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GENERAL

A/38/651
8 December 1983

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Thirty-eighth session
Agenda item 29

THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

Letter dated 7 December 1983 from the Permanent Representative of
Afghanistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of
the General Assembly

I have the honour to refer to my statement of 23 November 1983 1/ in exercise of the right of reply of my delegation, in the course of which I requested Your Excellency to issue as a document of the General Assembly the full text of my statement which I could not conclude owing to the shortage of time.

I have further the honour to submit to you the full text of that statement with the request for its distribution as a document of the General Assembly under agenda item 29.

(Signed) M. Farid ZARIF
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

1/ A/38/PV.69, p. 52.

Statement by the Permanent Representative of Afghanistan

In his statement yesterday in this Assembly, the Head of the Pakistan delegation referred to my Government as a regime which was installed and is being sustained by alien forces. His falacious version of the reality, notwithstanding, we regret the fact that not all delegations abide by the elementary rules of ethics in this Assembly or in their inter-state relations. We therefore abstain from calling his government as the Islamabad military regime which is being sustained by bayonets and bullets.

Our Government has come to power as a result of the popular revolution and armed uprising of our heroic armed forces under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan which was immediately recognized by virtually all countries of the world, including Pakistan.

That Government is based on the interests and represents the aspirations of our people, Babrak Karmal, my Head of State who was elected as Vice-President of the Revolutionary Council and Deputy Prime Minister right after the April 1978 revolution, has a long and proud record of struggle and has consistently served the cause of people for which he has spent many years of his life in prison. He was twice elected by the people to the Parliament before the revolution. No malicious lie or slander will be able to cast any shade of doubt on his revolutionary and patriotic personality.

In reference to the bloodshed in Afghanistan, we would like to clearly state that it is the natural outcome of armed aggression and terroristic and subversive operations financed

and organized by the forces of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction. We have dealt in some detail with the root cause of the problem around Afghanistan in our statement this morning. That cause - which is the undeclared war against Afghanistan - has been responsible for the tension in the area. The United States, Pakistan and some other countries have elevated their interference in Afghanistan to the level of their state policy. Revelations to that effect have come from no other than the Heads of some of those states. Pakistan's thirst for heavy militarization, and the United States' plan for turning that country into a base for its Central Command Force, have added to the instability and insecurity in our neighbourhood and in the region of the Indian Ocean as a whole.

A very detailed and completely distorted version of the proceedings of the negotiations between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the intermediary of the Secretary-General's representative was also incorporated in the text of Pakistan's statement. We can only voice strong disappointment at this irresponsible and hypocritical attitude towards the contents of highly serious negotiations which we had all agreed to hold in strict confidentiality. Only to clarify some points, we would like to make the following comments: Negotiation started not at the initiative of Pakistan. It was precisely the proposals of 14 May 1980 and 24 August 1981 of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which, for the first time, advanced the idea of negotiations as the only correct and viable path for finding acceptable solutions to

the problems in South West Asia. The purpose of these negotiations is to put an end, once and for all, to the armed aggression against Afghanistan and thus pave the way for the solution of other problems.

The Representative of Paksitan has also made a reference to the consultations with the so-called refugees. This presumably is a reference to the dissemination of information to the bonafide refugees about the declaration of General Amnesty proclaimed by the Revolutionary Council of the D.R.A. and to the various statements made on the matter by the Government and the National Fatherland Front of the D.R.A. We have already proposed four different alternatives on the manner in which the process of informing the bonafide refugees should be carried out. We are yet awaiting a positive response from the Pakistani side. With that brief clarification, we refrain from any other comment on the proceedings of the negotiations with the belief that it will be against the spirit of mutual understandings reached on their secrecy.

We also heard a reference to the consultations in New York through the Secretary-General. Here again, we have to put the record straight. The main purpose behind my Foreign Minister's trip to New York was to make himself available to the Secretary-General's consultations on preparing the grounds for his representative's trip to the region. And that was on the basis of the understanding reached in October this year. My Foreign Minister is not only available for such consultations but he has already had a very detailed discussion with the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Cordovez.

A strong emphasis was also put in Pakistan's statements on the present format of the negotiations. The false pretext on the basis of which Pakistan has been preventing the commencement of direct negotiations with Afghanistan is that they do not recognize the Government of the D.R.A. Let me make it abundantly clear that Afghanistan shall live with or without the recognition of imperialists, hegemonists and other reactionaries. We have never asked Pakistan to recognize our Government. What we consider to be of great importance to us is the feelings of the Pakistani people and that of their true representatives. Suffice it to mention that virtually all political parties of Pakistan have officially included in their political programmes the full recognition of and normalization of relations with the Government of the D.R.A. Having said that there are historical examples where two countries have engaged in political negotiations without having recognized each other. Negotiations between China and the United States, and the United States and Vietnam, are but two examples of such cases. Pakistan's pretext is therefore only for the purpose of prolonging the present situation.

