21. The situation in Afghanistan

Overview

During the period 2008-2009, the Security Council held fourteen meetings concerning the situation in Afghanistan, adopting five resolutions and three presidential statements. At the meetings, the Council considered the work and the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA); the United Nations-authorized International Security Assistance Force (ISAF); and the Afghan presidential elections, international coordination and challenges facing Afghanistan, including the Taliban insurgency.

The Council twice extended the mandate of UNAMA for periods of one year.\(^{327}\) It also twice extended for periods of one year the authorization of ISAF under Chapter VII of the Charter, including authorization for the Member States participating in it to take all necessary measures to fulfil its mandate.\(^{328}\)

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\(^{327}\) Resolutions 1806 (2008) and 1868 (2009). For more information, part X, sect. II, in regard to the mandate of UNAMA.

\(^{328}\) Resolutions 1833 (2008) and 1890 (2009). For more information, see part VII, sect. IV, in regard to Article 42 of the Charter.

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\(^{329}\) For more information, see the present part, sect. 40, in regard to Security Council missions.
UNAMA did not need additional powers, its mandate needed to be “sharpened”. He highlighted six areas of focus: (a) the coordination of international assistance; (b) the relationship between UNAMA and ISAF; (c) the upcoming elections; (d) political outreach; (e) improved governance, especially at the local level; and (f) counter-narcotics strategy.\(^{330}\)

Speakers largely supported the extension of the Mission’s mandate as recommended by the Secretary-General, including the need to sharpen it in a number of areas. Several speakers also supported the continued expansion of UNAMA to the various regions of Afghanistan, particularly the south. However, the representative of Pakistan cautioned that UNAMA must stay strictly within its current mandate, and that it was essential to avoid placing responsibilities on the United Nations that it might not be able to discharge and that could affect its neutrality and credibility.\(^{331}\)

The representative of China noted that on the issue of domestic reconciliation, UNAMA could provide constructive support at the request of the Government of Afghanistan but could not make decisions for it.\(^{332}\)

The representative of Viet Nam expressed support for UNAMA in its willingness to provide technical assistance and channel international funds earmarked to support Afghan electoral institutions, but stated that it had to be at the request of the Government of Afghanistan, in accordance with the principle of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the country.\(^{333}\)

Most speakers, while noting that Afghanistan had so far made some progress, expressed the view that the country continued to face serious challenges in the areas of security, governance, electoral preparation, socioeconomic development, regional cooperation, human rights protection, gender equality, humanitarian assistance and counter-narcotic efforts. Many speakers mentioned the deteriorating security situation and increasing violence and terrorism. The representative of the Russian Federation was particularly alarmed that terrorists controlled entire regions on whose territories parallel governments had been established.\(^{334}\)

Speakers generally emphasized the importance of Afghan ownership and involvement in all aspects of the international community’s work and the need to improve local capacities. Finally, a number of speakers stressed that there could be no purely military solution to Afghanistan’s problems and underlined the importance of reconciliation efforts. However, the representative of Kyrgyzstan (on behalf of the Collective Security Treaty Organization)\(^{335}\) stated that there was still a need to isolate extremist leaders, particularly those who were on the sanctions list of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) concerning Al-Qaeda and the Taliban and associated individuals and entities,\(^{336}\) while allowing rank-and-file Taliban, not tainted with war crimes, the possibility of a peaceful life.\(^{337}\) The representative of the Russian Federation added that any attempt to “cosy up to extremists and to gradually invest them with power” could only risk further destabilization.\(^{338}\)

On 20 March 2008, the Council adopted resolution 1806 (2008), by which it, inter alia, extended the mandate of UNAMA, and decided that UNAMA should lead the international civilian efforts in a number of areas.\(^{339}\)

On 23 March 2009, the Council adopted resolution 1868 (2009), in which it renewed the mandate of UNAMA for another year. At the meeting, the representative of Costa Rica expressed regret over the weakening of the language, specifically the failure to explicitly address concerns over the increase in civilian casualties, as the Council had done in previous resolutions. While acknowledging that insurgents were primarily responsible for civilian casualties in Afghanistan, he recalled that the Council had repeatedly called on all parties to respect the provisions of international humanitarian law and human rights, and to take every possible precaution to ensure the protection of the civilian population. He stated that his delegation understood that this concern

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\(^{330}\) S/PV.5851, pp. 2-5.

