists against the Afghan people. The discussion of this question, artificially created and kept hot by certain quarters, and the efforts to impose on the General Assembly a draft resolution devoid of political reality and essentially of an anti-Afghan nature can only complicate the efforts aimed at achieving a comprehensive political settlement. Those that instigate discussions like this will bear full responsibility for the continued bloodshed and tension around Afghanistan and in the region as a whole. We are convinced that no realistic and acceptable solution will be forthcoming through the adoption of such one-sided draft resolutions here or in any other forums. As has been eloquently stated by many friendly delegations, and in particular by the representative of India, every sincere advocate of a peaceful solution should make the utmost effort to prevent the abuse of the Assembly and thus pave the way for genuine and direct negotiations. History shows that stability and security in relations among countries result from good will, good-neighbourliness, mutual confidence

and respect and not from the piling-up of sophisticated arms, provocations and incursions. The former is our choice, and our proposals of 15 May 1980² and 24 August 1981³ are aimed at achieving this very goal.

67. We are awaiting a positive response from the Pakistani side, which we believe should result in an outcome that will be in the best interests of the Afghans and the Pakistanis.

68. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/37/L.38 and Add.1. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution has been circulated in document A/37/647. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Abstaining: Algeria, Benin, Cape Verde, Congo, Cyprus, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, Guinea-Bissau, India, Mali, Nicaragua, Uganda, Yemen.

The draft resolution was adopted by 114 votes to 21, with 13 abstentions (resolution 37/37).⁴

69. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who wishes to explain his vote.

70. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): The Islamic Republic of Iran has on numerous occasions reiterated its basic position with regard to the question of Afghanistan. It is our firm belief that only the people of Afghanistan, in exer-

cise of their inalienable right to self-determination, can choose their own form of government and their own economic, political and social system, based on their own cultural and religious heritage and free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion and constraint of any kind whatsoever. In order to create favourable conditions for the Afghan people to exercise their right to self-determination, the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghan territory and the assurance of non-interference by any other foreign Power in the internal affairs of Afghanistan must be achieved and the *mujahidin*, the freedom fighters of Afghanistan, must return to their homeland.

71. On the basis of that position of principle, the Islamic Republic of Iran rejects any efforts, including negotiations, in which the true representatives of the Afghan people do not take an active part.

72. The delegation of Iran therefore has a specific reservation with regard to the spirit of the draft resolution on Afghanistan, presented to and discussed with the committee on Afghanistan and contained in the document before us. We believe that any resolution on Afghanistan should emphasize the need for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from the country and for the active participation of true representatives of the Afghan people, in the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination, in any effort to resolve the question of Afghanistan. We voted in favour of the draft resolution, not because it satisfies all our conditions concerning the problem of Afghanistan, but simply because it has some elements which have regard to the people of Afghanistan. In this respect, it can be considered only a partial contribution to the solution of the problem.

73. The PRESIDENT: I have no more requests to speak in explanation of vote. I call on the representative of Cuba, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

74. Mrs. NAVAS (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of the United States described our statement on the item under consideration as a litany of unfounded allegations. He also stated that Cuba had attempted to divert the attention of the Assembly. If any country is interested in diverting the attention of the international community and of the Assembly from the origins of the situation in South-West Asia, it is the United States. From the outset, that country has made use of the situation in Afghanistan to extend its policy of aggression, confrontation and armament, a policy that it was already pursuing prior to events in Afghanistan. It is the United States that is fostering the actions of interference and destabilization against revolutionary Afghanistan, which merely obstructs and delays a negotiated political settlement of the problem.

75. The representative of the United States referred to the alleged presence of a Soviet military garrison in Cuba. How can the representative of a country which has for so many years imposed on us a military base in part of our territory, against the will of the Cuban people, have the effrontery to refer to an imagined Soviet military presence in our country? How can that be said by that Power which, historically,

has been the aggressor and the interventionist in our region, which prevented our real independence by intervening in the war against Spain, which held the reins of power after Cuba became a republic, which has attacked us economically and politically since the triumph of our revolution, which organized and financed the Girón beach invasion, and has been harassing our country throughout the nearly 24 years of our existence since the Cuban revolution?

76. The United States representative also said that Cuba is the only Latin American country with troops stationed abroad. Certainly, we are proud of our support for the liberation struggle of the African peoples against colonial domination. Certainly, we are collaborating militarily with the People's Republic of Angola, a brother republic, in order to drive off the racist Pretoria troops, which were posing a threat, from very close to its capital, to prevent its independence. At the request of the Government of Angola, and in accordance with the international solidarity of the proletariat, our soldiers remain there to co-operate with the armed forces of Angola in the defence of

its territorial integrity and to maintain its integrity, which is constantly threatened by the South African racists, financed and supported by the country of the very delegation which seeks to question our co-operation with the brother republic of Angola.

77. If any delegation in the Assembly has recited a litany of unfounded allegations, it is not ours.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See A/36/116 and Corr.1, annex.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951.

³ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14649.

⁴ The delegations of Belize and Vanuatu subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.