24. The situation in Afghanistan

Deliberations of 15 January 2004
(4893rd meeting)

At its 4893rd meeting, on 15 January 2004, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 30 December 2003 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.1 In his report, the Secretary-General described progress made in the implementation of the Bonn Agreement, of 5 December 2001,2 including the pilot phase of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme, the electoral registration on 1 December and the Constitutional Loya Jirga on 14 December. While successful implementation of those processes could move the State-building efforts in Afghanistan a good deal, he stressed that fundamental challenges, particularly the problems of insecurity, needed to be overcome if the peace process was to become irreversible and the relatively fragile institutions of the State secured. He blamed the insecurity on factional misrule in the provinces, and on the efforts of “spoilers”, including Taliban elements, loyalists of Gulbuddin Heckmatyar and possibly Al-Qaida. To address the problems, the Secretary-General urged the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and coalition forces to take every measure possible to speed up the deployment of security assistance beyond Kabul. He also underlined the need for further reforms to broaden the representation of all sectors of Afghan society in the central Government.

The Council heard briefings by the Secretary-General and by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan.3

At the outset, the Secretary-General praised as an “important and very encouraging development” the adoption of a new Constitution by the Constitutional Loya Jirga on 5 January. He said that the Constitution provided a permanent foundation for re-establishing the rule of law in Afghanistan and defined a political order through a strong presidential system of government with a bicameral legislature. It also established a judicial system in compliance with Islam, and included provisions aimed at ensuring full respect for fundamental human rights, including equal rights for women. While congratulating the Afghan people and Government on this major accomplishment, the Secretary-General cautioned that the Constitution would not by itself guarantee peace and stability. He therefore called for immediate action by Afghans to address, with the necessary help from the international community, the impediments to the peace process, including the deeply troubling security situation, the lack of an inclusive and broadly representative Government, and the slow pace of development.4

The Special Representative briefed the Council on the Constitutional Loya Jirga and then discussed the challenges ahead, particularly the need for improving security, broadening the popular base of the Government, strengthening the system of governance, and increasing the pace of reconstruction and service delivery. He congratulated the Afghan people on the nearly unanimous acclamation of the new Constitution by the Constitutional Loya Jirga, which was to a large degree representative of Afghanistan. He noted with appreciation that despite the substantial extension of the Loya Jirga beyond the originally planned 10 days, the delegates proved willing to reach compromises and to make concessions in order to arrive at a text that all could accept. He believed that the new Constitution, and the process that achieved it, should be a source of pride for the people of Afghanistan. The Special Representative cautioned, however, that there was so much to be done that Afghans and the international partners could not rest long. First was the task of implementing the Constitution to give life to it. He argued that the new constitutional order would have meaning for the average Afghans only if security improved and the rule of law was strengthened. He noted with concern that the deterioration in security conditions continued at precisely the time when the peace process required the Government and the United Nations to broaden their presence in the field, complete the electoral registration and carry out other activities. He therefore stressed the need for the disarmament of factional forces, the protection of basic human rights, accelerated reconstruction and the reform of national

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1 S/2003/1212.
2 Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan Pending the Re-establishment of Permanent Government Institutions (see S/2001/1154).
3 The representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate in the meeting but did not make a statement.
4 S/PV.4893, pp. 2-3.
institutions. For the international partners, the Special Representative called for accelerated deployment of provincial reconstruction teams, although he continued to believe that the teams were a “second best” to a straightforward expansion of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). He alerted the Council to the formidable challenges posed by the growing opium production and trafficking, which was estimated to total $2.3 billion in 2003, or the equivalent of more than half of the country’s gross domestic product (GDP). Finally, the Special Representative drew the Council’s attention to a non-paper circulated by the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), which noted that a second Bonn-type conference was one possible way to re-energize the commitment of all concerned to the peace process.²

**Deliberations of 24 March 2004**

(4931st meeting)

At its 4931st meeting, on 24 March 2004, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 19 March 2004 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.³ In his report, which focused on key developments since 31 December 2003, the Secretary-General described the path ahead in implementing the Bonn Agreement following the successful conclusion of the Constitutional Loya Jirga and the signing of the new Afghan constitution. He noted that one of the key challenges ahead would be the holding of elections, and described the status of the voter registration project and the main issues involved in deciding on the timing and types of elections to be held in 2004. The Secretary-General cautioned that security remained a significant problem, and reported on a number of initiatives to improve security, such as the expansion of the International Security Assistance Force, the deployment of additional provincial reconstruction teams, and accelerated efforts to build an Afghan army and police force. He also emphasized that more progress was needed to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate former combatants. The Secretary-General recommended that the mandate of UNAMA be renewed for further a 12 months. Noting the ongoing consultations on the role of the United Nations after the completion of the Bonn process, he expressed his intention to submit his recommendations on the details of the Mission’s new mandate after the upcoming conference to be held in Berlin on 31 March and 1 April 2004, and once the decision on the holding of elections had been taken.

The Council heard a briefing by the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations,⁴ who reported on the challenges remaining to implement the Bonn process and the measures for the further transition of Afghanistan towards stability and effective governance. The Assistant Secretary-General noted with appreciation that the process had now reached one of its last major benchmarks: the holding of free and fair elections to confer political legitimacy on the new Government. Noting that the new Constitution required elections for the presidency as well as the upper and lower houses of the national assembly, he expressed the hope that a decision would be made on the timing and sequence of those elections “in the very near future”, before the Berlin conference. While understanding the need to hold elections as close as possible to the Bonn time frame, he emphasized that the conditions must be conducive and the preparations thorough. He reported that the first phase of the voter registration process, which covered eight main cities, had progressed more or less on target, and that preparations were being made to launch the second phase to register the remaining 8 million eligible voters in the provinces.

The Assistant Secretary-General stressed that success in completing the registration and in holding elections would depend on support from Afghan and international security forces, and welcomed the deployment of additional provincial reconstruction teams, particularly in the south. Citing the recent fighting in Herat, he expressed concern about the precarious security situation even in areas that most observers believed were stable and safe. He warned that without significant demilitarization, genuine political choice, as required for a credible election, was simply impossible and events such as those in Herat were likely to occur. The Assistant Secretary-General noted with concern that the impact of Afghanistan’s economic growth during the past two years had largely been felt in the urban centres alone and that the trend had prompted a demographic shift from rural areas to the cities.

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² Ibid., pp. 3-9.
⁴ The representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate in the meeting but did not make a statement.
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exacerbating social tensions in urban centres. Also of concern was the drug economy and the instability that it promoted, which remained the greatest threat to the development of a stable functioning State. He concluded by expressing the hope that the Council would endorse the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the mandate of UNAMA be extended for a further 12 months.  


At its 4937th meeting, on 26 March 2004, the Council again included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 19 March 2004 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. The representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate in the discussion. The President of the Council (France) then drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution; it was adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1536 (2004), by which the Council, inter alia:

Decided to extend the mandate of UNAMA for an additional period of 12 months;

Stressed the importance of the provision of sufficient security and of significant donor support for the holding of credible national elections in accordance with the Afghan Constitution and the Bonn Agreement;

Welcomed the progress made since the commencement of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process in October 2003 and the contribution of the International Observer Group in this regard;

Welcomed the efforts to date of the Afghan authorities to implement their National Drug Control Strategy;

Requested UNAMA, with the support of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, to continue to assist the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission in the full implementation of the human rights provisions of the new Afghan Constitution;

Called upon all Afghan parties to cooperate with UNAMA in the implementation of its mandate and to ensure the security and freedom of movement of its staff throughout the country.

Decision of 6 April 2004 (4941st meeting): statement by the President

At its 4941st meeting, on 6 April 2004, the Council heard a briefing by the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations. All Council members made statements, as did the representatives of Afghanistan, India, Ireland (on behalf of the European Union), and Japan.