\(^{331}\) S/PV.5851 (Resumption 1), p. 3 (Pakistan).

\(^{332}\) S/PV.5851, p. 9 (China).

\(^{333}\) Ibid., p. 12.

\(^{334}\) Ibid., p. 20 (Russian Federation).

\(^{335}\) The members of the Collective Security Treaty Organization are Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russian Federation, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

\(^{336}\) For more information, see part IX, sect. I.B, in regard to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999).

\(^{337}\) S/PV.5851 (Resumption 1), p. 13.

\(^{338}\) S/PV.5851, p. 20 (Russian Federation).

\(^{339}\) For more information, see part X, sect. II, in regard to UNAMA.
was alluded to in paragraph 14\textsuperscript{340} of the resolution that had just been adopted.\textsuperscript{341}

**11 June 2008: resolution 1817 (2008) on combating the production and trafficking of illegal drugs**

On 11 June 2008, the Council adopted resolution 1817 (2008), in which it expressed its utmost concern at the high level of opium cultivation, production and trafficking, and called on all Member States to increase cooperation in order to counter the illicit production and trafficking of drugs in Afghanistan, including by strengthening the monitoring of the international trade in chemical precursors, notably but not limited to acetic anhydride.

At the meeting, the representative of France, echoed by the representatives of the Russian Federation and Italy, observed that the Council was adopting the resolution on the eve of the start of the Paris conference, the primary aim of which was to reaffirm the international community’s political and financial support for reconstruction in Afghanistan, and which would also address efforts to combat the drug trade.\textsuperscript{342} The representative of France stated that France had sought an emphasis by the Council on a particular element of the problem of narcotics trafficking: combating trafficking in the chemical precursors that were essential for processing opium into heroin, which was a weak link in the process. He noted that while there was an existing system in place based on the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances of 1988 (Vienna Convention), increased efforts were needed to use existing mechanisms effectively.\textsuperscript{343} The representative of the Russian Federation also stressed the resolution’s important provision related to enhancing the role of regional organizations in international efforts to counter the flow of Afghan narcotics,\textsuperscript{344} while the representative of Italy observed that Afghanistan and the other countries of the region had been extensively consulted in the preparation of the resolution.\textsuperscript{345}

**9 and 11 July 2008: outcome of the Paris conference on Afghanistan**

On 9 July 2008, the Council heard a briefing by the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan on the outcome of the International Conference in Support of Afghanistan, held in Paris in June 2008, on the basis of the report of the Secretary-General.\textsuperscript{346} He stated that the Paris conference had been a great success, raising more than $20 billion, and creating the basis for a strengthened partnership between the international community and Afghanistan. The Government of Afghanistan had also presented the Afghanistan National Development Strategy, which focused on a massive institution-building effort and the expansion of key areas of the economy, particularly agriculture. The conference had also focused on how to deliver aid more effectively, although the Special Representative noted that any improvements in the delivery of international assistance had to be matched by a determination on the Afghan side to improve the quality of its administration, show greater accountability and combat corruption. In respect of the situation on the ground, he noted that there had been an unprecedented level of insurgent and terrorist activities, especially in the volatile provinces in the south and the east. However, there had also been a greater insurgency presence in other districts and provinces in the central parts of the country, and the attack three days earlier outside the Embassy of India in Kabul had shown that the terrorists could carry out operations in the capital. Finally, he reiterated the need to improve regional cooperation on a host of issues, including threats such as drugs as well as opportunities for developing infrastructure.\textsuperscript{347}

The Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator briefed the Council on the humanitarian challenges in Afghanistan.

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\textsuperscript{340} Para. 14 reads: “Recognizes the efforts taken by ISAF and other international forces to minimize the risk of civilian casualties, and calls on them to continue to make robust efforts in this regard, notably by the continuous review of tactics and procedures and the conduct of after-action reviews and investigations in cooperation with the Government of Afghanistan in cases where civilian casualties have occurred and when the Government finds these joint investigations appropriate”.

\textsuperscript{341} S/PV.6098, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{342} S/PV.5907, p. 3 (France); pp. 3-4 (Russian Federation) and p. 4 (Italy).

\textsuperscript{343} Ibid., p. 3.