To the slanderous accusations that Afghan Air Forces have violated Pakistan's air space, we have already given categorical rejection in our communications addressed to the Secretary-General and would not like to dwell on them in this Assembly. The fact that such baseless allegations are made on the eve of every session of the General Assembly, reveal the true intentions of Pakistan.

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On the nature and composition of the so-called refugees in Pakistan, we have already referred the Assembly to some new revelations made by the United Nations sources in the statement we made this morning.

With regards to their number, allow me to quote from a publication of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The Refugees Journal writes in its issue no. 22 of October 1983 that, "The Powindas, most of whom are nomadic Pathans but include other tribes, cut across the main tribal and linguistic groupings. These herdsmen, traders and itinerant labourers, have traditionally gone south in winter, often travelling as far as the Punjab and Sind provinces, before returning to Afghanistan during the hot summer months. The Powindas, or Kuchi as they are also known, have long been a familiar sight in Pakistan. Now their migratory pattern has been upset, and many thousands of them swell the ranks of the refugees."

A study conducted by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development under the title of Sustaining the Afghan Refugees in Pakistan, circulated in 1983, reveals that: "A certain amount of double registration might have taken place ... either in different villages or even in the same village. The actual village population appeared much less than the registered population. Also a proportion of the refugees presumably belongs to the semi-nomadic category of Afghan people who ... used to shift their habitation according to season. Hence some refugees may be registered in two villages at different altitudes ... From the

[refugee's] point of view, the best way to handle shortages would be to ... obtain as much as possible when supplies arrive. Over-registration would in this sense be an efficient means of coping with uncontrolled, irregular food deliveries ... Many refugees reported that the village staff had registered the actual size of the resident households incorrectly ... Other issues were apparent. Visits to the villages revealed that the size of the refugee population may be much smaller than indicated by the official population figures. Assistance programmes may thus be geared to unrealistic members of refugees".

One could not, of course, expect a United Nations Agency to be more outspoken than the above revelations since the excessive misappropriations of international financial and material assistance directly involves the Pakistani authorities and only then the counter-revolutionaries under their patronage.

To preserve and even expand their source of income under the guise of humanitarian assistance to the "refugees", the Pakistani authorities have steadily increased the figures pertaining to the registered refugees, while a large number of Afghan families have been returning to their homes.

In order to substantiate its general findings, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development compares the Pakistan Government official figures on the refugees in three sample camps with the actual estimates established as a result of August and September, 1982 visits to the camps and supported by the estimates given by the ringleaders of the camps. The result was

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as follows:

<u>C a m p</u>	<u>Official Figures</u>	<u>Actual Estimates</u>
Pishook	16,474	7,000 - 8,000
Girdi Jungle	15,384	8,000 - 9,000
Amri	10,955	2,000 - 3,000

It should be borne in mind that actual estimates include a large number of local population, a larger number of Afghan nomads, the previous chieftains and feudal landlords and their hirelings who have all been similarly registered as refugees. The number of bona fide refugees is thus disproportionately smaller than the Pakistan Government official figures.

As far as they are concerned, the General Amnesty decree of the Revolutionary Council still stands in full force of which thousands of Afghan families have availed themselves and have returned to their homes. The number of returnees would have been much larger were there no artificial barriers put by the counter-revolutionary groups and the Pakistan authorities.

The representative of China, a country which has been one of the prime instigators of and partners in the dirty undeclared war on our people and revolution, also made some falacious remarks about my country. Nothing more could be expected from the hegemonistic circles who maintain territorial claims against practically all of their neighbours, who have forcefully occupied and later annexed vast territories of other countries, who, relying on their might, have launched treacherous armed aggressions against some of their neighbours and who are still manipulating

minorities of Chinese origins in other countries for the purpose of economic blackmail, subversion and destabilization of those countries.

In our statement before the Assembly yesterday we revealed some facts pertinent to the heavy involvement of Chinese hegemonists in the organizing, training, arming and financing of the counter-revolutionary terrorists against Afghanistan.

I would, however, like to refer to one more source in this regard. David Kline, a freelance journalist who has written about Afghanistan on assignments for the Christian Science Monitor, Chicago Sun-Time, Los Angeles Time Syndicate and Canada's Maclean's Magazine writes: "A key leader in one of the smaller of the seven main guerilla factions based in Pakistan, Syed Ahmad Gailani's National Islamic Revolutionary Front, ... conceded that his group alone had received 1,000 Chinese-made version of the Kalashnikov Ak-47 rifle just in 1981".