At the outset, the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations reported on the achievements of the Berlin conference and what lay ahead in terms of capitalizing on the momentum gained in Berlin to complete the Bonn process. He noted with appreciation that the conference had approved a comprehensive workplan, which provided clear benchmarks and targets to be met in the political, security and economic spheres over the coming months and years. A strong framework for regional cooperation in countering narcotics by Afghanistan and its neighbours had also been agreed to in Berlin. While praising those achievements as truly impressive, the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations cautioned that the tasks still facing Afghanistan remained daunting, especially the holding of national elections. He underlined the need to ensure security, maintaining that without substantial improvements in the security situation, the elections would be threatened. He noted that the vast majority of Afghans remained convinced that elections required prior disarmament. It was therefore vital to achieve the goal of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration efforts set in the workplan, which called for the completion of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes for 40 per cent of current militia and the cantonment of all heavy weapons by June 2004. The Under-Secretary-General also underscored the need for adequate international security assistance to support the electoral process and protect it from both factional threats and attempts to simply terminate it. He noted with concern that despite the progress made in training the new Afghan national army, the Afghan and international security forces currently deployed in Afghanistan had limited capacity and they would be

8 S/PV.4931, pp. 2-6.
10 S/2004/249.

11 Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Malta, Norway, Poland, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovakia, Slovenia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey aligned themselves with the statement.
overextended if they had to assume the immense task of supporting a credible election process.\textsuperscript{12}

The representative of Germany briefed the Council on the outcome of the conference entitled “Afghanistan and the International Community — a Partnership for the Future”, which was held in Berlin on 31 March and 1 April 2004. He noted that the presence at the conference of 65 delegations — many at the level of foreign minister — underlined the continued international commitment to creating a secure, stable, free, prosperous and democratic Afghanistan. He explained the three final documents adopted at the conference: the Berlin declaration, which described the vision of the future new Afghan Government; the workplan, which showed how the Afghan Government wanted to approach that vision in the coming two years; and the progress report, which summarized the implementation status of the Bonn Agreement. In addition, the Berlin Declaration on Counter-Narcotics was adopted between Afghanistan and its neighbours. He said that the Government of Afghanistan had committed itself to an ambitious timetable for the disarmament of militias, as a significant condition for free and fair elections. He stated that the remarkable results of the conference deserved an explicit acknowledgement and endorsement by the Council. For that purpose, he noted that his delegation had initiated negotiations with Council members and other countries concerned to come up with the consensus text of a Presidential statement.\textsuperscript{13}

Most speakers welcomed the achievements made at the Berlin conference, and commended Germany and Afghanistan on their successful co-chairmanship for the conference. They reaffirmed their commitment to further support Afghanistan with a view to completing the implementation of the Bonn Agreement, which was essential to achieving a stable and democratic Afghanistan.

The representative of Brazil agreed that the expansion of international peacekeeping forces throughout Afghanistan would bolster security in the country.\textsuperscript{14} The representative of the United States considered that the success of the Berlin conference was a very hopeful sign for those in the international community who worried that interest was flagging and that donor fatigue was setting in.\textsuperscript{15} The representative of Pakistan hoped that the spirit of Berlin did not flag or diminish over time, underlining the fact that Afghanistan would need years, if not decades, of political and economic support and engagement.\textsuperscript{16} The representative of Algeria stated that the announcement of the additional pledges and the confirmation of contributions in the areas of security and of preparations for elections were vital for the reconstruction of Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{17}

The representative of the Russian Federation expressed concern with the “growing subversive activities of the Taliban and other extremist forces” which were seeking to plunge the country into bloody inter-ethnic enmity and to prevent the holding of the general elections.\textsuperscript{18} The representative of the United Kingdom stressed the need to carry out disarmament, demobilization and reintegration before the elections, as security remained critical for continued progress, adding that enhanced security was not only a requirement for the success of reconstruction efforts, but also a precondition for democratic, fair and peaceful elections in September.\textsuperscript{19} Welcoming the success of the Berlin conference, the representative of France urged the international community to focus on the common political objective of the proper conduct of elections.\textsuperscript{20} The representative of Afghanistan expressed appreciation to the co-chairs of the Berlin conference as well as to the 65 countries and international organizations that had participated in the conference, and reiterated his Government’s full commitment to meeting the guidelines of the Bonn Agreement.\textsuperscript{21}

The President (Germany) made a statement on behalf of the Council,\textsuperscript{22} by which the Council, inter alia:

Endorsed the Berlin Declaration and stresses the relevance of the Work Plan of the Afghan Government, the Progress Report on the Implementation of the Bonn Agreement.

\textsuperscript{12} S/PV.4941, pp. 2-4.  
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., pp. 4-6.  
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., pp. 6-7.  
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., pp. 7-8.  
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., pp. 9-10.  
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., pp. 11-12.  
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., pp. 15-16.  
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., pp. 16-17.  
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., pp. 17-18.  
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., pp. 19-20.  
\textsuperscript{22} S/P/PRST/2004/9.
and the Berlin Declaration on Counter-Narcotics, annexed to the Berlin Declaration;

Stressed that opium poppy cultivation, drug production and trafficking pose a serious threat to the rule of law and development in Afghanistan as well as to international security, and that therefore Afghanistan and the international community shall endeavour to reduce and eventually eliminate this threat, including through the development of economic alternatives;

Welcomed, in particular, the Berlin Declaration on Counter-Narcotics within the framework of the Declaration on Good-neighbourly Relations, signed in Kabul by Afghanistan and its neighbours, as well as the planned Conference on Regional Police Cooperation to be held in Doha on 18 and 19 May 2004.

Deliberations of 27 May 2004 (4979th meeting)

At its 4979th meeting, on 27 May 2004, the Council heard a briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of UNAMA.23

The Special Representative focused his briefing on the main challenges confronting Afghanistan in the preparation of the national elections in September. He noted with concern that with the spring surge in extremists’ attacks, the security situation had deteriorated in recent months in high-risk provinces, particularly in the south. He said that while the aid community continued to keep a low profile in insecure areas in order to reduce its vulnerability, the expanding voter registration process had been affected by the increase in attacks. Despite increased violence, he said that preparations for the elections had been made, as voter registration was now pushing into the rural areas in close coordination with the coalition forces. Upon completion of voter registration in the eight major population centres, he said that the process had entered its second and final phase, which was to cover the rest of the country in the next couple of months. The second phase started with 160 sites in early May and had now expanded to almost 600 sites in 31 of the 34 provinces, with more than 1,000 registration teams operating simultaneously. However, he expressed concern that the lack of security could lead to under-registration in the southern and south-eastern provinces. Another challenge related to the determination of the population figures themselves, owing to insecurity in some provinces. He said that it was now quite likely that some provinces would not be surveyed, or only very partially.

For the holding of free and fair elections, the Special Representative emphasized the importance of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, maintaining that a genuine exercise in electoral choice could take place only if the grip of local militias on the political process was loosened. He reported that the Government and the international community had reached an agreement on the main phase of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, which was to include, by June, 40 per cent of the militia forces and, by July, the full cantonment of heavy weapons under a reliable safekeeping arrangement. However, he noted with concern that the implementation of the agreement had encountered serious delays owing to the reluctance of some senior commanders. He therefore reiterated the need for a widespread, robust international military presence in support of domestic security forces.24

Decision of 15 July 2004 (5004th meeting): statement by the President

At its 5004th meeting, on 15 July 2004, the Council extended an invitation to the representative of Afghanistan to participate in the discussion. The President (Romania) then made a statement on behalf of the Council,25 by which the Council, inter alia:

Called upon the Afghan Government and the international community to maintain and intensify, ahead of the presidential and parliamentary elections, their efforts to strengthen the national army and national police, to accelerate the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process, and to support the Afghan Government in its strategy to eliminate opium production;

Encouraged Afghan authorities to enable an electoral process to provide for voter participation that was representative of the national demographics, including women and refugees, and in this regard calls for the determination of practical modalities for the registration and participation of the Afghan refugees in Iran and Pakistan in the ongoing Afghan electoral process;

Stressed the importance of providing the necessary funding for the timely implementation of the Joint Electoral Management Body timetables;

Reaffirmed its full support for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and UNAMA, and reiterated the central and impartial role of the United Nations in the international efforts to assist the Afghan people in consolidating peace in Afghanistan and rebuilding their country.

23 The representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate in the meeting but did not make a statement.

24 S/PV.4979, pp. 2-7.

Deliberations of 25 August 2004
(5025th meeting)

At its 5025th meeting, on 25 August 2004, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 12 August 2004 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. In his report, the Secretary-General stated that the Joint Electoral Management Body had taken the decision to hold presidential elections in October and postpone parliamentary elections until April 2005, as some of the potential impediments to the simultaneous conduct of those elections, particularly the difficulty of allocating parliamentary seats among the provinces in the absence of convincing census data, had proven to be insurmountable. He also noted a heightened challenge posed by the three main threats to the consolidation of peace and stability in Afghanistan, namely, extremist violence, factionalism and the narcotics industry. Against this background, he underlined once again the vital importance of security assistance to the country.