\textsuperscript{344} Ibid., p. 3.

\textsuperscript{345} Ibid., p. 4.

\textsuperscript{346} S/2008/434.

\textsuperscript{347} S/PV.5930, pp. 2-4.
He stated that the humanitarian needs were serious and growing, particularly food insecurity as a result of drought and the global rise in food prices. He noted the serious problems with internally displaced persons, refugees and the return of refugees. He highlighted the increasing number of civilian casualties and stated that although the share of the casualties attributed to national and international pro-Government military forces had decreased, greater efforts to protect civilians were needed. Finally, he stressed that the instability was making it harder to respond to the challenges. One particular concern was the blurred lines between military and humanitarian activities, and he noted that while the provincial reconstruction teams were doing valuable work, they could increase the risk faced by civilian humanitarian personnel, who were working to provide assistance in an impartial way.  

Speakers welcomed the outcome of the Paris conference and stressed the need to tackle the interrelated challenges of development, narcotics, and governance, while reversing the deterioration in the security situation. The representative of Afghanistan stressed that one of the main factors contributing to the deterioration of the security situation in the country was the de facto truce in the tribal areas beyond our borders. The representative of Pakistan countered that his country had taken several measures to prevent cross-border infiltration by terrorists and insurgents, but acknowledged that the security environment on their side had deteriorated sharply as a result of the counter-terrorism campaign. He added that while no foreign troops would be allowed to operate inside Pakistan, he encouraged an expansion of military deployments and check posts on the Afghan side of the border to match the commitment by Pakistan.  

In a presidential statement dated 11 July 2008, the Council welcomed the outcome of the Paris conference, welcomed the intention to proceed with another expansion of the Mission’s field presence through the opening of six new provincial offices over the next 12 months, and expressed its strong concern over the security situation.

22 September 2008 to 8 October 2009: extension of ISAF mandate

On 22 September 2008, the Council adopted resolution 1833 (2008), in which it extended the mandate of ISAF. At the meeting, the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya expressed his delegation’s concern at the rising number of civilian casualties in Afghanistan as a result of operations carried out by the multinational forces. He stressed that during their operations, the multinational forces had to make every effort to ensure that Afghan civilians were adequately protected and that their human rights were protected and guaranteed. Those arrested had to be given fair trials and held in conditions that were in accordance with international humanitarian law and human rights principles.

On 8 October 2009, the Council adopted resolution 1890 (2009) by which it, inter alia, extended the authorization of ISAF for another year.

14 October 2008 to 29 September 2009: briefings on the presidential elections

In the lead-up to the presidential elections in August 2009, the Council heard several briefings by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of UNAMA, which were followed by a discussion among Council members and invitees. At the briefings, the Special Representative stressed that UNAMA was working with the Government of Afghanistan and the international community to assure that three key elements were met in the conduct of the elections: non-interference by the Government, a dignified policy-oriented debate and the avoidance of inflammatory rhetoric, and total international impartiality. Overall, preparations for the presidential elections were proceeding well, although concerns had been raised about the transparency and fairness of the election process.

The Special Representative also expressed concern that the international community had been distracted from the commitments undertaken at the Paris conference, mainly as a result of the deteriorating security situation. He noted that the influence of the insurgency had spread beyond the traditional areas in

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348 Ibid., pp. 5-7.
349 Ibid., p. 8.
350 Ibid., p. 10.
352 S/PV.5977, p. 2.
353 5994th meeting, held on 14 October 2008; 6094th meeting, held on 19 March 2009; and 6154th meeting, held on 30 June 2009.
the south and the east and had extended to provinces around Kabul. There had been an increase in sophisticated asymmetric attacks and attacks against aid-related and humanitarian targets, including deadly attacks against non-governmental organizations and United Nations personnel. He also expressed concern about the humanitarian situation and the increasing food shortage. On the positive side, he noted that reforms were taking place in the Government of Afghanistan, that its ability to respond to problems had improved and that there was a trend towards reduced opium poppy production. In regard to civilian-military cooperation, he noted that UNAMA was working closely with ISAF to reduce civilian casualties, the clear majority of which were still caused by the Taliban.

The Special Representative noted that despite the continuing security problems, there had been some progress in strengthening security institutions, reforming the agricultural and private sectors, improving revenue collection and the Government’s internal coordination, and developing comprehensive civilian capacity-building programmes.