Behind-the-closed-doors deals and wild wailings in the Assembly cannot help the Chinese hegemonist to conceal their heinous designs against Afghanistan.

The representative of the traitor regime of Egypt also made a lengthy reference to the principles of non-interference and non-intervention and lectured about the fate of Islam and non-alignment. Is it not Egypt which betrayed the cause of the Palestinian people and of the whole Arab nation by entering into collusive and traitorous deals such as Camp David with the Zionist entity and its patron, the United States. Is it not the

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Egyptian regime which has given the de facto recognition to the illegal annexation of the holy city of Al-Quds and thus dealing a severe blow to the feelings and sentiments of Muslims throughout the world. Is it not the Egyptian regime which has provided the central base for the United States special task interventionist forces in the Middle East and has conducted provocative joint military operations together with the United States from the Egyptian soil against some of its neighbours. And finally, is it not the Egyptian regime which has not only provided the Afghan counter-revolutionaries with different types of armaments but also given them guerilla trainings in special camps set up in Egypt itself.

In this connection, I would like to remind the Assembly of the unequivocal revelation made by late President Sadat in an interview given to the American television, NBC news, aired on 22 September 1981. Celia Harrison, in the summer 1983 issue of the Foreign Policy Magazine writes and I quote him, "As the late Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat revealed, the United States, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia have cooperated since early 1980 in funneling weapons to the resistance through Pakistan. China has also provided substantial military aid. Most of the weapons being provided are replicas of Soviet weaponry, so the resistance can claim that they have been captured from the Soviet forces. At first, the aid program consisted of small arms such as AK-47 Kalashnikov rifles. More recently, RPG-7 antitank guns, sophisticated land mines, and heavy anti-aircraft machine guns have also

begun to turn up in significant numbers but not many SAM-7 anti-aircraft missiles."

The Time Magazine also wrote the following in that connection in its June 20, 1983 issue: "The insurgents receive a ... steady flow of arms smuggled over the mountain passes from Pakistan by hand and by horseback ... Most of the weapons are leftovers from Soviet military aid programs in Egypt and China, given to the mujahedin by the governments of those countries. They generally include Soviet-made Kalashnikov rifles, bazookas and portable antitank rocket launchers (RPG-7s). Against Soviet air attacks the rebels have ... ZPU-1 14.5 mm machine guns and hundreds of 12.7 mm DShK heavy machine guns ... The clandestine pipeline also carries more sophisticated equipment ... supplied, claims a guerilla radio operator, by the CIA; high-powered range finders for rocket launchers; and silencers for automatic pistols. Some costs are reportedly shouldered by an international consortium that includes the U.S. and Saudi Arabia".

The India Observer in its June 1983 issue, basing its findings on the U.S. sources, writes that: "... bulk of the illegal arms supplied to the Pakistanis for distribution to the Afghan rebels ... have come from the "strategic reserve" for Israel, set up as a part of the Camp David Secret Protocol".

It is ironic to note that the representative of the Egyptian regime speaking before this Assembly on 17 November 1981 not only did not deny his country's participation in anti-Afghan undeclared war but rather stated shamelessly that Egypt was one

of the first states to support Afghan counter-revolutionaries and that the support by Egypt derived from its obligations on the basis of common Islamic bonds and membership in the non-aligned movement and that the support given to the so-called resistance movement is a fact that no one can challenge. He even went so far as to invite other countries to join Egypt in providing assistance to the so-called freedom-fighters.

So much for the assumed innocence of the Egyptian delegate.

The representative of the Reagan war-mongering clique also made a marathon statement about the love and affection of the all-white U.S. millionaires club towards the people of Afghanistan. The fact that the Washington gang of thugs arrogates to itself the right to pass judgement on the legitimacy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan Government and to shed crocodile tears over the fate of my people, is particularly astonishing. One may ask where was all this love when the Afghan people were suffering to their death from innumerable miseries? Is it not true that the financial and military cost to the United States resulting from its undeclared war against my country has long surpassed by many folds the total amount of aid it has given to Afghanistan throughout its history of relations with my country?

Although I do not need to expose what has already been admitted by the highest U.S. administration officials, nonetheless, I would like to quote a few new revelations pertaining to U.S.

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criminal and dirty war against Afghanistan.