The Council heard a briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of UNAMA. In addition to all Council members, statements were made by the representatives of Afghanistan, Canada, Iceland, Japan, the Netherlands (on behalf of the European Union) and Uzbekistan.

At the outset, the Special Representative reported that voter registration had been completed with a total of 10.5 million people registered, over 41 per cent of whom were women. This enabled the electoral authorities and the security forces to make appropriate preparations for the presidential election on 9 October, which had the potential to create political legitimacy for the post-war order. However, he said that the picture was not entirely satisfactory. For instance, he noted that it had proved very difficult to redress the cases of imbalance in the areas of the south most affected by insecurity. For the forthcoming election, he stressed that security was a major consideration and called for additional effort with regard to the security of voters and electoral staff. He reassured the Council that during the period of electoral campaigning, the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission and UNAMA would continue to jointly undertake the nationwide verification of political rights, with a view to ascertaining whether the rights and obligations of candidates were observed.

Speakers agreed on the importance of the presidential election and reaffirmed their commitment to assisting in ensuring the free and fair selection of a president by the Afghan people, which was indispensable for the maintenance of the political legitimacy of the peace process. Many of them commended the courage of the over 10 million Afghans who had decided to register to vote despite the threats of intimidation and violence, and particularly welcomed the over 4 million women who had chosen to take part in the political process. However, they shared concerns regarding the lack of security and called for accelerated disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants as well as training of the new Afghan security forces.

The representative of the United States urged Pakistan and Iran to move forward in tandem on out-of-country registration and voting so that the over 600,000 Afghans in Pakistan and the over 800,000 Afghans in Iran could take part in the electoral process. She noted with appreciation that by September, the International Security Assistance Force would assume the leadership of five provincial reconstruction teams in the north and north-east of the country. The representative of Germany maintained that the additional time gained due to the postponement of the parliamentary election should be used to improve the security situation and underscored the importance of the security sector reform, including the establishment of a functioning judicial system and national army and police forces. The representative of Brazil called for a thorough process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in order to improve the security situation and to reduce the power of warlords and terrorists.

The representative of Pakistan remained concerned about insufficient registration in the south and south-eastern Afghanistan due to the lack of security. He stated that the threats to Afghanistan’s
security lay inside Afghanistan, mainly from faction leaders, criminal lords and extremists, including Al-Qaida and the Taliban. He noted the agreement at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) summit, held in Istanbul, to expand the International Security Assistance Force, but stressed that the momentum behind expansion of the Force must not be lost and that NATO must now push on into the west of the country. The representative of China called for “firm measures” against terrorism, factionalism and problems related to narcotics in order to improve the security situation. The representative of the Russian Federation warned once again against a renewal of the Taliban’s military and political potential, the continuing infiltration of fighters into Afghanistan and the emergence of a neo-Taliban faction, and called for accelerated implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration throughout the country.

While appreciating the progress made in preparations for the elections, the representative of Afghanistan noted with concern that attempts to destabilize the situation by Al-Qaida and Taliban groups continued, particularly along the eastern and southern borders of the country. He alleged that those elements had their network support in “certain politico-religious circles outside Afghanistan”.

The representative of the Netherlands stated that the European Community commended the Joint Electoral Management Body’s “tremendous achievement” with the registration of nearly all eligible voters, and underlined the need to rebuild the Afghan army and intensify the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the Special Representative added that while he did not dispute in any way that the Taliban had assets and resources in Afghanistan itself, among the tools that the extremist forces had at their disposal were cross-border operations and infiltration, which had been used to attack the peace process. In rebuttal, the representative of Pakistan reiterated that it was not primarily cross-border infiltration that was resulting in the extremist violence in Afghanistan, including in the south and south-east. He added that his country was doing everything it could and had been taking many political risks and suffering many military casualties.

**Decision of 17 September 2004 (5038th meeting): resolution 1563 (2004)**

At the 5038th meeting, on 17 September 2004, in which the representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate, the President (Spain) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution; it was adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1563 (2004), by which the Council, inter alia:

- Decided to extend the authorization of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan for a period of 12 months beyond 13 October, 2004;
- Authorized the Member States participating in the Force to take all necessary measures to fulfil its mandate;
- Called upon the Force to continue to work in close consultation with the Afghan Transitional Administration and its successors and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General as well as with the Operation Enduring Freedom Coalition in the implementation of the mandate of the Force.

**Deliberations of 28 September and 12 October 2004 (5045th and 5055th meetings)**

At its 5045th meeting, on 28 September 2004, the Council heard a briefing by the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

The Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations updated the Council on the preparations for the presidential election, which would take place for the first time in the history of Afghanistan. He reported that the logistical preparations were on track for the 9 October polling date, with all regional and provincial offices submitting operational plans. Eighteen presidential and 36 vice-presidential candidates, including three women, had been campaigning since the official start of the campaign on 7 September. He said that, with a view to improving the political environment, the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission and UNAMA continued to monitor and report on the exercise of political rights throughout the
country. The preparations for out-of-country elections were also on track. He reported that the election security plan, which had been developed by the Joint Electoral Management Body, included securing polling sites and counting centres, as well as the movement of personnel and sensitive material such as blank and filled ballots. The national police would provide security for the areas around the sites and the International Security Assistance Force or the coalition would provide “outer-ring support”. He added that considerable efforts were being made to define with tribal and community leaders their crucial role in local security arrangements, particularly in the east, southeast and south. He called on the Afghans and the international community to work in concert to ensure successful holding of the election, which would represent a significant step along Afghanistan’s path to democracy.41

At its 5055th meeting, on 12 October 2004, the Council heard a briefing by the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.42 The Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations briefed the Council on the conduct of the presidential election held on 9 October. He praised the election as a well-run operation, given the constraints of geography and security. Almost every polling station was opened on time, with polling staff acting professionally. He said that the reports the United Nations had received so far from the field reflected a “high-level of popular satisfaction with the conduct of the polling”. He reported that initial estimates indicated a high turnout, despite poor weather conditions and a call by opposition candidates for a boycott. He said that after the election, a number of candidates had called for investigation into alleged irregularities. A three-member panel had been established to fully investigate the allegations and present recommendations to the Joint Electoral Management Body. He reported that security conditions on election day had greatly exceeded expectations, despite some incidents and reported intimidations. He noted that an important element in enhancing the credibility of the election was the presence of 5,321 Afghan and 121 international observers, who were in Afghanistan on the polling day. He also noted that the political momentum generated by the electoral process had had an evident effect on the demobilization of soldiers as well as on the defactionalization of military forces. However, he concluded his briefing by cautioning against complacency and reminding the Council of the remaining difficult challenges which lay ahead.43

Decision of 12 October 2004 (5056th meeting): statement by the President

At the 5056th meeting, on 12 October 2004, in which the representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate, the President (United Kingdom) made a statement on behalf of the Council,44 by which the Council, inter alia:

Welcomed the presidential election that took place on 9 October 2004 in Afghanistan, stressed its historic importance as a milestone in the political process, and congratulated the millions of Afghan voters who participated;

Urged the Government of Afghanistan, with the help of the international community, to continue to confront the challenges that remain in Afghanistan, including security, timely preparation of the parliamentary elections in April 2005, the reconstruction of institutions, the fight against narcotics, and the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of Afghan militias;

Pledged its continued support for the Government and people of a sovereign Afghanistan as they rebuild their country, strengthen the foundations of constitutional democracy, and assume their rightful place in the community of nations, and called upon the international community, with the United Nations in a central role, to support them in these efforts.