Speakers at the meetings underscored the importance of holding the presidential elections to the highest international standards. They also stressed the need to take strong measures to address the security situation, including by improving civilian-military cooperation, reducing civilian casualties and improving rule of law and security institutions in rural areas. They expressed support for UNAMA and emphasized its important role in coordinating the international response to the interlocking challenges in Afghanistan, particularly in the area of development.

On 15 July 2009, in a statement by the President, the Council welcomed the Afghan-led preparations for the upcoming presidential and provincial council elections and stressed the importance that the elections be free, fair, transparent, credible, secure and inclusive. It also called upon the people of Afghanistan to exercise their vote in this historic opportunity for all Afghans to make their voices heard.

Following the elections, but before the announcement of the results, the Council met on 29 September 2009 to hear an update by the Special Representative. He acknowledged that there had been fraud, and irregularities committed by election officials, candidates and Government officials, and that turnout had been low, at least in part due to the large number of security incidents. Nevertheless, more polling stations opened than in elections in 2004 and 2005, and the elections were characterized by more public engagement and real debate between political alternatives than Afghanistan had ever witnessed before. He noted that a collapse of the election process had been avoided and an audit process had been agreed to determine the level of fraud before the release of the final results. That meant that a second round, if required, could be held before winter set in, thereby avoiding a lengthy period of political vacuum and instability. In respect of other issues, he said that while he did not want to comment on the debate over the need for additional international fighting forces, he agreed that there was a need to improve the strength and capacity of the Afghan army and police and that it could not be a task for the United States alone. He also endorsed the proposals for a new Afghan conference.

Speaking after the briefing, the representative of Afghanistan emphasized that the August elections had been an important milestone in the processes of democratization and State-building in Afghanistan. Taking into account the sociohistoric realities of the country, he stated that they had passed this national test successfully. While acknowledging that there had been cases of irregularities, he appealed for everyone to be aware of the context, the process and the full picture. Finally, he stressed that it was imperative that everyone respected and supported the forthcoming decisions from the Afghan electoral bodies and not work to undermine the process.

Other speakers, while strongly condemning the violence during the election, acknowledged that the vote had been a milestone event for Afghanistan and praised the Afghan people who had cast their ballots under very intimidating circumstances. They urged all concerned parties to accept the certified results when they arrived. Many speakers expressed support for the proposed Afghan conference. Several speakers also underlined the importance of a renewed focus on

354 S/PV.5994, S/PV.6094 and S/PV.6154.
356 S/PV.6194, pp. 2-6.
357 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
reconciliation and rehabilitation of insurgents following the elections.

29 October 2009: terrorist attack on United Nations guesthouse

In a statement by the President dated 29 October 2009, the Council condemned the terrorist attack in Kabul on 28 October 2009, and stressed the need to ensure security of United Nations staff. It also expressed its solidarity with the people of Afghanistan and its support for the upcoming run-off presidential elections, which should be carried out as scheduled with the continued support of the United Nations.358

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Meetings: the situation in Afghanistan

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### Part I. Consideration of questions under the responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security

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22. The situation in Myanmar

Overview

During the period 2008-2009, the Security Council held three meetings and adopted one presidential statement concerning the situation in Myanmar. At the meetings, the Council heard briefings on the visits to Myanmar by the Secretary-General and his Special Adviser in the implementation of the good offices role entrusted to him by the General Assembly, and considered the scheduled referendum on a draft constitution and elections to take place in May 2008 and 2010, respectively.

18 March 2008: briefing on the visit to Myanmar of the Special Adviser

On 18 March 2008, the Council heard a briefing by the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on his visit to Myanmar from 6 to 10 March, during which he discussed with his interlocutors his earlier recommendations, in particular, the planned constitutional referendum and elections, the establishment of a broad-based national economic forum, the dialogue between the Government of Myanmar and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the engagement between the United Nations and the Government. The representative of Myanmar asserted that many issues that the Special Adviser had discussed with his Government had come to fruition and promised that those who supported the Government as well as those who opposed its policies would be allowed to participate in the upcoming referendum and elections on equal terms. He stated that as Myanmar was not a threat.

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359 S/PV.5854, pp. 2-5