The New York Times, in an article captioned "U.S. Said to Increase Arms Aid for Afghan Rebels", writes on 04 May 1983: "The United States has stepped up the quality of covert military support for Afghan insurgents fighting Soviet forces and the Soviet-backed Government in Kabul, according to Administration officials. The officials said President Reagan made the decision last fall ... They also denied that their confirmation now of activities that the administration had been assiduously keeping secret was intended as a signal to the Soviet Union. The Americans confirmed the activities only after being told that Soviet officials had reported them in Moscow earlier this spring. Beginning last December, the officials said, the Central Intelligence Agency was ordered to provide the Afghan insurgents ... with bazookas, mortars, grenade launchers mines and recoilless rifles ... One official said shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles were also being supplied. Almost all the arms were said to be of Soviet manufacture ... The arms are brought to Pakistan by ship and aircraft and then trucked to the border areas ... The officials said that a large portion of the arms came from old Egyptian stockpiles of Soviet weapons and that the Saudis and the United States were paying the bills ... Told that Soviet officials said in March that the United States had stepped up the arms flow to the insurgents, a senior administration official responded, 'Good, I'm glad they're feeling it' ... An administration expert said the restraints were largely in deference to Pakistani leaders, who

had expressed concern about being too exposed. Pakistani leaders were said to be particularly concerned about doing things that could provoke a Soviet strike against guerilla staging areas in Pakistan. Administration officials spoke of an internal debate between what they called the 'bleeders' or those who wanted to draw more and more Soviet troops into Afghanistan, and those who sought a more cautious approach. They said common ground was found last fall in the President's decision to increase the quantity, but more especially the quality of arms to the insurgents".

U.S. News and World Report in its August 1-8, 1983 issue wrote that: "... in Afghanistan, U.S. support for ... insurgents against regime is an open secret that is widely endorsed by Washington officialdom ... more important, foreign weapon supplies are also on the rise ... the U.S. working through Egypt, is stepping up clandestine shipments of arms. Included ... are bazookas, heavy mortars, grenade launchers and recoilless rifles ..."

Pakistan which was dropped from the American eyes for many years, became a very popular place of attraction for U.S. spies and high officials after the victory of April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan. U.S. Secretaries and Undersecretaries of State, National Security Advisors, Defence Secretaries, State and Defence Departments' experts and specialist set the pace of the hurl at Islamabad from other imperialist and reactionary quarters around the world. Pilgrimage to the camps of counter-revolutionaries topped at the list of activities in Pakistan, where highly provocative and interventionist slanders were thrown around.

On July 4 this year, the Washington Post reports in dispatch from Peshawar on the visit of George Shultz, U.S. Secretary of State, to a counter-revolutionary camp in Nasser Bagh; "The camp is near the frontier city of Peshawar, headquarters of many of the rebel groups ... and is often visited by high-ranking foreigners ... The [so-called] refugees did not ask for help in the form of weapons as they often have with other high-ranking visitors. This omission suggested that for the moment [they] have plenty of arms, covertly supplied by the United States and Egypt and other countries ... Shultz, ... speaking in an unusually forceful and even fervent tone, declared: fellow fighters for freedom ... [you] do not fight alone ... My message from the United States is simple - we are with you".

As was reported by the New York Times on October 2, 1983 Caspar Weinberger, U.S. Defence Secretary, had the following to say in the same counter-revolutionary camp: "I want to assure you that you are not alone ... the United States will continue to do whatever possible for the success of [your] struggle ...

The undeclared war on the Afghan people is now being carried under the pretext of the presence of limited contingents of Soviet troops. But the world knows that this war was launched long before the presence of troops and was the only reason for their invitation into Afghanistan. Under the same pretext, the U.S. has established its Central Command in our region whose planned range of intervention covers 19 states, including Afghanistan.

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In conformity with U.S. long-term strategic designs, Pakistan has been put on the bleak prospect of heavy militarization. Over \$3.2 billion has been poured into the hands of reactionary Generals to finance the purchase of such sophisticated war machines as F.16 strategic fighters-bombers. Secret collusive arrangements have been made for the use of Pakistani ports and air bases by the U.S. Central Command Forces in the event of a crisis.

Similar arrangements have been made with the most reactionary states of the region for the establishment of U.S. military bases on their territories. The naval armada of the United States in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf region has been drastically increased and the U.S. giant military base on the Island of Diego Garcia expanded and strengthened.

Parallel to those activities, the United States has been subverting every major international and bilateral negotiation on matters related to security, international cooperation and disarmament. It also encourages Pakistan in its intransigent position to avoid direct negotiations with Afghanistan thus prolonging achievement of a solution to the problems in South-West Asia.

We would not like to dignify some of the few who spoke on this item in order to pay back their debts to the imperialist masters. Particularly those who represent nobody but the imperialist multinational corporations operating in their country, do not deserve any serious response from the Afghan delegation. We also take pity upon that individual who swore to God about his

bleeding heart for the fate of the Afghan people and was yet so ignorant as to call them "sisterly commonwealth nation" And lastly, those who are mere stooges in the imperialist hands for carrying out its aggressive and expansionist designs should consider themselves as having the least credential for lecturing us on such topics as "non-aggression", "non-intervention" "respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity" and "freedom and independence".

Thank you.