Deliberations of 9 November 2004 (5073rd meeting)

At its 5073rd meeting, on 9 November 2004, the Council heard a briefing by the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.45

The Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations updated the Council on the electoral process that had led to the certification of the official electoral results on 3 November by the Joint Electoral Management Body. He reported that security conditions on election day had greatly exceeded expectations, despite some incidents and reported intimidations. He noted that an important element in enhancing the credibility of the election was the presence of 5,321 Afghan and 121 international observers, who were in Afghanistan on the polling day. He also noted that the political momentum generated

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41 S/PV.5045, pp. 2-5.
42 The representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate in the meeting but did not make a statement.
43 S/PV.5055, pp. 2-5.
44 S/PRST/2004/35.
45 The representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate in the meeting but did not make a statement.
46 S/PV.5073, pp. 2-5.
Electoral Management Body had declared that Hamid Karzai had secured an outright majority of 55.4 per cent of the vote, against Yonous Qanooni with 16.3 per cent, Haji Mohaqeq with 11.6 per cent and Abdul Dostum with 10 per cent. He observed that ethnic considerations appeared to have played an important role in determining people’s votes, with electoral support for the four main contenders strongly correlating with the areas where Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks were respectively the majority groups. With the completion of the presidential election, he said that attention had now shifted to the post-election political phase, including the immediate task of forming the next Government and the challenges of parliamentary and local elections. He noted that security remained a significant concern, with a suicide bombing in Kabul on 23 October signalling the end of the period of relative calm that had prevailed during the election.

In regard to the parliamentary and local elections, he mentioned five essential issues that had to be resolved in order to hold those elections within the time frame prescribed by the electoral law: first, boundaries of districts must be officially delimited; second, population figures must be agreed upon for the assignment of parliamentary seats; third, the voters’ list must be analysed, refined and, in some cases, updated, in order to prepare specific voter lists for each polling station; fourth, a complaint mechanism and an electoral offence prosecution system must be developed at the local level; and fifth, the qualifications of thousands of potential candidates must be vetted prior to their registration. He noted with concern that the influence of local commanders, the widespread and tangled web of narcotics and arms and the absence of an efficient local civil administration continued to constitute serious obstacles to holding legitimate elections, reiterating that the expansion of the formal security apparatus would obviously be key to the success of the elections. He urged the international community not to diminish its attention to Afghanistan, which still needed full international backing in the new phase of local and legislative elections under way.47

**Deliberations of 10 January and 22 March 2005 (5108th and 5145th meetings)**

At its 5108th meeting, on 10 January 2005, and its 5145th meeting, on 22 March 2005, the Council heard briefings by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of UNAMA.48

The Special Representative stated that the presidential election and the recent appointment of the Cabinet had brought with them new momentum in the Afghan peace process. The composition of the 27-member Cabinet did indeed meet the requirements of the Afghan constitution and also reflected broadly the ethnic composition of the country, with 10 Pashtuns, eight Tajiks, five Hazaras, two Uzbeks, one Turkmen and one Baloch. There were also three women. Looking ahead to the challenges that the new Cabinet would have to meet, the Special Representative noted in particular the upcoming parliamentary elections and the establishment of the Independent Electoral Commission. Among other challenges, he noted that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration efforts had been a key consideration in deciding on the date and modalities of the elections. Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration had been particularly successful in northern Afghanistan and had focused so far only on militia forces formally affiliated with the Ministry of Defence. While that programme was progressing well, a large number of irregular forces continued to exist, some of which were among the main sources of insecurity and abuses in parts of the country. He hoped that further disarmament, demobilization and reintegration would create a better environment for both the elections and the restoration of the rule of law.49

At its 5145th meeting, on 22 March 2005, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 18 March 2005 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.50 In his report, the Secretary-General described the myriad challenges facing Afghanistan, touching on the overall security situation, the organization of the upcoming parliamentary elections, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and rule-of-law programmes. He observed that there would continue to be a need for an extended presence of international forces and the need to overcome bottlenecks in reconstruction, among

47 Ibid.

48 The representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate in the meeting but did not make a statement.


other challenges. He also indicated his intention to submit a proposal for the post-election mandate of UNAMA, but recommended that the Council extend the current mandate of the Mission for 12 months in the meantime.


At its 5148th meeting, on 24 March 2005, the Council again included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 18 March 2005 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. The President (Brazil) drew attention to a draft resolution; it was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1589 (2005), by which the Council, inter alia:

Decided to extend the mandate of UNAMA for an additional period of 12 months from the date of adoption of the resolution;

Called upon UNAMA to continue to provide necessary support in order to facilitate timely elections with the broadest possible participation, and urged the donor community to promptly make available the necessary financial support based on that framework, in close coordination with the Government of Afghanistan and UNAMA, and to consider contributing to electoral observer missions;

Urged the Government to take decisive action to stop the processing and trade of drugs and to pursue the specific measures set out in that plan in the fields of: building institutions; information campaigns; alternative livelihoods; interdiction and law enforcement; criminal justice, eradication; demand reduction and treatment of addicts; and regional cooperation, and called upon the international community to provide every possible assistance to the Government in pursuing full implementation of all aspects of the plan;

Called for full respect for human rights and international humanitarian law throughout Afghanistan;

Called upon the Government of Afghanistan to continue to address the threat to the security and stability of Afghanistan posed by Al-Qaida operatives, the Taliban and other extremist groups, factional violence among militia forces and criminal activities, in particular violence involving the drug trade;

Requested the Secretary-General to report to the Council in a timely manner on developments in Afghanistan, and to make recommendations on the future role of UNAMA, after the parliamentary elections.

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**Deliberations of 24 June 2005 (5215th meeting)**

At its 5215th meeting, on 24 June 2005, the Council heard briefings by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of UNAMA and the Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).

The Special Representative began by noting negative developments in the security situation, including an increase in the number and gravity of incidents in several provinces, which included the assassinations of a number of moderate religious leaders. The worsening security also had an impact on the preparations for the electoral process, and several electoral employees had been killed. While some of the violence could be attributed to drugs, local rivalry and criminal acts, the current offensive by extremist groups, including the Taliban, had been decisive in the escalation. He argued that the international response to the Taliban’s attempt to destabilize the political environment could not be limited to combat operations, but it was necessary to attack the financing for fundamentalist elements, their safe havens and the networks that supported them. However, there had been positive steps, particularly the deployment of the electoral administration countrywide, the creation of the Electoral Complaints Commission and the start of nominations for candidates. In that context, he noted that measures still needed to be taken to prevent intimidation and to reassure the majority of candidates and the population at large that they could vote in September without the risk of reprisals. As the demobilization of former army units was wrapping up, the focus of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration would shift to illegal armed groups. Finally, he pointed out that the political transition was too far ahead of the building of the State, and of economic reconstruction.

The Executive Director of UNODC explained that while opium cultivation in Afghanistan would decline, the total area under cultivation would still be enormous. The decrease in cultivation was partly due to the eradication campaign and partly due to self-restraint by farmers and the impact of the Government persuasion campaign. However, he noted that drug traffickers and warlords controlled quasi-military organizations that needed to be met with corresponding force. There was

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51 Ibid.
therefore a need for more collaboration between counter-narcotics and counter-insurgency forces. Finally, he stressed that it was impossible to oppose the narco-industry without strengthening the rule of law.55

Decision of 23 August 2005 (5249th meeting): statement by the President

At its 5249th meeting, on 23 August 2005, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 12 August 2005 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.56 In his report, the Secretary-General noted that the benchmarks set out in the political agenda of the Bonn Agreement of 5 December 2001 would be met with the holding of parliamentary (or Wolesi Jirga) and provincial council elections on 18 September 2005. He noted that preparations for the elections were on track. Although significant gains had been made in meeting the objectives of the political agenda, the implementation of the institutional agenda of the Bonn Agreement had been uneven, and many critical State institutions at both the national and provincial levels remained weak and susceptible to corruption. He stated that efforts to reform security sector institutions had enjoyed varying degrees of success, and that the Afghan National Army would reach its target strength of 43,000 by September 2007, three years ahead of schedule. Finally, he emphasized that the security situation in Afghanistan continued to be of paramount concern, with an increase in the sophistication of weapons used and in the type of attacks being carried out by insurgents and anti-Government elements, especially in the south and parts of the east of the country.

The Council heard a briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of UNAMA, following which statements were made by all members of the Council57 and the representatives of Afghanistan, Canada, Germany, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Italy, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Republic of Korea, Spain and Turkey.

In his briefing, the Special Representative informed the Council that the electoral campaign had been launched as of 17 August and was being monitored by international observers. The polling would take place on 18 September and the plan was for the inauguration of the new National Assembly before the end of the year. On the security front, attacks had resumed with increased intensity in the south, south-east and east. However, attacks against the electoral process had been mostly indirect, which indicated that the extremists had decided to target pro-Government and international forces rather than try to stop the parliamentary elections.58

In their statements, speakers welcomed the progress in preparations for the election, but expressed concern at the security problems and the wave of violence. There were also concerns raised over the challenges of fighting poppy cultivation and the drug trade. A number of speakers welcomed the economic progress that had been made, but also stressed that only sustainable socioeconomic development would guarantee lasting peace and prosperity. Several speakers emphasized that the United Nations presence needed to continue beyond March 2006.

The representative of the Russian Federation noted that while national reconciliation was crucial, the process needed to take place on the basis of a cautious and responsible approach, without creeping erosion of the sanctions regime. He stated that persons included on the sanctions list posed a real threat to peace and security and their involvement in active political life could lead to dire consequences. Specific action needed to be taken to counter that trend, particularly in the context of the upcoming elections.59

The representative of Afghanistan stated that his country expected to see the international community play a role in ensuring the security of Afghanistan during the post-Bonn period and welcomed United Nations authorization of that continued role. The representative of the Philippines expressed the view that given the worsening security situation, the planned expansion of the International Security Assistance Force be pursued urgently.60

The representative of Pakistan noted that as his country’s troop strength on the border was higher than the combined strength of the national and international military presence within Afghanistan, they were disappointed that their great efforts had not been

55 Ibid., pp. 6-8.
57 The representative of the United Kingdom spoke on behalf of the European Union and aligned countries.
59 Ibid., p. 8.
60 Ibid., p. 12.
mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General. He stressed that those who raised doubts about Pakistan’s commitment to peace and security, often by exaggerating the threat of cross-border movements, were either finding excuses for their own failure or trying to poison relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 30-31.}

The President (Japan) then made a statement on behalf of the Council,\footnote{S/PRST/2005/40.} by which the Council, inter alia:

 Welcomed the progress in the preparations for the parliamentary (Wolesi Jirga) and provincial council elections scheduled for 18 September 2005; and called upon the international community to extend additional financial assistance in order to fill the gap for these elections;

 Expressed grave concern about the increased attacks by the Taliban, Al-Qaida and other extremist groups in Afghanistan over the past few months; and condemned the attempts to disrupt the political process by terrorist acts or other forms of violence in Afghanistan;

 Stressed the importance of continued cooperation and increased dialogue between neighbouring States and the Government of Afghanistan to promote regional development and the long-term peace and stability of Afghanistan;

 Expressed its strong view that the international community must maintain a high level of commitment to assist Afghanistan in addressing its remaining challenges.

\section*{Decision of 13 September 2005 (5260th meeting): resolution 1623 (2005)}

 At the 5260th meeting,\footnote{The representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate but did not make a statement.} on 13 September 2005, the President (Philippines) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution\footnote{S/2005/576.} it was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1623 (2005), by which the Council, inter alia:

 Decided to extend the authorization of the International Security Assistance Force, as defined in resolutions 1386 (2001) and 1510 (2003), for a period of 12 months beyond 13 October 2005;

 Authorized the Member States participating in the Force to take all necessary measures to fulfil its mandate;

 Called upon Member States to contribute personnel, equipment and other resources to the Force, and to make contributions to the trust fund established pursuant to resolution 1386 (2001);

 Requested the leadership of the Force to provide quarterly reports on the implementation of its mandate to the Council through the Secretary-General.

\section*{Decision of 23 November 2005 (5309th meeting): statement by the President}

 At the 5309th meeting, on 23 November 2005, the representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (Russian Federation) made a statement on behalf of the Council,\footnote{S/PRST/2005/56.} by which the Council, inter alia:

 Congratulated the people of Afghanistan on the confirmation of the final results of the parliamentary and provincial council elections;

 Commended all Afghans for having taken this step and called on them, and, in particular, the representatives-elect and other former candidates, to remain fully committed to peace, the Constitution, the rule of law and democracy in Afghanistan;

 Reaffirmed the importance for the international community to maintain a high level of commitment to assisting Afghanistan in addressing its remaining challenges;

 Supported the central and impartial role the United Nations continued to play for the consolidation of peace and stability in Afghanistan and coordination of the relevant international efforts and welcomed consultations initiated by the Government of Afghanistan and the United Nations on the post-Bonn process.

\section*{Deliberations of 17 January 2006 to 10 February 2006 (5347th, 5348th, 5369th and 5370th meetings)}

 At its 5347th meeting, on 17 January 2006, the Council heard a briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of UNAMA.\footnote{The representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate in the meeting but did not make a statement.} In his briefing, the Special Representative stated that four years to the day after the signing of the Bonn Agreement, the political transition in Afghanistan had been completed with the inauguration on 19 December 2005 of the new Afghan National Assembly. Since the inauguration, both houses had made progress in the discussion of their rules of procedure and had decided on the establishment of parliamentary committees. Building on the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme completed in the previous year, a strategy had also been agreed by national and international partners for the disbanding
of illegal armed groups. With respect to the security situation, he noted that while, overall, the country had seen a drop in violent clashes in keeping with the usual lull in winter, the South had seen an increase in suicide bombings and an increase in attacks using improvised explosive devices. He briefed the Council on the planned transfer of operational authority from Operation Enduring Freedom to NATO, which would continue through 2006. He also informed the Council that on 8 December, NATO foreign ministers had decided to expand the International Security Assistance Force by an additional 6,000 troops to a little over 15,000, although firm guarantees of troops had yet to be secured. Finally, he noted that consultations were ongoing with a wide range of actors on the compact for Afghanistan, which would be launched in London on 31 January and which would cover the international approach to the peacebuilding process in the years to come.

At the 5669th meeting, on 10 February 2006, the President (United States of America) drew the attention of the Council to two letters dated 9 February 2006 from the representative of Afghanistan, one transmitting a copy of the Afghanistan Compact adopted at the conclusion of the international London Conference on Afghanistan and the other a letter welcoming the outcome of the Conference. The Council then heard a briefing from the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

In his briefing, the Under-Secretary-General stated that the achievements of the Conference had been numerous and had reasserted the unity of purpose in the international community. Over 60 high-level delegations had attended, sending a signal of the international community’s continuing resolve. The Compact set out an ambitious agenda, but was a realistic reflection of what was required to consolidate State-building efforts in Afghanistan and curb insecurity, control the narcotics industry, stimulate the economy, provide basic services to the Afghan population and protect the human rights of the citizenry. He noted that the Compact set out measurable and time-bound benchmarks in each area and established a results-oriented action plan for the country’s future. Finally, he provided an update on the security situation and recent violent incidents.

**Decision of 15 February 2006 (5374th meeting): resolution 1659 (2006)**

At the 5374th meeting, on 15 February 2006, the representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (United States) again drew the attention of the Council to the two letters dated 9 February 2006 from the representative of Afghanistan. He also drew attention to a draft resolution; it was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1659 (2006), by which the Council, inter alia:

- Endorsed the Afghanistan Compact and the annexes thereto as providing for the framework for the partnership between the Government of Afghanistan and the international community;
- Called on the Government of Afghanistan, and all members of the international community and international organizations, to implement in full the Compact and the annexes thereto;
- Affirmed the central and impartial role of the United Nations in Afghanistan;
- Noted the amount of financial assistance available for the implementation of the interim Afghanistan National Development Strategy, and also noted the intention of the Government of Afghanistan to seek debt relief through the Paris Club;
- Welcomed the updated National Drug Control Strategy presented by the Government of Afghanistan at the London Conference, and encouraged additional international support for the four priorities identified in the Strategy;
- Welcomed the adoption by NATO of a revised Operational Plan allowing the continued expansion of the International Security Assistance Force across Afghanistan, closer operational synergy with Operation Enduring Freedom, and support, within means and capabilities, to Afghan security forces in the military aspects of their training and operational deployments;

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67 S/PV.5347, pp. 2-5.
68 On 17 January 2006, the Council held its 5348th meeting in private. The representatives of Afghanistan and Germany and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of UNAMA were invited to participate.
69 S/2006/90, annex.
70 S/2006/89, annex.
71 The representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate in the meeting but did not make a statement.
72 S/PV.5369, pp. 2-5.
73 On 10 February 2006, the Council held its 5370th meeting in private. The representatives of Afghanistan and Germany and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of UNAMA were invited to participate.
74 S/2006/89 and S/2006/90.
75 S/2006/102.
Declared its willingness to take further action to support the implementation of the Compact and the annexes thereto, on the basis of timely reports by the Secretary-General which encompass recommendations on the future mandate and structure of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan.


At its 5385th meeting, on 14 March 2006, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 7 March 2006 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. In his report, the Secretary-General provided a detailed update on the parliamentary elections, the start of the new parliament and the security and human rights situation in Afghanistan. He noted that insurgents and other anti-Government elements had increasingly employed more sophisticated and lethal tactics, such as the use of complex improvised explosive devices, well-planned ambushes and technically advanced multiple rocket attacks. He expressed particular concern with the steep rise in the number of suicide bombings. He also noted that in contrast to previous years the insurgents had maintained a high level of operational activity throughout the winter period. He also proposed a new mandate for UNAMA which would entail some changes in its size, scope and structure.

The Council heard a briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, following which statements were made by all members of the Council and the representatives of Afghanistan, Australia, Austria, Canada, Germany, Iceland, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Italy, Kazakhstan, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan and the Republic of Korea.

The Special Representative noted that the political agenda of the new Government was increasingly focused on justice-related issues, as President Hamid Karzai had indicated his determination to renew the Supreme Court and launch the Action Plan on Peace, Justice and Reconciliation. In regard to the security situation, he added that the prevalence of more sophisticated attacks pointed to the persistence and even consolidation of the command and control networks of Taliban, Al-Qaida and other groups in the region. He emphasized that the key challenge of the new Government would be to extend the reach of Government at the local level, which would require security, development, civil society and private sector actors to be more present in areas not yet touched by recovery. He noted that the proposed mandate of UNAMA included a modest expansion of its field presence to support Government efforts, subject to security conditions.

Speakers welcomed the successful holding of the London Conference and the adoption of the Afghanistan Compact. They expressed concern at the escalation of attacks and violence and expressed hope that the strengthening of the Afghan National Army and police forces, as well as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration efforts, would improve the situation. Many speakers underlined the need to tackle the narcotics industry, which fuelled violence, and create alternate opportunities for economic development. Most speakers also expressed strong support for the new mandate and structure of UNAMA as proposed by the Secretary-General.

On the mandate of UNAMA, Japan added that the “light footprint” approach should be maintained, in view of the need to encourage ownership on the part of the Afghan Government. In addition, a “scrap-and-build” approach should be considered, where necessary, in deciding on the optimal allocation of personnel and funding resources.

The representative of Denmark stressed that reinforcing the new and fragile democratic institutions was a major task of UNAMA, and urged the Special Representative to continue an active dialogue with the entire political spectrum and press for concerted action in the reform of the public sector. He continued by saying that human rights should also be a high-priority task for UNAMA, which implied that UNAMA should insist that the President appoint qualified judges to the Supreme Court — judges had the full implementation of...
the Constitution at heart. He emphasized that the UNAMA presence outside Kabul needed to be significantly enhanced. Finally, he noted that the split of UNAMA into two pillars, dealing with political affairs (I) and relief and development (II), respect gave rise to coordination issues that needed to be tackled head on. The representative of Slovakia stressed that, when considering the UNAMA field expansion, special attention needed to be given to security measures and resources for United Nations personnel. The representative of Peru expressed concern that the issue of drug trafficking was barely addressed in the proposed mandate for UNAMA. He suggested that it would be better for UNAMA to adopt the approach taken in the Afghanistan Compact to prioritize support for combating drug trafficking as a cross-cutting issue in the various areas covered by its mandate.

The representative of the Congo stressed that UNAMA needed to provide assistance at the local level, and it was therefore necessary to give UNAMA additional and sufficient security-related resources, particularly by guaranteeing it air support in cases of medical emergency. The representative of Norway expressed support for a strengthened role for UNAMA in monitoring and coordinating international assistance, including an augmented role in the consultation process between the donors and the Afghan authorities. The representative of Italy, echoed by the representative of New Zealand, recommended pursuing consistency between the Mission’s structure and the organization of the Afghanistan Compact so as to guarantee full effectiveness in fulfilling the follow-up and monitoring tasks given to UNAMA. Welcoming the proposed expansion of local offices, the representative of Italy encouraged strong cooperation with the provincial reconstruction teams as an essential component of that process. The representative of Canada maintained that UNAMA had a crucial role to play in strengthening all the new governance institutions of the Afghan State, and to that end needed to increase its own capacities to intervene on the ground in the areas of individual rights, respect for the rule of law, the police and justice.

At its 5393rd meeting, on 23 March 2006, the Council again included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 7 March 2006 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. The representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (Argentina) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution; it was adopted unanimously as resolution 1662 (2006), by which the Council, inter alia:

- Decided to extend the mandate of UNAMA for an additional period of 12 months from the date of adoption of the resolution;
- Called upon all Afghan parties and groups to engage constructively in the peaceful political development of the country and avoid resorting to violence;
- Welcomed the proposal of the Secretary-General to extend the reach of regional offices, security circumstances permitting;
- Called upon the Government of Afghanistan, with the assistance of the international community, including the Operation Enduring Freedom coalition and the International Security Assistance Force to continue to address the threat to the security and stability of Afghanistan posed by the Taliban, Al-Qaida, other extremist groups and criminal activities;
- Encouraged the promotion of confidence-building measures between Afghanistan and its neighbours in the spirit of the Kabul Declaration in order to foster dialogue and cooperation in the region in full respect for the principles of territorial integrity, mutual respect, friendly relations and non-interference in each other’s internal affairs.

### Decision of 12 September 2006
(5521st meeting): resolution 1707 (2006)

At the 5521st meeting, on 12 September 2006, in which the representative of Afghanistan was invited to participate, the President (Greece) drew attention to a letter dated 11 September 2006 from the representative

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82 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
83 Ibid., p. 12.
84 Ibid., p. 15.
85 Ibid., p. 17.
86 Ibid., p. 31.
87 Ibid., p. 31 (New Zealand) and p. 32 (Italy).
88 Ibid., p. 32.
89 Ibid., p. 35.
90 S/2006/145.
91 S/2006/175.
92 For more information on the mandate of UNAMA, see chapter V.
93 On 26 July 2006, the Council held its 5496th meeting in private. The Council heard a briefing from the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of UNAMA, and the representatives of Afghanistan, Finland and Germany were invited to participate.
of Afghanistan addressed to the Secretary-General, welcoming the prospect of the International Security Assistance Force continuing to operate in Afghanistan until the security forces were fully able to provide security. He then drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution, which was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1707 (2006), by which the Council, inter alia:

Decided to extend the authorization of the International Security Assistance Force, as defined in resolutions 1386 (2001) and 1510 (2003), for a period of 12 months beyond 13 October 2006;

Authorized the Member States participating in the Force to take all necessary measures to fulfil its mandate;

Called upon Member States to contribute personnel, equipment and other resources to the Force, and to make contributions to the trust fund established pursuant to resolution 1386 (2001);

Requested the leadership of the Force to provide quarterly reports on implementation of its mandate to the Council, through the Secretary-General.


At its 5641st meeting, on 20 March 2007, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 15 March 2007 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. In his report, the Secretary-General noted that while insurgency-related violence had peaked in September 2006 and receded thereafter due to intense security efforts and the onset of winter, the incident levels during the winter months nevertheless were higher than those recorded for previous years. There had also been a marked increase in insurgent forces prepared to engage in conventional combat operations against Government and international security forces, and a significant improvement in the insurgents’ tactics and training. In particular, security incidents in January 2007 in provinces bordering Pakistan had been double the number recorded the previous year. In addition, only limited progress had been made in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration efforts aimed at illegal armed groups. On the political side, Parliament had begun to assert its independence and serve as an active counterweight to the executive branch. At the provincial level, he underscored the fact that an increased focus on capacity-building of Government structures was needed to enable greater Afghan oversight and direction of development and humanitarian issues. UNAMA could more readily ensure stakeholder coordination in this area through its planned establishment of additional provincial offices, security conditions permitting. He stressed that UNAMA should focus its efforts on promoting a more coherent international engagement in support of the Afghanistan Compact; strengthening its humanitarian coordination role and contributing to the protection and promotion of human rights, including monitoring the situation of civilians in armed conflict; and extending its good offices role through outreach in Afghanistan and support for regional cooperation.

At the meeting, the Council heard briefings by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of UNAMA and the Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, following which all Council members and the representatives of Afghanistan, Belarus, Canada, Germany, Iceland, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Norway and Pakistan made statements.

In his briefing, the Special Representative pointed out that the unprecedented efforts to improve governance, help development and register military gains were being put to the test. He stressed that the Afghanistan National Development Strategy would work only if international participation improved, if the National Assembly became more engaged and if other wings of the Government took their responsibilities more seriously. He suggested that it was critical that the Government start to view political advice by members of the international community as a genuine attempt to assist rather than as an attempt to control. He welcomed the commitment of new forces to the

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94 S/2006/725.
95 S/2006/723.
96 On 9 October 2006, the Council held its 5548th meeting in private. The Council heard briefings by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of UNAMA and the Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. The representatives of Afghanistan, Finland, Germany, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan were also invited to participate.
98 Belarus spoke on behalf of the Collective Security Treaty Organization.
International Security Assistance Force, but cautioned that as military action increased, the protection of civilians was becoming an increasing concern. While Taliban-led groups were responsible for the high toll of deaths associated with suicide bombings, he noted that there had been a number of cases of civilian casualties caused by Government and international forces. He stressed that UNAMA had sought to position itself as an impartial advocate by conducting objective verification of those incidents with the primary aim of preventing further civilian casualties. He stressed that the Government and international forces needed to take greater care to ensure that they were not perceived as seeking to do harm to civilians.\textsuperscript{99}

The Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime noted that while it was easy to be pessimistic about the problems of opium production in Afghanistan, there had been a divergence in cultivation trends between the centre-north, where security and development were improving, and the centre-south, where the vicious circle of drugs and terrorism was stronger then ever. He noted that thousands of tons of chemicals needed for drug refining and billions of dollars had been smuggled across Afghanistan’s borders, and that UNODC had proposed a major initiative to help Afghanistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan to improve border management and cooperation. He also welcomed the Council’s decision to add major drug traffickers to the sanctions list and underlined the need to promote good governance.\textsuperscript{100}

During their statements, speakers welcomed the progress in key areas, such as reform of the Ministry of the Interior and the development of parliamentary institutions among other areas, but expressed strong concern with the mounting challenges in development, counter-narcotics and the expansion of good governance, on top of the deteriorating security situation. Most speakers also stressed the importance of regional cooperation as a strategic priority and underlined the need for close cooperation with neighbours, particularly Pakistan.

Many speakers expressed support for the proposed renewal of the UNAMA mandate and for the priorities recommended by the Secretary-General: strengthening the coordination of assistance at the local level; stepping up the good offices mission in matters of regional cooperation; and promoting human rights and the protection of civilians. Several speakers stressed the importance of expanding the Mission’s geographical presence by opening new provincial offices where security conditions allowed.

A number of speakers noted that the report had underlined the fact that the Taliban continued to enjoy privileged sanctuary on the Pakistani side of the frontier, posing an imminent and ongoing threat to the State-building efforts of the Afghan administration and its citizens. They urged the Government of Pakistan to redouble its efforts to deny access to its territory by armed groups.\textsuperscript{101}

The representative of Panama welcomed the establishment of the Policy Action Group, a committee composed of Government ministers, UNAMA and other international agencies, but expressed reservations about some of its programmes, particularly the Afghan National Auxiliary Police. He was concerned about the capacity of a police force whose members got only 10 days of training. He underlined the need for a vigorous screening process for Auxiliary Police recruits and urged the Policy Action Group to incorporate the Auxiliary Police force into the regular police force as soon as possible.\textsuperscript{102}

The representative of the Russian Federation attached importance to the programme of national reconciliation, but at the same time emphasized that the process should not run counter to the efforts to enforce the sanctions regime to effectively oppose the terrorist threat.\textsuperscript{103}

The representative of Pakistan emphasized his country’s strong commitment to cooperating with Afghanistan and to contributing to peace and progress in Afghanistan. He stressed that control of the border was a joint responsibility. He also stated that they would act shortly to eliminate the “atrocious allegations about so-called sanctuaries and safe havens for the Taliban in terrorist training camps”. He asserted that the actual problem was Taliban infiltration in the refugee camps close to the border, and announced that four of the largest camps would be moved to secure sites inside

\textsuperscript{99} S/PV.5641, pp. 2-5.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., pp. 6-7.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., p. 12 (Slovakia); p. 13 (Panama); p. 28 (Germany, on behalf of the European Union).
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., p. 13.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., p. 15.
Afghanistan, which would "end this story of sanctuaries".

At the 5645th meeting, on 23 March 2007, the President (South Africa) again drew the Council's attention to the report of the Secretary-General dated 15 March 2007 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, and to a draft resolution. It was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1746 (2007), by which the Council, inter alia:

- Decided to extend the mandate of UNAMA, as established by resolution 1662 (2006), until 23 March 2008;
- Called upon all Afghan and international parties to continue to cooperate with UNAMA in the implementation of its mandate and in efforts to promote the security and freedom of movement of United Nations and associated personnel throughout the country.

Following the adoption of the resolution, the representative of Italy stressed that the resolution, while it did not modify the mandate of UNAMA, was not business as usual, but addressed all the priorities identified by the Secretary-General, including promotion of the coherence of the international engagement, outreach, support for regional cooperation, humanitarian coordination, protection of human rights and monitoring of the situation of civilians in armed conflict.

Decision of 17 July 2007 (5718th meeting): statement by the President

At its 5718th meeting, on 17 July 2007, the Council extended an invitation to the representative of Afghanistan to participate in the discussion. The President (China) made a statement on behalf of the Council, by which the Council, inter alia:

- Reaffirmed its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan, and to the central and impartial role that the United Nations continued to play in promoting peace and stability in Afghanistan by leading the efforts of the international community;
- Emphasized that the strengthening of Afghan institutions, the advancement of regional cooperation, sustained economic and social development, and the fight against international terrorism, as well as against opium cultivation, production and trafficking remained key factors to achieve sustainable peace, stability and development in Afghanistan;
- Reiterated its support for the continuing endeavours by the Government of Afghanistan, with the assistance of the international community, including the International Security Assistance Force and the Operation Enduring Freedom coalition, to further improve the security situation and to continue to address the threat posed by the Taliban, Al-Qaida and other extremist groups;
- Condemned in the strongest terms all suicide attacks against civilians and Afghan and international forces and their destabilizing effects on the security and stability of Afghanistan, and deeply regretted all losses sustained by the local population, the national security forces and international military and civilian personnel.


At the 5744th meeting, on 19 September 2007, the President (France) drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 13 August 2007 from the representative of Afghanistan, which welcomed the proposal that the International Security Assistance Force should continue to operate in Afghanistan until the security forces were fully able to provide security. The President also drew attention to a draft resolution.

Speaking before the vote, the representative of the Russian Federation noted that his delegation had traditionally supported the activities of the Force, but that during the process of reaching agreement on the draft resolution, no clarity had been provided with regard to the proposed new wording pertaining to the coalition Force’s maritime interception component, which had not appeared in previous resolutions. He underlined that the coalition’s activities were carried out outside the context of the United Nations and the Council had not been informed in detail about them. He stressed that the maritime component was necessary solely to combat terrorism in Afghanistan and should not be used for other purposes. He continued that since his delegation’s proposals for new wording had not been duly discussed and the draft resolution had been

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104 Ibid., p. 27.
107 S/PV.5645, p. 2.
108 On 23 May 2007, the Council held its 5680th meeting in private. At the meeting, the Council heard a briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan. The representative of Afghanistan was also invited to participate.
The draft resolution was then put to the vote and was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention (Russian Federation), as resolution 1776 (2007), by which the Council, inter alia:

Decided to extend the authorization of the International Security Assistance Force for a period of 12 months beyond 13 October 2007;

Authorized the Member States participating in the International Security Assistance Force to take all necessary measures to fulfil its mandate;

Called upon Member States to contribute personnel, equipment and other resources;

Stressed the importance of increasing the effective functionality, professionalism and accountability of the Afghan security sector, and encouraged the Force and other partners to sustain their efforts to train, mentor and empower the Afghan national security forces;

Called upon the Force to continue to work in close consultation with the Government of Afghanistan and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General as well as with the Operation Enduring Freedom coalition in the implementation of the mandate of the Force;

Requested the leadership of the Force to keep the Council regularly informed, through the Secretary-General, on the implementation of its mandate.

After the vote, the representative of Italy stated that his delegation had tried to reflect in the text all the daunting and emerging challenges that the Force had faced since its expansion across the country. It had been particularly important that the Council was sending a signal of strong attention to all the aspects surrounding the Force’s operations. As his delegation had not hesitated to address politically sensitive issues, the process had been more difficult, but they felt rewarded by the outcome. By refusing to ignore the challenges, the Council had lived up to its responsibility as the mandating authority for the operation. The representative of China stressed that the Council should spare no effort to reach consensus when adopting resolutions and expressed hope that the manner in which the resolution had been adopted would not set a precedent.

Deliberations of 15 October 2007
(5760th meeting)

At its 5760th meeting, on 15 October 2007, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 21 September 2007 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. In his report, the Secretary-General noted that an intensifying Taliban-led insurgency, which increasingly relied on suicide bombing and other terrorist tactics, was undermining confidence in the future and denying access by the Government and international aid organizations to a growing number of districts. Overall, rates of insurgent and terrorist violence were at least 20 per cent higher than in 2006. Despite those pressures, he affirmed there had been progress in terms of economic growth, education, health, road building and rural development. With regard to the Government, he noted that while some institutions within the judicial, executive and legislative branches had continued to gain capacity and effectiveness, internal disputes and institutional corruption threatened efforts to consolidate and legitimize them. Finally, he emphasized that the continued increase in opium production also posed an increasingly grave threat to reconstruction and nation-building.

At the meeting, the Council heard a briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of UNAMA, following which statements were made by all members of the Council and the representatives of Afghanistan, Canada, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan and Portugal (on behalf of the European Union).

In his briefing the Special Representative noted that the recent meeting of the Joint Coordination and Monitoring Board had, despite positive steps, highlighted a capacity deficit in regional cooperation, which needed first of all to be addressed by the Government of Afghanistan through the creation of supporting regional units in the lead ministries and through strengthening the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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112 S/PV.5744, p. 2.
113 Ibid., p. 3.
114 Ibid.

116 Albania, Armenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Montenegro, the Republic of Moldova, Serbia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkey and Ukraine aligned themselves with the statement.
He pointed out that although the Afghan National Army would be at around 47,000 soldiers by the end of the year, numbers were not a measure of capability and for the time being the International Security Assistance Force remained essential. He noted that with the levels of instability and conflict, the lack of oversight mechanisms for human rights, particularly regarding the mandate of the National Directorate for Security, the intelligence service, was particularly strong. He urged the Government to investigate allegations of arbitrary detention and torture of detainees and grant UNAMA access to National Directorate for Security detention centres and activities. He welcomed the concrete steps taken by the Force and Operation Enduring Freedom to reduce civilian casualties. Turning to the challenges of corruption and good governance, he noted that the focus on shoring up the central Government had come at the cost of provincial administration. One consequence of this had been a 34 per cent increase in opium production in 2007. He observed that where the Government and international efforts had been aligned on developing institutional capacity, such as in the Army and the ministries of finance, education, health and rural development, there had been progress, while in areas such as the Civil Service Commission, counter-narcotics, subnational governance and the Ministry of Interior, progress had been limited. He stressed that to succeed in the myriad of challenges in Afghanistan they had to win the legitimacy of the Government of Afghanistan, because only a Government perceived as legitimate could make progress against the challenges facing the country.

During their statements, speakers expressed their concern at the worsening security situation and emphasized the need to provide security and good governance to all parts of the country. They expressed support for the roles played by the Force, NATO and UNAMA in the country. A number of speakers also expressed concern about the number of civilian casualties, caused by accident as well as by terrorist attacks. Most speakers also noted the increase in opium poppy cultivation and underlined the need for greater cooperation to address the narcotics problem.

The representative of the United States underlined the need to increase the joint efforts to train, mentor, and equip the Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police and provide every measure of support to the United Nations-mandated, NATO-led Force. In particular, he stressed the need to give commanders the forces and flexibility they needed to bring stability and good governance to all of Afghanistan. The representative of the Netherlands added that the Force was not a reconstruction entity, and suggested the need for more complementarity among the United Nations, NATO and the European Union.

The representative of Qatar expressed the view that the political transition process following the Bonn Agreement had begun to unravel. As the political landscape in Afghanistan was made up of an interdependent network, it was necessary to focus on active participation by all parties. He expressed hope that the Government could develop a new mechanism that would enable it to deal with all its opponents. Similarly, the representative of the Russian Federation suggested that it was necessary to pursue the policy of isolating extremist ringleaders, particularly those already on the sanctions list, while preserving the possibility of a return to peaceful life for rank and file Taliban not accused of war crimes. The representative of Afghanistan added that his country continued to focus on reconciliation as a measure to encourage non-terrorist Taliban to join the process of building a prosperous Afghanistan. The representative of Pakistan pointed out that the Taliban were part of Afghan society and many could be won over and spoke in support of President Karzai’s offer of reconciliation to the Taliban. However, the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran rejected certain efforts to “appease the Taliban terrorists”. He noted that contacts with those responsible for insecurity and terrorist activities could be wrongly interpreted as rewarding terrorists and criminals and would prove counterproductive and dangerous.

Finally, the representative of Pakistan also provided an update on the efforts to close the refugee camps for Afghans on the Pakistani side of the border, which had served as a source for the flow of cross-border militants. He noted that the closure was being

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117 S/PV.5760, pp. 2-6 and pp. 35-36.
118 Ibid., p. 7.
119 Ibid., p. 27.
120 Ibid., p. 8.
121 Ibid., p. 19.
122 Ibid., p. 23.
123 Ibid., p. 34.
124 Ibid., p. 30.
delayed owing to an inexplicable reluctance, including on the part of United Nations agencies, to facilitate the return of refugees.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., p. 35.

\textbf{25. Letter dated 31 March 1998 from the Chargé d’affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Papua New Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council}

\textbf{Deliberations of 6 May 2004 (4962nd meeting)}

At its 4962nd meeting, on 6 May 2004, the Security Council heard a briefing by the Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs on the activities of the United Nations Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB), Papua New Guinea, following which all members of the Council made statements, as did the representatives of Fiji, Japan, New Zealand\textsuperscript{1} and Papua New Guinea.

In his briefing, the Assistant Secretary-General noted that with the support of the Council, the recommendation of the Secretary-General to downsize UNPOB and to establish its successor, the United Nations Observer Mission in Bougainville (UNOMB), had been implemented. The new Mission was working in close cooperation and consultation with the national Government of Papua New Guinea and the leaders of Bougainville. On 17 December 2003, the Bougainville Revolutionary Army and the Bougainville Resistance Force had consolidated their agreement with regard to the destruction of all contained weapons as stipulated in stage III of the Action Plan for the Completion of Weapons Collection. By decentralizing the process of weapons destruction, which had allowed for the ex-combatants, united commanders and communities themselves to decide on the exact date and method of destruction, the Mission had succeeded in greatly expediting the destruction of weapons. Eighty-one per cent of the arsenals of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army and the Bougainville Resistance Force had been destroyed by the Bougainvilleans under the supervision of UNOMB. The Bougainville Constitutional Commission was in the process of working on the third and final draft of the constitution, which would be submitted for approval by the Bougainville Constituent Assembly in June 2004, followed by submission to the national Government of Papua New Guinea for endorsement by the end of July 2004. The Assistant Secretary-General noted that subsequent to the completion of all constitutional phases, UNOMB would consult with the Government of Papua New Guinea and the parties in Bougainville regarding their intention to proceed with elections. The National Executive Council of the Government of Papua New Guinea had delegated police powers and functions to the Bougainville Interim Provincial Government on 17 December 2003, and, in a further step towards autonomy, the Governor had appointed the former leader of the Bougainville Resistance Force as the first Minister of Police of Bougainville. The Governments of Australia and New Zealand had also been supporting the development of the security sector of Bougainville.

The Assistant Secretary-General noted that some progress had been achieved with regard to the involvement of Mr. Francis Ona, the main Bougainvillean leader remaining outside the peace process. The dominant faction in the Me’ekamui Defence Force of Mr. Ona had completed the destruction of its weapons in April 2004. However, other elements of the Me’ekamui Defence Force had not contained their weapons. UNOMB had been informing Mr. Ona of the developments in the peace process and had expressed its readiness to resume regular contacts with him. Overall, therefore, the Assistant Secretary-General observed that the influence of Mr. Ona had continued to be reduced. Finally, the Assistant Secretary-General urged the parties to redouble their efforts in completing the Bougainville constitutional process, which would open the way to

\textsuperscript{1} On behalf of the Pacific Islands Forum (Australia, Fiji, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu).