

4. *Notes with appreciation* the work of the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General and of all the personnel of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan, encourages them to continue assisting the parties in the implementation of the General Agreement, reiterates the need for the Mission to operate throughout Tajikistan and to have the necessary personnel and financial support, and requests the Secretary-General to continue to consider means of ensuring a full and active role for the Mission in the implementation of the General Agreement;

5. *Reiterates* the importance of the involvement of the United Nations, in continued close cooperation with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, in the preparations for and monitoring of the parliamentary elections in Tajikistan, which will be the last major event of the transitional period envisaged in the General Agreement;

6. *Supports* the continued active involvement of the Contact Group of Guarantor States and International Organizations in the peace process;

7. *Welcomes* the continued contribution made by the collective peacekeeping forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States in assisting the parties in the implementation of the General Agreement, in coordination with all concerned;

8. *Calls upon* the parties to cooperate further in ensuring the security and freedom of movement of the personnel of the United Nations, the collective peacekeeping forces and other international personnel, and reminds the parties that the ability of the international community to mobilize and to continue assistance for Tajikistan is linked to the security of those personnel;

9. *Expresses its deep concern* at the precarious humanitarian situation in Tajikistan, and welcomes the assistance provided by Member States, international organizations and humanitarian workers towards the implementation of the General Agreement and in addressing the humanitarian, rehabilitation and development needs of Tajikistan;

10. *Calls upon* Member States and others concerned to make voluntary contributions to launch projects for demobilization and reintegration and to provide support for the elections, and to continue to respond promptly and generously to the consolidated inter-agency appeal for Tajikistan for 1999, and welcomes the preparation of a new appeal for 2000 as a strategic document that will guide a gradual transition to a more development-oriented focus;

11. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the Mission for a period of six months until 15 May 2000;

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed of all significant developments, also requests him to submit after the parliamentary elections and within four months of the adoption of the present resolution an interim report on its implementation, and supports his intention to outline in that report the future political role for the United Nations in assisting Tajikistan to continue on the path of peace and national reconciliation and in contributing to the democratic development of Tajik society after the mandate of the Mission is concluded;

13. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

## 23. The situation in Afghanistan

### **Decision of 15 February 1996 (3631st meeting): statement by the President**

At its 3631st meeting, held on 15 February 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan" in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (United States) invited the representative of Afghanistan, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>1</sup>

The Security Council deeply deplores the continuation of armed hostilities in Afghanistan, which have brought death and

destruction to the people and property of the country and threaten the peace and security of the region.

The Council is particularly concerned about the recent intensification of shelling and air attacks in and around the capital city of Kabul and the blockade of the city, which has prevented the delivery of foodstuffs, fuel and other humanitarian items to its population.

The Council calls upon the parties involved to end the hostilities forthwith and not to obstruct the delivery of humanitarian aid and other needed supplies to the innocent civilians of the city. In this regard, the Council commends the efforts of the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other humanitarian agencies in Afghanistan, which are working under the most trying circumstances, and the airlift of food supplies from Peshawar to Kabul, and urges the international community to continue its support of those life-saving efforts.

The Council is deeply concerned that the continued conflict in Afghanistan provides fertile ground for terrorism,

<sup>1</sup> S/PRST/1996/6.

arms transfers and drug trafficking, which destabilize the whole region and beyond. It calls upon the leaders of the Afghan parties to put aside their differences and to halt such activities.

The Council reaffirms its full support for the efforts of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan to bring about a peaceful solution to the conflict through the establishment of a fully representative, broad-based, authoritative council acceptable to all Afghans. It calls upon all Afghans to cooperate fully with the Special Mission as it works towards this goal.

The Council calls upon all States in a position to do so to take steps to promote peace and stability in Afghanistan, in particular by urging the parties to the conflict to cooperate fully with the Special Mission. It also calls upon all States to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and to prevent the flow to the Afghan parties of weapons and other supplies that can fuel the fighting.

The Council urges the captors of the members of the crew of the Russian aircraft in Kandahar to release them immediately and without any preconditions.

The Council reaffirms its commitment to the full sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan. It reaffirms its readiness to assist the Afghan people in their efforts to return peace and normalcy to their country and it encourages all States, as well as the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and others, to support the efforts of the Special Mission to the same end.

The Council will remain actively seized of the matter.

**Decision of 28 September 1996 (3699th meeting): statement by the President**

At its 3648th meeting, held on 9 April 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Chile) invited the representatives of Afghanistan, Argentina, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, Malaysia, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. He also extended an invitation, under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, to the Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

At the outset, the representative of Afghanistan noted that, over the last four years, "conspirators" and "interventionists" linked to Pakistani military intelligence circles, sometimes in connivance with other outside supporters, had been attempting to overthrow the Government of the Islamic State of Afghanistan and to enthrone a "Pakistani-approved

regime" in Kabul. He stated that since the establishment in April 1992 of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, Pakistani military intelligence circles had been covertly working towards that goal by creating and then supporting the "mercenaries called the Taliban", who claimed to monopolize the absolute truth and righteousness of Islam. He urged the United Nations Special Mission to identify foreign interference as the root cause of the conflict and to recommend effective measures to terminate it; to identify and observe a logical sequence for the stages of the peace process on a pragmatic and realistic basis; and to identify the true nature of the Taliban and reveal their foreign linkage. Rebutting the allegations of Pakistan that the Government of the Islamic State of Afghanistan had been receiving military assistance from certain countries, he said that Afghanistan, as a sovereign State, reserved its legitimate right to seek the assistance — political, moral and humanitarian — of any country in conformity with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. He suggested that a United Nations monitoring post along the borders with Pakistan be established to halt the flow of illicit arms and ammunition into Afghanistan and that a United Nations fact-finding mission should be sent to the provinces controlled by the Taliban.<sup>2</sup>

The representative of China stated that the factions in Afghanistan needed first to implement a ceasefire, establish mutual trust and create conditions for a peaceful settlement. Second, with the assistance of the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the neighbours of Afghanistan, the Afghan parties needed to conduct peaceful negotiations and consultations in order to find a satisfactory solution. He stressed that all countries needed to abide by United Nations resolutions, respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan, refrain from interference in its internal affairs and prevent the transfer of weapons to it.<sup>3</sup>

The representative of Indonesia reaffirmed his delegation's support for the efforts of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan, which offered hope for ending the conflict through the establishment of a broadly based transitional government acceptable to the Afghan people. He stressed that the time had

<sup>2</sup> S/PV.3648. pp. 2-10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

come for the launching of a credible intra-Afghan dialogue to restore peace and stability and he appealed to all States to refrain from engaging in activities that would hamstring the ongoing endeavours for a peaceful solution, especially in preventing the flow of weapons to the parties in conflict.<sup>4</sup>

The representative of the United States underscored that his country favoured none of the factions, movements or individuals currently vying for power in Afghanistan, nor did the United States supply weapons or other military or financial support to any of the factions or movements. He called upon all the Afghan factions and the outside parties that supported them to realize the futility of continuing the conflict. Regarding the proposed arms embargo, he stated that it was worth exploring further if it could be effectively implemented. He also suggested discussing prospects for convening a conference on Afghanistan that could help accelerate the peace process.<sup>5</sup>

The representative of the United Kingdom maintained that the territory of Afghanistan was increasingly used to train terrorists whose activities had consequences far beyond that country's borders. An unstable Afghanistan represented a threat to the stability of the region. Noting that it was of particular concern that foreign interference by countries in the region and beyond, both military and political, had been increasing, he called for an end to the flow of weapons into Afghanistan. Finally, he stressed that peace could not be won by force of arms; it could only be won when the arms were laid down and Afghans themselves accepted that reconciliation was the way forward.<sup>6</sup>

The representative of Botswana stated that it was clear that the situation in Afghanistan posed a serious threat to both regional and international peace and security. He stressed that any solution which did not include the establishment of a ceasefire and negotiations for a new political dispensation would be equally unrealistic.<sup>7</sup>

At its 3650th meeting, held on 9 April 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council resumed consideration of the

item on its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Chile) invited the representatives of Afghanistan, Argentina, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, Malaysia, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The representative of the Russian Federation stressed that the ongoing civil war in Afghanistan posed a grave threat to the security and stability of other states and underscored the need to ensure the security of the borders between Afghanistan and countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and to make certain that the territory of Afghanistan was not used to carry out acts undermining the security and stability of its neighbours. He stated that the United Nations had a fundamental role to play in the process of achieving an Afghan settlement. Welcoming the efforts by other international organizations to promote an Afghan settlement, he stated that his country supported in principle the convening of an international conference on Afghanistan. He further underscored that his country firmly adhered to its policy not to be drawn into the inter-Afghan fighting and expected that all other States would act in a similar fashion.<sup>8</sup>

The representative of France reiterated that no military solution was possible in Afghanistan and stressed the obligation to allow free access to Kabul for humanitarian assistance. He also maintained that if a return to peace was to last, a government needed to be established that was accepted by all the various components of the country.<sup>9</sup>

The representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran noted that his country had hosted more than 2.5 million Afghan refugees and urged the parties to agree on a durable ceasefire and to seek a negotiated solution acceptable to all.<sup>10</sup>

The representative of Pakistan stressed that the consistent position of his Government on the conflict had always been that only a broad-based interim mechanism, in which all factions would participate, could pave the way to a democratic government that alone could provide the necessary durable fabric for

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15

<sup>8</sup> S/PV.3650, pp. 5-6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

the multi-ethnic country. He maintained that much of the strife in Afghanistan could be attributed to the absence of legitimate governance. The massive infusion of weapons and funds from abroad for various political and military factions had compounded the problem and weakened the resolve on the part of the protagonists to seek national reconciliation. He charged that those who accused his country of interfering in Afghanistan knew that Pakistan had refrained from supporting one faction or another. He maintained that the allegations were an attempt to explain away the untenable situation that the factions found themselves in, due to a complete lack of popular support from the Afghan people. He observed that “the nominal central authority” in Afghanistan controlled only 5 of the 32 provinces. Yet, despite its long, self-extended term, it had not been able to obtain the allegiance of those over whom it arrogated to itself the right to govern. On the other hand, the Taliban controlled more than half the country and were locked in a struggle with the nominal central authority. Noting that those opposed to the nominal central authority questioned its legitimacy, he maintained that central to that was the fact that under the Afghan accords of March 1993, the term of the Government in Kabul had expired in June 1994. He expressed support for a representative gathering of the Afghan leaders under United Nations auspices, or under the joint auspices of the United Nations and neighbouring countries, with a view to launching a credible process, involving the transfer of power to a fully representative, broad-based government. Pakistan also favoured a complete ban on weapons and arms supplies to the warring factions. He suggested that the Council consider imposing an embargo to interdict the planeloads of ammunition being flown into Afghanistan. Monitoring the arms and air embargoes would require an effective mechanism, perhaps set up by the United Nations in cooperation with OIC. However, in the view of Pakistan, it would be premature to convene an international conference on Afghanistan. He concluded by welcoming the open debate but maintained that the Security Council had not heard the “true voice” of the Afghan people.<sup>11</sup>

The representative of OIC expressed the belief that the proposal regarding the convening of an intra-Afghan meeting under joint United Nations/OIC sponsorship, to be joined at a later stage by other

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 15-17.

countries directly concerned, provided a viable alternative. He also reiterated that OIC proposals and initiatives provided for no outside interference whatsoever.<sup>12</sup>

The representative of Tajikistan noted with concern that armed attacks were being launched from several regions of Afghanistan across the Tajik-Afghan border.<sup>13</sup>

The representative of India, noting that the spread of terrorism in their region and beyond was a matter of deep concern, argued that United Nations peace efforts should focus on the cessation of hostilities, as well as prevention of foreign interference and outside support for rebel forces.<sup>14</sup>

The representative of Turkmenistan expressed the concern of her Government at the many years of conflict in a neighbouring country with which it shared a boundary of 800 kilometres. Political, economic and cultural links, as well as trade, had always been of great significance for the peoples of the two countries. She said that there were approximately one million of her ethnic compatriots in the territory of Afghanistan. As neighbours, Turkmenistan felt the “hot breath” of the Afghan conflict and the problems that accompanied it. It prevented the realization of the delivery through Afghanistan of sources of energy, which was one of the major potential economic areas for Turkmenistan. She further underlined that the destabilizing effect of the protracted Afghan conflict had also affected the situation throughout the region, in particular the prospect of a speedy inter-Tajik settlement, which had been the subject of ongoing talks under the aegis of the United Nations in Turkmenistan. She further recalled that it was her country that had proposed the initiative of convening an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations on the question of Afghanistan. Referring to the idea of placing an embargo on arms deliveries to Afghanistan, she underlined that such an embargo needed to be covered by an appropriate control mechanism. In conclusion, she stated that it would be an honour for neutral Turkmenistan to host such a conference in its capital, Ashgabat.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-22.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 27-28.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 29-30.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 24-25.

A number of other speakers expressed concern at the deteriorating situation, calling on the parties to renounce violence and end the civil war. They condemned any political or military interference by outside forces in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and reiterated that the situation in Afghanistan constituted a serious threat to international peace and security. Speakers stressed that no military solution was possible in Afghanistan. A number of representatives spoke in support of an expanded mechanism for a fully representative and authoritative council as a way towards national reconciliation or for an international conference to address all aspects of the Afghan question.<sup>16</sup>

At its 3699th meeting, held on 28 September 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Guinea-Bissau) made the following statement on its behalf of the Council:<sup>17</sup>

The Security Council reiterates its grave concern about the military confrontation in Afghanistan.

The Council is also concerned at the violation of the United Nations premises in Kabul and expresses its dismay at the brutal execution by the Taliban of the former President of Afghanistan, Mr. Najibullah, and others who had taken refuge in these premises.

The Council demands that all parties fulfil their obligations and commitments regarding the safety of the United Nations personnel and other international personnel in Afghanistan. It calls upon all Afghans to cooperate fully with the United Nations and associated bodies as well as with other humanitarian organizations and agencies in their efforts to respond to the humanitarian needs of the people of Afghanistan.

The Council reaffirms its commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan. It calls for the immediate cessation of all armed hostilities and urgently calls upon the leaders of the Afghan parties to renounce the use of force, to put aside their differences and to engage in a political dialogue aimed at achieving national reconciliation. The Council also calls upon all States to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-3 (Poland); pp. 3-5 (Egypt); pp. 6-7 (Republic of Korea); pp. 7-8 (Honduras); pp. 8-10 (Italy); pp. 10-11 (Germany); pp. 11-12 (Chile); pp. 14-15 (Japan); pp. 17-19 (Argentina); pp. 22-24 (Tunisia), pp. 24-25 (Turkmenistan); pp. 25-26 (Turkey); pp. 26-27 (Uzbekistan); and pp. 28-29 (Malaysia).

<sup>17</sup> S/PRST/1996/40.

The Council reaffirms its full support for the efforts of the United Nations in Afghanistan, in particular the activities of the United Nations Special Mission. It calls upon all parties to cooperate with the Special Mission which will act as a key and impartial facilitator in order to bring about a peaceful solution to the conflict as soon as possible. The Council calls upon all States to take all steps necessary to promote peace in Afghanistan and to work together with the United Nations to this end.

The Council will continue to follow with close attention developments in Afghanistan.

**Decision of 22 October 1996 (3706th meeting):  
resolution 1076 (1996)**

By a letter dated 8 October 1996 addressed to the Secretary-General,<sup>18</sup> the representatives of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan transmitted the text of a joint statement made on 4 October 1996 by the leaders of their respective countries, in which they stated that the war in Afghanistan posed a direct threat to the national interests and security of their States, as well as the Commonwealth of Independent States as a whole, and requested a special meeting of the Security Council to be held without delay, with the participation of interested countries, with a view to adopting urgent measures to halt the fighting and achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Afghan conflict.

At its 3705th meeting, held on 16 October 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the letter in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Honduras) invited the representatives of Afghanistan, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ireland, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Turkey and Uzbekistan, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. He also extended an invitation, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, to the Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

The President then drew the attention of members of the Council to a note verbale dated 30 September 1996 from the representative of Kazakhstan addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of a statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan, dated 28 September 1996, on the recent

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<sup>18</sup> S/1996/838.

events in Afghanistan;<sup>19</sup> and to a letter dated 9 October 1996 from the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan addressed to the President of the Security Council, on the alleged use of “some type of chemical or internationally banned weapon” by the Taliban.<sup>20</sup>

At the meeting, the representative of Afghanistan stated that Pakistan had been acting as an obstacle to the return of peace and it was for that reason that Afghanistan was turning to the Council, which was entrusted with the responsibility and the task of preserving peace and security, at the regional and international level. He noted that for years, delegations of Afghanistan had complained to the General Assembly and the Security Council about the continuation of foreign intervention in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, the measures taken by the United Nations had been limited to the adoption of resolutions and the issuance of statements, a situation which had encouraged the aggressor to take further measures for the realization of its objective to recruit, train, equip and send “mercenaries called the Taliban” into the territory of Afghanistan. He alleged that since their takeover of Kabul, the Taliban had committed condemnable acts, such as closing schools for girls, forcing women to stay at home and banning television viewing. Afghanistan was asking and urging the United Nations to send a fact-finding mission to Afghanistan where the authorities of Afghanistan would put at its disposal all the hard evidence relating to different aspects of the continued conflict there. The mission should also look into the issue of chemical weapons used against Afghan government troops. In regard to the arms embargo on Afghanistan, he maintained that no Article of the Charter stipulated that such measures should be imposed against the Government of a Member State that was itself the victim of foreign intervention and conspiracies and which was defending its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. He maintained that in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter, Afghanistan had the inherent right to self-defence, and any attempt to prevent Afghanistan from strengthening its defences as a sovereign State would be against the Charter and the interests of peace, stability and security in the region. Afghanistan agreed with the majority of Member States that the Security Council should not adopt any resolution where the

implementation would be exhaustively burdensome and ultimately unattainable. As more than 1,250 kilometres of frontier in the south-east and south of Afghanistan were unguarded, the requirements of implementing an arms embargo on such a basis were not workable. He stated that Afghanistan would observe an immediate ceasefire under the following conditions: first, the Taliban armed forces needed to evacuate the capital immediately; second, their heavy weapons needed to be withdrawn; third, Kabul needed to be recognized as a demilitarized zone; fourth, a police force needed to be formed under the supervision of the United Nations and OIC to ensure the security of Kabul; and fifth, negotiations needed to start in order to pave the way for the formation of an interim government of national unity in the capital city of Kabul. He urged the Council to exert the necessary international pressure on the Taliban to agree to this proposal.<sup>21</sup>

The representative of Kazakhstan stated that the worsening of the situation in Afghanistan and its possible implications for the destabilization of the situation in the Central Asian region had led to the convening on 4 October 1996 of a meeting at Almaty, which had been attended by the leaders of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Those leaders had appealed to the Afghan parties to the conflict, first of all the Taliban, to call an immediate halt to hostilities and to begin to seek ways of achieving national accord. He stated that the United Nations and the Security Council needed to intensify their activities to arrive at the measures necessary to bring a halt to the conflict. Kazakhstan supported the steps taken towards a settlement of the dispute between the Afghan parties exclusively by peaceful means, and supported the preservation of Afghanistan as a single country. He expressed the belief that the United Nations needed to play a fundamental role in that process, with cooperation from interested States.<sup>22</sup>

The representative of Uzbekistan stressed that the conflict in Afghanistan could not be allowed to threaten the stability and national security of neighbouring countries. He expressed alarm that in the midst of a war, the territory remained a place for the massive, uncontrolled production and illegal export of

<sup>19</sup> S/1996/810.

<sup>20</sup> S/1996/842.

<sup>21</sup> S/PV.3705, pp. 2-7.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

drugs. He also expressed the belief that the imposition of an embargo on the delivery of all forms of weapons to Afghanistan was an important element in establishing conditions for the cessation of hostilities and the achievement of peace. The implementation of such measures should not be aimed against any of the Afghan parties but against outside suppliers of weapons. He stressed that all possible means needed to be used to cut off the delivery of the weapons that were being used to fuel the Afghan conflict.<sup>23</sup>

The representative of Kyrgyzstan expressed the belief that it was necessary to make use of all means at the disposal of the United Nations to contain the military and political conflict and to prevent its growth, which would pose a threat to regional security. The position of his delegation was that there needed to be an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the holding, on neutral territory, of negotiations between the parties to the conflict. He stressed that third parties should not interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and that the political process to establish a broad-based interim government needed to be promoted.<sup>24</sup>

The representative of Tajikistan, noting that the Tajik-Afghan border was still an area of particular tension, stated that his country was convinced that if a comprehensive political settlement to the Afghan problem was found, the situation on the southern borders of CIS, and the Tajik stretch of its outer frontier, would stabilize significantly.<sup>25</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation reiterated that it considered the approach of war towards the borders of CIS to be a direct threat to its national interests and security and a threat to stability in the region. He stated that in reaction to the threat there had been an exodus of the population from Kabul — a new wave of refugees and displaced persons. This was a new and serious exacerbation of the internal conflict, which could lead to the collapse of Afghanistan and have highly negative consequences for the stability of the region. He stated that in multinational and multireligious Afghanistan, the only possible option for a solution to the crisis was to achieve an accord based on recognition of the legitimate interests and rights of all groups of the population, and the United Nations

needed to focus its efforts on the achievement of precisely those objectives. He suggested that the Council could adopt a politically authoritative resolution with an appeal to all of the Afghan parties to halt armed action and begin a political dialogue for lasting peace in Afghanistan. He stressed that it was also important for the Council to emphasize the inadmissibility of external interference in Afghan affairs, including the need for any delivery of weapons to be stopped.<sup>26</sup>

The representative of the United Kingdom noted that the kaleidoscope of alliances had shifted markedly in the past few weeks, and that while events were moving so fast it would be a mistake to rush to judgment. He stressed that the aims of the international community needed to be an immediate ceasefire, negotiations between all the parties, and the establishment of a peace process leading to the formation of a broad-based representative government which respected human rights. He stated that the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan (UNSMA) had a critical role in achieving those aims. With regard to the call by the representative of Afghanistan for the dispatch of United Nations fact-finding missions, he noted that there was already a United Nations Special Mission on the ground. He reiterated that Afghanistan had been subjected to interference from outside, which had only served to prolong the conflict. He called for an end to such interference, and an end to the continuing supply of arms and ammunition to the factions. He called on the factions to respect international human rights norms and to act in accordance with those international instruments which Afghanistan had signed and ratified. He concluded by stating that the Security Council and the international community as a whole needed to keep a close watch on the rapidly changing situation in Afghanistan.<sup>27</sup>

The representative of France stated that the situation in Afghanistan showed that the appeals of the Council had not been heard, as the war endangered peace and stability in the entire region. He stressed that France did not intend to take the side of any of the forces in the conflict, but would call for a ceasefire and for dialogue with a view to national reconciliations. He

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

noted that the alternation of alliances and counter-alliances in Afghanistan confirmed that the conflict could not be resolved through weapons but only through a political settlement based on an equitable understanding that respected the interests of all, which required that interference ceased. He also noted that the continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan was creating fertile soil for terrorist activities.<sup>28</sup>

The representative of Egypt stated that the situation in Afghanistan was a protracted and complex problem, whose continuation represented a direct threat to international peace and security. He noted that Afghanistan had fallen victim to a destructive civil war and to intervention in support of the various Afghan factions by foreign powers, which were providing military and other supplies. He further underlined that the effects of the crisis in Afghanistan had turned it into a stronghold for training and exporting extremists, which had spilled the conflict beyond its borders. He recalled that his country had suffered from terrorist activities perpetrated by foreign nationals trained in Afghanistan.<sup>29</sup>

The representative of China stated that the recent changes in the political and military situation of Afghanistan had caused widespread concern among the international community and particularly among the countries neighbouring Afghanistan, which feared that the escalation of the internal conflict in Afghanistan might endanger their border security. His delegation was of the view that what was needed was the realization of genuine national reconciliation, which depended mainly on the parties in Afghanistan. He expressed hope that the parties would soon resolve their political, religious and racial differences, immediately stop armed conflicts in the general interest of the country and nation, and establish through peaceful negotiations, under the auspices of the United Nations and the international community, a broad-based and stable government acceptable to all parties.<sup>30</sup>

The representative of the United States noted that the political and military situation in Afghanistan had been dramatically altered by events but that the position of the United States with respect to that turmoil had not changed. She called on all parties to

stop fighting and to begin negotiations aimed at a political settlement. The United States reiterated its concern about the dangers of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and urged all outside parties to refrain from meddling. She urged the regional Powers and all of the neighbours of Afghanistan to work together with the United Nations to encourage the Afghan parties to move towards peace. She stated that the United States continued to support an arms embargo and urged the international community to establish a process that would unite Afghanistan and lead to a future characterized by stability, economic recovery and law. She emphasized that the United States remained concerned that all parties in Afghanistan respected international human rights standards and that every Member of the United Nations was obliged to uphold the provisions of the Charter, which affirmed the principle of equal rights for men and women.<sup>31</sup>

The representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran expressed the belief that the conflict in Afghanistan had no military solution. In their opinion, there was no justification for the violence and bloodshed in Afghanistan and no faction or State could endorse the ongoing violence in the name of Islam. He stressed that only a broad-based Government free from foreign interference could protect and guarantee the rights of all Afghan people. He stated that his Government was determined to cooperate and coordinate with the neighbouring State of Afghanistan, the United Nations and OIC to bring peace and security to Afghanistan and the region. His delegation had redoubled efforts to convene a regional conference in Tehran with the participation of regional foreign ministers and representatives of the United Nations and of OIC.<sup>32</sup>

The representative of India stated that the eruption of renewed fighting that had led to the fall of Kabul had created a dangerous new situation of great fluidity. He said that Afghanistan had suffered from foreign interference and that there was ample evidence to show that some Afghan parties that had engaged in violent activities had been supported, trained and actively assisted by foreign powers.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 17-18.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-20.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 22-23.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp. 25-26.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 26-27.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 29-30.



The representative of Pakistan stated that Afghanistan was neither a failed State nor engaged in a simple civil war, but was a country that had been systematically ravaged by long years of foreign military occupation. That occupation had been resisted by a heroic people, rooted in fierce nationalism and in strong religious beliefs. He stated that the marked intensification of the conflict was again attributable to the massive foreign interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Prompted by their narrow strategic political interests in Afghanistan, regional and extraregional Powers had again chosen to compound the miseries of the Afghan people by creating alliances and counter-alliances. Instead of a concerted regional and international effort under the auspices of the United Nations for the restoration of peace in Afghanistan, what they were witnessing was a brute power play by those who had no legitimate interest in the unity and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. He stated that the time had come for the Security Council to act decisively for the cause of peace in Afghanistan. Pakistan believed that the Security Council needed to adopt a binding resolution under Chapter VII of the Charter. Pakistan had already circulated to the members of the Council a draft resolution, which would have the Council call for the immediate cessation of all armed hostilities in Afghanistan; demand that all the Afghan parties abide by the ceasefire; and support the efforts of the United Nations Special Mission to promote peace and reconciliation. He stated that Pakistan was committed to supporting the efforts of the United Nations Special Mission, and of the Security Council, to restore peace in Afghanistan.<sup>34</sup>

A number of other speakers expressed concern at the situation, reaffirmed the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Afghanistan, and called on the parties to reach a negotiated political settlement. Several speakers spoke in favour of convening an international conference on the situation in Afghanistan, under the auspices of the United Nations. A number of representatives called for an end to foreign interference in Afghanistan.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 34-36.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-15 (Germany); pp. 16-17 (Indonesia); pp. 18-19 (Botswana); p. 19 (Republic of Korea); pp. 19-20 (Egypt); pp. 20-21 (Italy); pp. 21-22 (Chile); pp. 23-24 (Guinea-Bissau); pp. 24-25 (Poland); pp. 26

At its 3706th meeting, held on 22 October 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Honduras) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution<sup>36</sup> submitted by Germany, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, the United States and Uzbekistan. France, Italy and the Republic of Korea also joined as sponsors of the draft resolution. He also drew the attention to identical letters dated 18 October 1996 from the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Council,<sup>37</sup> containing a list of the names of foreign fighters which had allegedly been fighting alongside the Taliban.

The draft resolution, in its provisional form, as orally revised, was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1076 (1996), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Having considered* the situation in Afghanistan,

*Recalling* the previous statements by the President of the Security Council on the situation in Afghanistan, including the statements of 15 February and 28 September 1996, and the letter dated 22 August 1996 from the President to the Secretary-General,

*Recalling also* General Assembly resolution 50/88 of 19 December 1995,

*Taking note* of the joint declaration made on 4 October 1996 by the leaders of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan concerning developments in Afghanistan,

*Expressing concern* over the continuation and recent intensification of the military confrontation in Afghanistan, which have caused civilian casualties and an increase in refugees and displaced persons and which seriously endanger the stability and peaceful development of the region,

*Deeply concerned* about the discrimination against women and other abuses of human rights in Afghanistan,

(Honduras); pp. 28-29 (Turkey); pp. 29-30 (India); pp. 30-31 (OIC); pp. 31-32 (Japan); pp. 32-33 (Ireland on behalf of the European Union and associated and aligned countries: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia; and Iceland and Norway).

<sup>36</sup> S/1996/865.

<sup>37</sup> S/1996/863.

*Stressing* the need to prevent further civilian casualties, and noting in this context the proposals, *inter alia*, for an immediate ceasefire, exchange of prisoners of war and the demilitarization of Kabul,

*Urging* all Afghan parties to resolve their differences through peaceful means and achieve national reconciliation through political dialogue,

*Stressing* the importance of non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the prevention of the flow of arms and ammunition to all parties to the conflict in Afghanistan,

*Reaffirming its strong commitment* to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan,

*Convinced* that the United Nations, as a universally recognized and impartial intermediary, must continue to play the central role in international efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict,

*Welcoming* the willingness expressed by Member States during the Security Council meeting of 16 October 1996 to support the dialogue among all the parties and to facilitate the negotiations aimed at the political settlement of the conflict,

1. *Calls upon* all Afghan parties immediately to cease all armed hostilities, to renounce the use of force, to put aside their differences and to engage in a political dialogue aimed at achieving national reconciliation and a lasting political settlement of the conflict and establishing a fully representative and broad-based transitional government of national unity;

2. *Stresses* that the main responsibility for finding a political solution to the conflict lies with the Afghan parties;

3. *Calls upon* all States to refrain from any outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, including the involvement of foreign military personnel, to respect the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny and to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Afghanistan;

4. *Also calls upon* all States immediately to end the supply of arms and ammunition to all parties to the conflict in Afghanistan;

5. *Reiterates* that the continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan provides a fertile ground for terrorism and drug trafficking which destabilize the region and beyond, and calls upon the leaders of the Afghan parties to halt such activities;

6. *Expresses its regret* at the civilian casualties inflicted by landmines, and calls upon all parties in Afghanistan to desist from the indiscriminate use of landmines;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in cooperation, as he deems it necessary, with interested States and international organizations, in particular the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to continue his efforts to promote the political process;

8. *Reaffirms its full support* for the efforts of the United Nations, in particular the activities of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan in facilitating the political process towards the goals of national reconciliation and a lasting political settlement with the participation of all parties to the conflict and all segments of Afghan society;

9. *Calls upon* all Afghan parties to cooperate with the Special Mission, and encourages all interested States and international organizations to take all steps necessary to promote peace in Afghanistan, to support the United Nations efforts to this end and to use any influence they have to encourage the parties to cooperate fully with the Special Mission;

10. *Demands* that all parties fulfil their obligations and commitments regarding the safety of United Nations personnel and other international personnel as well as their premises in Afghanistan, not hamper the flow of humanitarian assistance and cooperate fully with the United Nations and associated bodies as well as with other humanitarian organizations and agencies, in their efforts to respond to the humanitarian needs of the people of Afghanistan;

11. *Denounces* the discrimination against girls and women and other violations of human rights and international humanitarian law in Afghanistan, and notes with deep concern possible repercussions on international relief and reconstruction programmes in Afghanistan;

12. *Calls upon* all States and international organizations to extend all possible humanitarian assistance to the civilian population of Afghanistan;

13. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to keep the Security Council regularly informed, on the basis of information received from the Special Mission, on the political, military and humanitarian situation, and to make recommendations on achieving a political settlement;

14. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution by 30 November 1996;

15. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

**Decision of 16 April 1997 (3766th meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 16 March 1997, in response to the request of the Security Council in resolution 1076 (1996) for regular information, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his report on the main developments in Afghanistan.<sup>38</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the situation in Afghanistan remained precarious and might soon deteriorate further with the onset of spring offensives. He noted that despite the

<sup>38</sup> S/1997/240.

continuous suffering of the Afghan people, the warring factions had not heeded the repeated appeals for peace and appeared determined to pursue the military option. However, he remained convinced that a negotiated settlement was the only solution to the conflict and that the United Nations was the most appropriate forum to bring this about. The Secretary-General observed that the international community needed to coordinate its efforts so as to increase international pressure on the Afghan parties to solve the conflict in a peaceful way. To this end, he proposed to convene a meeting of concerned countries in the near future, using the formula that had been used for the meeting held in New York on 18 November 1996, with a view to reassessing the situation and discussing how best to promote a negotiated settlement of the conflict. He took note of the proposals that an intra-Afghan meeting among the warring parties be held outside Afghanistan in order to provide an opportunity for them to talk to each other in a secure environment. He expressed his intention to consult the Afghan parties, Member States and international organizations, in particular OIC, on the advisability of such a meeting.

At its 3765th meeting, held on 14, 15 and 16 April 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Portugal) invited the representatives of Afghanistan, Germany, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Italy, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Tajikistan and Turkey, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. He also extended an invitation, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, to the Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.<sup>39</sup>

At the same meeting, the representative of Afghanistan drew the attention of the Council to the destabilizing effects of the turmoil, which might spill over beyond the border. He claimed that the Taliban was a “mercenary group” which supported international terrorism and sheltered those who financed them. He also accused the Taliban of conducting a “Serbian-style ethnic cleansing” involving 140,000 non-Pashtun Afghans, and alleged that the Taliban had been preparing a “massive attack” against the northern part of the country. He called on the Council to take appropriate measures, including

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<sup>39</sup> S/PV.3765, p. 2 and S/PV.3765 (Resumption 1), p. 2.

sanctions against the Taliban and their supporters, who were supplying arms and logistical support.<sup>40</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that the situation in Afghanistan continued to represent a threat to international peace and security in the region, and was fraught with the danger of a large-scale humanitarian catastrophe. His delegation was deeply concerned over the course of events and urged the Council to constantly follow the situation in Afghanistan and adopt appropriate measures. He further stated that his country was maintaining its useful and productive contacts on Afghanistan with other States in the region, in particular India, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan. The coordinated effort of all concerned States would help in reaching a formula acceptable to all for a settlement in Afghanistan.<sup>41</sup>

The representative of China expressed the belief that the achievement of national reconciliation was the key to a just and lasting settlement of the Afghan question. Stating that the problem had many complex causes, he urged all sides to take account of the fundamental interests of the Afghan people, set aside their political and religious differences and engage in serious negotiations so as to establish a stable, broad-based government acceptable to all sides. He said that his country had hoped that the United Nations could continue to play a central and leading role in seeking a political settlement of this question.<sup>42</sup>

The representative of Egypt called on the Afghan parties to mobilize political will for a negotiated settlement and stressed the need to stop all outside military assistance to the parties.<sup>43</sup>

The representative of the United Kingdom expressed concern that the parties continued to receive arms from foreign countries, despite the clear call of the Council in resolution 1076 (1996) for this to stop.<sup>44</sup>

The representative of France recalled that his country, like its European Union partners, was complying with a full embargo on the supply of weapons to Afghanistan. He stated that the

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<sup>40</sup> S/PV.3765, pp. 2-5.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan could result in the destabilization of the region and could also have adverse consequences for the entire international community. He also noted that many “terrorists” were being sheltered in Afghanistan.<sup>45</sup>

The representative of Japan stated that neighbouring countries should refrain from exercising their influence on the factions involved in order to avoid exacerbating the situation, and repeated its offer to host a meeting between the Afghan parties.<sup>46</sup>

The representative of the United States, responding to claims that the United States had given support to the Taliban, underlined that his country did not support the Taliban or any other group, but neither did his country put blame on the Taliban for the ills of Afghanistan, for which all parties were responsible. He expressed his delegation’s view that the Council needed to remain concerned about the unrelenting flow of weapons and equipment to the warring parties by outside powers. He further noted that the Taliban had brought a modicum of peace to a large part of Afghanistan, but “at a real price”.<sup>47</sup>

The representative of the Netherlands, speaking on behalf of the European Union, called on all Afghan parties to cease hostilities and reaffirmed the central role of the United Nations in international efforts toward a peaceful resolution of the conflict. He urged third parties to refrain from interfering in the conflict and from supplying arms to the warring factions.<sup>48</sup>

The representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran called for a comprehensive approach whereby the views of all parties and all segments of Afghan society would be taken into account, and suggested the demilitarization of Kabul as an important first step to establish a broad-based government.<sup>49</sup>

The representatives of Germany, Italy and Portugal expressed concern about the humanitarian situation, as well as about reported human rights abuses, especially those against women and girls.<sup>50</sup>

The representative of Tajikistan reported that on 5 April 1997, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Central Asia and the Russian Federation had reaffirmed in Dushanbe their readiness to cooperate closely to ensure the security of their southern borders with Afghanistan.<sup>51</sup>

The representative of Pakistan stated that his country had a deep vested interest in peace in Afghanistan. As a consequence of the continued instability in Afghanistan, there were more than 1.5 million refugees in Pakistan. He stressed that his country was also the victim of terrorism, drug trafficking and arms smuggling as a result of conditions inside Afghanistan. He further noted that the Taliban, who controlled Kabul and two thirds of Afghanistan, were a reality and could not be “wished away”. He maintained that the Islamic State of Afghanistan, headed by President Rabbani, had neither de facto control of the capital nor de jure legitimacy, and that the United Nations should adopt the “vacant seat” formula as to the representation of Afghanistan, which had been adopted by OIC. He urged the Security Council to listen to the views of the Taliban in order to have a more balanced view of the situation, possibly under the Arria formula.<sup>52</sup>

At its 3766th meeting, held on 16 April 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Portugal) made the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>53</sup>

The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 16 March 1997 concerning the situation in Afghanistan. It has also considered the views expressed at its 3765th meeting, on 14 and 15 April 1997, on the subject.

The Council expresses its grave concern at the continued fighting in Afghanistan and its intensification in recent months. It reiterates that the continuation of the conflict threatens to destabilize the region and prevents steps towards the formation of a fully representative and broad-based government able to

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-12.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., pp. 18-19.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-20.

<sup>48</sup> S/PV.3765 (Resumption 1), pp. 2-3.

<sup>49</sup> S/PV.3765 (Resumption 1), pp. 7-9.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-10 (Germany); pp. 10-11 (Italy); and pp. 12-13 (Portugal).

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-12.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., pp. 14-15. The Arria formula meetings are informal and confidential gatherings which provide interested Council members an opportunity to engage in a direct dialogue with representatives of Governments and international organizations as well as non-State parties, on matters with which they are concerned and which fall within the purview of responsibility of the Council.

<sup>53</sup> S/PRST/1997/20.

address effectively Afghanistan's acute social and economic problems.

The Council calls upon the Afghan parties to cease immediately all hostile actions and to enter into sustained negotiations. The Council strongly believes that a negotiated settlement is the only solution to the longstanding conflict in this country.

The Council fully supports the United Nations efforts to facilitate national reconciliation in Afghanistan. It is convinced that the United Nations must continue to play the central role in assisting the warring Afghan factions in engaging in a fully-fledged negotiating process on the basis of Council resolution 1076 (1996) and General Assembly resolution 51/195. The Council welcomes the activities of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan and supports further efforts by the Secretary-General to give a new impetus to its work. In this context, it welcomes the holding by the Special Mission of intra-Afghan working group meetings in Islamabad but regrets that these efforts have not yet achieved positive results.

The Council deeply regrets that many important provisions of Council resolution 1076 (1996) and General Assembly resolution 51/195 remain unimplemented. It calls upon all Afghan parties, in particular the Taliban, to abide by these resolutions, to cooperate fully with the Special Mission and to participate in serious and honest negotiations through the good offices of the Mission. The Council urges interested countries to coordinate their activities with those of the Special Mission and to refrain from supporting one Afghan party against another.

The Council welcomes the convening by the Secretary-General of a meeting of concerned countries on 16 April 1997, following the earlier meeting held in New York on 18 November 1996.

The Council takes note of the intention of the Secretary-General to consult the Afghan parties and all those concerned on the advisability of an intra-Afghan meeting at some stage and requests him to put forward a concrete plan if and when he decides that it will contribute to the peace process.

The Council again calls upon all States to end immediately the supply of arms and ammunition to all parties to the conflict in Afghanistan.

The Council reiterates its concern that the continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan provides a fertile ground for terrorism and drug trafficking which destabilize the region and beyond, and calls upon the leaders of the Afghan parties to halt such activities.

The Council is deeply concerned at the worsening of the humanitarian situation, including the displacement of the civilian population. It is also deeply concerned at the discrimination against women and other violations of human rights and of international humanitarian law in Afghanistan. The Council deplores the mistreatment of international humanitarian organizations, which inhibits the ability of the international

community to respond to Afghanistan's pressing humanitarian needs.

The Council welcomes the convening of an International Forum on Assistance to Afghanistan on 21 and 22 January 1997 at Ashgabat and the forthcoming meeting of the Afghanistan Support Group on 21 April 1997 in Geneva. It encourages all States and international organizations to continue to extend all possible humanitarian assistance, which should be distributed equitably throughout the country.

The Council will remain seized of the matter and requests the Secretary-General to continue to keep it regularly informed of the situation in Afghanistan.

**Decision of 9 July 1997 (3796th meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 16 June 1997, in response to the Council's request in resolution 1076 (1996) for regular information, the Secretary-General submitted his report on major developments in Afghanistan.<sup>54</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the situation in Afghanistan remained volatile, with the warring parties bent on resolving their problems through military means rather than through peaceful negotiations. However, the conflict was increasingly being fuelled by strong ethnic feelings between the predominantly Pashtun Taliban, on the one hand, and the Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks, who comprised the opposition camp, on the other. In addition, while all Member States concerned claimed to agree that peace was needed in Afghanistan, it appeared that a number of them were not yet ready to put concerted pressure on the warring factions to stop the civil war. He concluded by urging the Afghan factions to return to the negotiating table immediately. He also called upon the Member States concerned to cease their military support to the warring factions, to seek how best they could contribute to the resolution of the Afghan conflict, and to coordinate their efforts closely with the United Nations.

At its 3796th meeting, held on 9 July 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Sweden) invited the representative of Afghanistan, at its request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President then drew the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 27 May 1997 from the representative of Pakistan addressed to the Secretary-

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<sup>54</sup> S/1997/482.

General, on the decision to recognize the new Government of the Islamic State of Afghanistan;<sup>55</sup> and to identical letters dated 2 and 16 June 1997, respectively, from the representative of Afghanistan addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council, which transmitted the text of the first declaration of the United Islamic and National Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan (UINFSA) dated 12 June 1997, outlining essential concepts and major practical points with regard to the solution of the Afghan conflict.<sup>56</sup>

At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>57</sup>

The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 16 June 1997 concerning the situation in Afghanistan.

The Council expresses its grave concern at the continued escalation of military confrontation in Afghanistan. It calls for an immediate end to the fighting.

The Council calls upon all Afghan parties to return to the negotiating table immediately and to work together towards the formation of a broad-based, fully representative government that will protect the rights of all Afghans and abide by Afghanistan's international obligations.

The Council, taking into account risks of regional destabilization, believes that peace and stability in Afghanistan can best be attained through intra-Afghan political negotiations under United Nations auspices with the active and coordinated assistance of all countries concerned. It urges the Afghan parties and countries concerned to abide by the provisions of relevant resolutions on Afghanistan adopted by the Council and the General Assembly.

The Council stresses that all external interference in Afghan affairs must cease, and, in this context, it calls upon all States to end immediately the supply of arms and ammunition to all parties to the conflict in Afghanistan.

The Council is deeply concerned at the continuing discrimination against girls and women and other violations of human rights, as well as at violations of international humanitarian law.

The Council reiterates that the continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan provides a fertile ground for terrorism and illegal drug production and trafficking, which destabilize the region and beyond, and calls upon the leaders of the Afghan parties to halt such activities.

The Council is deeply concerned at the worsening of the humanitarian situation, including the displacement of the civilian population. In this regard, it calls upon Member States to respond generously to the 1997 United Nations consolidated appeal for emergency humanitarian assistance for Afghanistan.

The Council reaffirms its full support for the efforts of the United Nations in Afghanistan, in particular the activities of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan. It requests the Secretary-General to continue to keep it regularly informed of the situation and his efforts, as well as those of the Special Mission.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

**Decision of 16 December 1997 (3841st meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 14 November 1997, pursuant to resolution 1076 (1996) of 22 October 1996, the Secretary-General submitted his report to the Council on the progress of the United Nations Special Mission in Afghanistan, as well as the main developments in Afghanistan.<sup>58</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General observed that in July 1997, he had appointed Lakhdar Brahimi as his Special Envoy for Afghanistan, whose activities were to be distinguished from those of UNSMA. Based on the findings of his Special Envoy, he noted that Afghanistan, which was once a flashpoint of superpower rivalry, had since become a typical post-cold war regional and ethnic conflict, and had become a place where even responsible local authorities, let alone a central government, had virtually ceased to exist. He stated that the Afghan parties seemed determined to go on fighting, while outside Powers continued to provide material, financial and other support to their respective "clients" inside Afghanistan. In addition, major Powers with potential influence in Afghanistan had yet to demonstrate the necessary degree of determination to move the situation forward. In these circumstances, he stated, it was illusory to think that peace could be achieved. The Secretary-General stressed the need for a solid international framework to address the external aspects of the Afghan question and to bring the Afghan parties to the negotiating table. He stated that the meetings held in New York of countries with influence in Afghanistan,<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> S/1997/894.

<sup>59</sup> The Group of 21 included: China, Egypt, France, Germany, India, Islamic Republic of Iran, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Tajikistan,

<sup>55</sup> S/1997/408.

<sup>56</sup> S/1997/424 and S/1997/463.

<sup>57</sup> S/PRST/1997/35.

as well as those of the immediate neighbours and other countries,<sup>60</sup> were part of his efforts in this direction. Parallel to the international framework, he also expressed his intention to maintain close contact with the warring parties, through UNSMA and at United Nations Headquarters, as well as with other influential Afghan individuals and organizations, with a view to preparing the ground for an intra-Afghan dialogue. He stated that over the past several years, it had become increasingly difficult to justify the continuation of United Nations peace efforts in Afghanistan in the absence of any positive signs suggesting a fundamental change of attitude on the part of those Governments that were capable of contributing decisively to a peaceful solution of the conflict. He maintained that much more needed to be done by Governments, with a greater sense of unity, in order for the peace efforts spearheaded by the United Nations to stand a realistic chance of success.

At its 3841st meeting, held on 16 December 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Costa Rica) invited the representative of Afghanistan, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the President then made the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>61</sup>

The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 14 November 1997 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, which was also considered by the General Assembly.

The Council reiterates its grave concern at the continued military confrontation in Afghanistan, which has caused human suffering and material destruction, which threatens to lead to the disintegration of the country and which represents a growing threat to regional and international peace and security. It deplores the unwillingness of the Afghan warring factions to lay

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Turkey, Turkmenistan, United Kingdom, United States and Uzbekistan, as well as the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

<sup>60</sup> The Group of Eight which was later referred to as the "six plus two" group, comprised the neighbouring countries of Afghanistan — China, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan — as well as the Russian Federation and the United States.

<sup>61</sup> S/PRST/1997/55.

down their arms and cooperate with the United Nations for peace.

The Council stresses that the Afghan conflict has no military solution and that the primary responsibility for finding a peaceful settlement lies with the Afghan parties themselves. It urges all Afghan parties to take genuine confidence-building measures, to agree immediately on a ceasefire, and to engage without preconditions in a political dialogue aimed at achieving national reconciliation, a lasting political settlement of the conflict and the formation of a broad-based, fully representative government that will protect the rights of all Afghans and abide by Afghanistan's international obligations.

The Council deplores the fact that foreign military support to the Afghan parties continued unabated through 1997 and reiterates its call to all States to end immediately the supply of arms, ammunition, military equipment, training or any other military support to all parties to the conflict in Afghanistan, including the involvement of foreign military personnel.

The Council encourages the Secretary-General and Member States to undertake preliminary studies on how an effective arms embargo could be imposed and implemented in a fair and verifiable manner.

The Council insists that the United Nations, as a universally recognized and impartial intermediary, must be given all necessary support so it can continue to play a pivotal, central role in coordinated international efforts, including the efforts of interested countries and organizations, towards a peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict. It believes that peace and stability in Afghanistan can best be attained through intra-Afghan political negotiations under United Nations auspices with the active and coordinated assistance of all countries concerned. The Council reiterates its full support for the activities and mandates of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan and those of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan.

The Council supports the efforts of the Secretary-General aimed at the establishment of a solid international framework in order to address the external aspects of the Afghan question and, in this context, welcomes the convening of meetings of concerned countries as well as those of the immediate neighbours and other countries.

The Council remains deeply concerned at the continuing discrimination against girls and women and other violations of human rights, as well as at violations of international humanitarian law in Afghanistan.

The Council notes with deep concern the reports about mass killings of prisoners of war and civilians in Afghanistan and supports the intention of the Secretary-General to continue to investigate fully such reports.

The Council expresses serious concern over the looting of United Nations premises and food supplies and deliberate restrictions placed on the access of humanitarian organizations

to some parts of the country and on other humanitarian operations, and urges all parties to prevent their recurrence.

The Council reiterates that the continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan provides a fertile ground for terrorism and illegal drug production and trafficking which destabilize the region and beyond, and calls upon the leaders of the Afghan parties to halt such activities.

The Council requests the Secretary-General to continue to keep it regularly informed about the situation in Afghanistan and his efforts.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

**Decision of 6 April 1998 (3869th meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 17 March 1998, pursuant to resolution 1076 (1996), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.<sup>62</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the Afghan tragedy continued, as the factions, supported by the uninterrupted supply of arms from outside of the territory, kept fighting in defiance of the will of the vast majority of the Afghan people. Foreign interference by countries in the region and beyond in the form of political and military support of one faction or another, reinforced the reluctance of the faction leaders to engage in serious political dialogue with one another. He remained convinced that the United Nations and Member States must seriously consider the external aspects of the Afghan question and attempt to address them in earnest. Those countries concerned needed to also find a common approach to the Afghan question and to agree on measures to curb the flow of arms and other war-making materials into Afghanistan. As part of those efforts, the "six plus two" group<sup>63</sup> had held its fourth meeting on 3 March 1998 and finalized the common talking points on Afghanistan,<sup>64</sup> which were to be used by them individually and collectively when they consulted the Afghan factions.

At its 3869th meeting, held on 6 April 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the above report of

the Secretary-General on its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Japan) invited the representative of Afghanistan, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>65</sup>

The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 17 March 1998 concerning the situation in Afghanistan.

The Council expresses its grave concern at the continued Afghan war, which is a serious threat to regional and international security and causes extensive human suffering, further destruction, refugee flows and other forcible displacement of large numbers of people.

The Council is concerned by the increasingly ethnic nature of the conflict, by reports of persecution based on ethnicity, and by the threat this poses to the unity of the Afghan State.

The Council urges all Afghan parties to stop the fighting, to agree immediately on a ceasefire, and to engage without preconditions in a political dialogue aimed at achieving national reconciliation, a lasting political settlement of the conflict, which has no military solution, and the formation of a broad-based fully representative government.

The Council reaffirms its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan, and respect for its cultural and historical heritage.

The Council deplores the fact that foreign interference in Afghanistan continues unabated in the form of the supply of war-making materials to the factions. It also deplores the active political and military support from outside Afghanistan to the factions, thereby reinforcing the reluctance of faction leaders to engage in serious political dialogue with one another. The Council reiterates its call to all States to stop such interference immediately.

The Council notes with concern that all the Afghan parties have been actively engaged in arms replenishment throughout the last months, warns the conflicting parties that the resumption of large-scale fighting will seriously undermine the attempts of the international community to assist them in finding a political solution to the conflict and urges them to live up to their declared desire for such a solution.

The Council reiterates its position that the United Nations, as a universally recognized intermediary, must continue to play its central and impartial role in international efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict and extends its full support for the activities of the United Nations Special

<sup>62</sup> S/1998/222.

<sup>63</sup> China, Islamic Republic of Iran, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, as well as Russian Federation and United States. See also decision of 9 July 1997.

<sup>64</sup> S/1998/222, annex.

<sup>65</sup> S/PRST/1998/9.



Mission to Afghanistan and those of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan, particularly in his current mission in the region.

The Council commends the consolidation of the process, initiated by the Special Envoy with the convening of the “six plus two” group, and calls upon all countries involved in it to continue to participate in its work in good faith, including in the discussion to devise effective and impartial ways to curb the flow of arms and other war-making materials into Afghanistan. The Security Council welcomes the support of other Member States for this process.

The Council is deeply concerned by the deteriorating security conditions for United Nations and humanitarian personnel and calls upon all Afghan factions, in particular the Taliban, to take necessary steps to assure their safety.

The Council remains deeply concerned at the continuing discrimination against girls and women and other violations of human rights as well as violations of international humanitarian law in Afghanistan.

The Council supports the steps of the Secretary-General to launch investigations into alleged mass killings of prisoners of war and civilians in Afghanistan, the outcome of which will be submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council as soon as it becomes available.

The Council is also concerned with the sharp deterioration of the humanitarian situation in several areas in Central and Northern Afghanistan, which is caused by the Taliban-imposed blockade of the Bamyan region remaining in place despite appeals by the United Nations and several of its Member States to lift it, as well as by the lack of supplies coming in from the northern route owing to insecurity and looting. The Council strongly urges the Taliban to let the humanitarian agencies attend to the needs of the population.

The Council reiterates that the continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan provides a fertile ground for terrorism and illegal drug production and trafficking, which destabilize the region and beyond, and calls upon the leaders of the Afghan parties to halt such activities.

The Council will remain seized of the matter and requests the Secretary-General to continue to keep it regularly informed of the situation in Afghanistan.

**Decision of 14 July 1998 (3906th meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 19 June 1998, pursuant to resolution 1076 (1996), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.<sup>66</sup> In

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<sup>66</sup> S/1998/532.

his report, the Secretary-General observed with concern the start of the spring offensive as well as the suspension in early May 1998 of the full-fledged talks among the warring factions, which had been started earlier in Islamabad as part of the “ulema process”. Those alarming developments were further evidence that, despite their claim to the contrary, the Afghan factions were not ready for serious peace talks, but were determined to pursue the “mirage” of the military option. He regretted that some countries in the region, which supported one Afghan faction or another, were supplying armaments to them despite repeated appeals by the international community. He believed that a major handicap to the peacemaking efforts remained the absence of a coherent approach to the problem, as well as a lack of political will on the part of those countries with influence on the warring factions. He noted with concern that, to date, those players had not been able to rise above their national interests and consider the Afghan question in terms of the interests of the region as a whole nor had agreed on a common platform for the settlement of the conflict. In addition to appealing to the Afghan factions to return to the negotiating table, the Secretary-General called upon the regional powers to intensify their contacts among themselves on Afghanistan. He also called on those that were not directly involved, but were nevertheless concerned, to assist the United Nations in encouraging talks among the regional powers.

At its 3906th meeting, held on 14 July 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda.

At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>67</sup>

The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 19 June 1998 concerning the situation in Afghanistan of 19 June 1998.

The Council reaffirms its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan, and respect for its cultural and historical heritage. It reiterates its concern at the increasingly ethnic nature of the conflict, and at the continuing threat this poses to the unity of the Afghan State.

The Council expresses its grave concern at the continued Afghan conflict, which is a serious threat to regional and

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<sup>67</sup> S/PRST/1998/22.

international security, and causes extensive human suffering, further destruction, refugee flows and other forcible displacement of large numbers of people.

The Council deplors the fact that military support, including the supply of arms and other related materiel, from outside Afghanistan to the warring factions continues unabated, despite repeated pleas to halt it made by the Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General. It reiterates its call to all States, in particular those in the region, to cease such interference immediately.

The Council considers it necessary that more active efforts be undertaken under the aegis of the United Nations and with the participation of interested countries aimed at a peaceful settlement of the Afghan conflict, taking into account the interests of all ethnic and religious groups and political forces involved therein.

The Council deplors the breakdown of the intra-Afghan talks in Islamabad and calls upon the parties to respect the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Afghans, to stop the fighting, to return without delay and preconditions to the negotiating table and to engage in a political dialogue aimed at achieving national reconciliation, a lasting political settlement of the conflict, which has no military solution, and the formation of a broad-based fully representative government. As an initial step towards that goal, the Council calls upon the parties to agree immediately on a ceasefire, an exchange of prisoners, and the lifting of all restrictions on the shipments of humanitarian supplies throughout the country.

The Council reiterates its position that the United Nations, as a universally recognized intermediary, must continue to play its central and impartial role in international efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict, and extends its full support for the activities of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan and those of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan.

The Council takes note of the assessment of the Secretary-General that *loya jirgah* as an informal, time-honoured Afghan method of settling disputes, advocated by some leaders of non-warring Afghan factions, continues to deserve attention, and encourages the Special Mission to continue to maintain useful contacts with them.

The Council commends the work of the "six plus two" group and calls upon all countries involved in the group to continue to participate in good faith with the aim of elaborating, on the basis of the agreed talking points, a coherent approach to the peacemaking efforts in Afghanistan, including the problem of curbing the flow of arms and other related materiel into Afghanistan in an effective and even-handed manner. It welcomes and encourages the additional support of other Member States for this process.

The Council urges all Afghan factions to cooperate fully with the Special Mission and international humanitarian organizations and calls upon them, in particular the Taliban, to

take all necessary steps to assure the safety and freedom of movement of such personnel.

The Council acknowledges the signing of the memorandum of understanding between the United Nations and the Taliban on humanitarian issues and stresses the importance of its full implementation, including full respect for immunities of United Nations staff and for the assistance of the United Nations in health and education. Noting that some of the obstacles to the provision of assistance to Hazarajat have been overcome, it nevertheless remains concerned at the continuing use by the Taliban of United Nations humanitarian aid as a weapon against the Hazara and demands that this practice cease immediately. The Council also remains concerned at the lack of supplies coming from the northern route due to insecurity and looting. It calls upon all Afghan factions to lift unconditionally any blockade of humanitarian relief supplies.

The Council is concerned at recent reports of harassment of humanitarian organizations and at the unilateral decision by the Taliban to relocate humanitarian organizations' offices in Kabul. It calls upon all factions to facilitate the work of humanitarian agencies to the greatest extent possible.

The Council remains deeply concerned at the continuing discrimination against girls and women and other violations of human rights as well as violations of international humanitarian law in Afghanistan.

The Council supports the steps of the Secretary-General to launch investigations into alleged mass killings of prisoners of war and civilians in Afghanistan, the outcome of which will be submitted to the General Assembly and the Council as soon as it becomes available.

The Council reiterates that the continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan provides a fertile ground for terrorism and illegal drug production and trafficking which destabilize the region and beyond, and calls upon the leaders of the Afghan parties to halt such activities.

The Council will remain seized of the matter and requests the Secretary-General to continue to keep it regularly informed of the situation in Afghanistan.

**Decision of 6 August 1998 (3914th meeting):  
statement by the President**

At its 3914th meeting, held on 6 August 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council resumed consideration of the item on its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Slovakia) invited the representative of Afghanistan, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>68</sup>

The Security Council expresses its grave concern at the new sharp escalation of the military confrontation in Afghanistan, which is a growing threat to regional and international peace and security, and demands an urgent and unconditional ceasefire leading to a final end to the hostilities.

The Council reiterates that the Afghan crisis can be settled only by peaceful means, through direct negotiations between the Afghan factions under United Nations auspices, aimed at achieving mutually acceptable solutions accommodating the rights and interests of all ethnic, religious and political groups of Afghan society.

The Council calls upon all Afghan parties to return to the negotiating table without delay and preconditions and to cooperate with the aim of creating a broad-based and fully representative government, which would protect the rights of all Afghans and observe the international obligations of Afghanistan. The Council calls upon all States neighbouring Afghanistan and other States with influence in Afghanistan to intensify their efforts under the aegis of the United Nations to bring the parties to a negotiated settlement.

The Council demands that the Afghan parties and those countries concerned observe fully the provisions of the relevant resolutions on Afghanistan adopted by the General Assembly and the Council.

The Council calls upon all States to refrain from any outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, including the involvement of foreign military personnel. It reiterates that any such interference from abroad should cease immediately and calls upon all States to end the supply of arms and ammunition to all parties to the conflict and to take resolute measures to prohibit their military personnel from planning and participating in combat operations in Afghanistan.

The Council is deeply concerned at the serious humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan. It calls upon all Afghan parties and, in particular, the Taliban, to take the necessary steps to secure the uninterrupted supply of humanitarian aid to all in need of it and in this connection not to create impediments to the activities of the United Nations humanitarian agencies and international humanitarian organizations. The Council condemns the killing of the two Afghan staff members of the World Food Programme and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Jalalabad.

The Council once again urges all Afghan factions to cooperate fully with the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan and international humanitarian organizations and calls upon them, in particular the Taliban, to take the necessary steps to assure the safety and freedom of movement of such personnel. The Council deplors the measures taken by the

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<sup>68</sup> S/PRST/1998/24.

Taliban which have made it impossible for nearly all international humanitarian organizations to continue their work in Kabul. It supports the efforts of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in its current talks with the Taliban in order to ensure adequate conditions for the delivery of aid by humanitarian organizations.

The Council remains deeply concerned at the continuing discrimination against girls and women and other violations of human rights as well as violations of international humanitarian law in Afghanistan.

The Council calls upon all parties to respect international conventions regarding the treatment of prisoners of war and the rights of non-combatants.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

**Decision of 28 August 1998 (3921st meeting):  
resolution 1193 (1998)**

At its 3921st meeting, held on 28 August 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Slovakia) invited the representatives of Afghanistan, Austria, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkey and Uzbekistan, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution, submitted by Costa Rica, France, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Portugal, the Russian Federation, Slovenia, Sweden, Tajikistan, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States and Uzbekistan.<sup>69</sup>

At the outset, the representative of Austria, speaking on behalf of the European Union and the associated and aligned countries,<sup>70</sup> noted with concern the escalation of the conflict in Afghanistan and called on all factions to cease hostilities and engage in negotiations under United Nations auspices. He expressed concern about the consequences of the latest fighting for the Hazara and strongly urged the Taliban to refrain from all acts of violence, especially against the civilian population. He reiterated that there was no military solution to the Afghan conflict, and that only a political settlement aimed at the establishment of a fully representative, broad-based government, could

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<sup>69</sup> S/1998/810.

<sup>70</sup> S/PV.3921, p. 2 (Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia; and Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway).

lead to peace and reconciliation. The European Union strongly deplored the fact that third parties, instead of using their influence on the warring factions to support the efforts to restore peace, continued to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan by supplying the factions with weapons and other materiel. In this connection, the European Union wished to reaffirm its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan. It strongly urged that all kind of strategic and military support to Afghan factions, including involvement of foreign military personnel, needed to cease. He further underlined that the European Union continued to enforce the embargo on the export of arms, munitions and military equipment. Finally, he stated that the conflict in Afghanistan continued to threaten peace and security and stability in the whole region with the trafficking of drugs as well as providing terrorist bases and training camps. The conflict's repercussions reached far beyond Afghanistan and its neighbours and caused serious damage to States Members of the European Union.<sup>71</sup>

The representative of Pakistan stated that no other country had suffered more from the conflict in Afghanistan than Pakistan. As a consequence of continued instability in Afghanistan, Pakistan continued to host more than 1.5 million refugees, and had also been the victim of terrorism, drug trafficking and arms smuggling. He stressed that his country's consistent policy had been the promotion of a peaceful and negotiated settlement in Afghanistan, and had been the only country that had engaged with all the sides in the conflict. He stressed that, while the military fortunes or misfortunes of any of the parties were purely an internal affair of the Afghan people, the new ground realities could not be ignored by the international community. He expressed the belief that there was a distinct possibility for the restoration of peace in Afghanistan. His delegation had been encouraged by the positive pronouncements made by the Afghan authorities in Kabul: that they would grant amnesty to all who surrendered; and that the local commanders were under strict instructions not to indulge in revenge killings. He stressed that the recent air strikes by the United States in Afghanistan against alleged terrorist targets were likely to complicate the situation. In dealing with terrorism, recourse to any

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-4.

means other than established principles and international norms was likely to have a negative effect. It could "spiral out of control" and further complicate matters in a vicious circle of action and retaliation. He stated that the time had now come "for the international community to engage with the authorities in Kabul" and that there was an urgent need for the opening of an effective channel of communication with the "true representatives of Afghanistan and its people". He appealed to the international community to accord formal recognition to the Government in Kabul. The Afghanistan seat at the United Nations needed to be assumed by the "true representatives of the people" and the "non-existing regime of northern Afghanistan" needed to cease to occupy the United Nations seat.<sup>72</sup>

The representative of Tajikistan stated that the leadership of the Taliban movement had been banking on a military solution to the Afghan problem with the direct and massive support from outside, and that this was a source of apprehension regarding possible armed actions by the Taliban on the Tajik-Afghan border. Expressing concern over the reports regarding "glaring" violations of human rights and international law in Afghanistan, he noted that his country did not exclude the possibility of an uncontrollable surge of Afghan refugees into Tajikistan. He stressed that the events in the north of Afghanistan confirmed the timeliness of the decision to establish a Russian Federation-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan "troika" to counteract religious extremism, which could have a highly negative effect on the peace process in Tajikistan. There was a need for urgent practical steps on the part of the United Nations aimed at stepping up assistance for a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan, such as holding high-level meetings in the region for representatives of States Members of the "six plus two" group to consider a concrete plan for a settlement to the conflict.<sup>73</sup>

The representative of India stated that peace and stability in Afghanistan were in the security interest of India, as they were for almost all of the neighbours of Afghanistan. In respecting the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan, India was concerned that all the evidence pointed to a de facto invasion of Afghanistan by foreign military

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-6.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-7.

forces in support of the Taliban. The fighting in Afghanistan was both exploiting and heightening ethnic differences. If this continued, the unity and independence of Afghanistan would be in danger and, if Afghanistan unravelled, the impact would be felt across the region. He further noted that “ruthless terrorist organizations” had used Afghanistan as a base to recruit, train and harbour operatives who were sent abroad to “carry out atrocities”. That was an issue of particular concern to India as it had been the victim of State-sponsored, cross-border terrorism.<sup>74</sup>

The representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran stated that, as a neighbour, Iran was seriously concerned about the following threats: the continued violence close to its borders; the danger of violence and conflict spilling over into its territory; the flow of more refugees as a result of the escalation of the conflict and of displacement by the Taliban of groups of the Afghan population on ethnic and religious grounds; the escalation of drug cultivation and trafficking; and the continued presence and activities of terrorist elements and terrorist organizations in that country. He further expressed concern about the fate of the personnel of the Iranian Consulate-General in Mazar-e-Sharif, which had been seized by the Taliban.<sup>75</sup>

The representative of Uzbekistan expressed concern that the continuing military action in Afghanistan posed a major threat to international and regional peace and security, particularly in the region of Central Asia. He noted that one of the main concerns of his Government was the continuing supply of arms and ammunition to the parties to the Afghan conflict and the unabated foreign interference in Afghanistan. Furthermore, Uzbekistan believed that the United Nations needed to play a central and impartial role in international efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict. He also reiterated his delegation’s position that the activities of the “six plus two” group were a very important part of the achievement of a peaceful resolution to the Afghan conflict. In conclusion, he reaffirmed the proposal of his Government that a meeting of the “six plus two” group be held in the region.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*; see also S/1998/776.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

The representative of Afghanistan maintained that the statement by the delegation of Pakistan was “nothing but a commitment to the pursuit of a policy of intervention and hegemony based on Pakistan’s attitude of blatancy and impunity towards Afghanistan”. He stated that some elements killed in the United States missile strikes on the terrorist camps in eastern Afghanistan had been “identified by both intelligence sources and the world news media as Pakistani nationals, either plain-clothes army officers of the Pakistani Government or members of the organizations based in Pakistan evidently engaged in terrorist activities worldwide”. He underscored that only an immediate halt to the Pakistani interventions in Afghanistan, and thereby the establishment of a broad-based, fully representative Government in the country, would lead to an early return of lasting peace and civility.<sup>77</sup>

At the resumption of the same meeting, the representative of the Russian Federation stated that the Taliban had undertaken another attempt by force of arms to extend their control over the entire territory of Afghanistan. This new phase of the civil war was destabilizing the situation in the entire region of Central Asia and beyond. It created a direct threat to the southern borders of CIS. Noting that the military expansion of the Taliban movement in the northern region of Afghanistan was being carried out with direct external assistance and the involvement of military personnel, he stressed that foreign interference in the Afghan conflict needed to cease. His delegation was deeply concerned about ethnic and religious-based persecution, ethnically motivated acts of forced displacement of large segments of the population and violations of international conventions relating to the treatment of prisoners of war and of the rights of persons not involved in combat. In conclusion, he stressed that his delegation was convinced that there could be no military solution to the Afghan conflict. He strongly supported efforts aimed at a political settlement in Afghanistan that responded to the interests of all Afghans.<sup>78</sup>

The representative of China noted that Afghanistan was a multi-ethnic country whose ethnic disputes had deep historical roots. That, in addition to

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>78</sup> S/PV.3921 (Resumption), pp. 2-3.

the involvement of outside forces, had made the situation in Afghanistan even more complex. He expressed the belief that any military advance was temporary. Both the history and the realities of Afghanistan had demonstrated that military means were not helpful to finding a solution. He maintained that the resumption of negotiations among all the factions in Afghanistan, under United Nations auspices, was the only way to a solution of the conflict in Afghanistan.<sup>79</sup>

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that the recent fighting had threatened the peace and stability of the region. He reiterated that only a political settlement negotiated between the factions and accommodating the rights and interests of all Afghans could achieve a durable peace. His delegation strongly supported the demand that the Afghan factions stop fighting and enter urgently into negotiations, under United Nations auspices, aimed at creating a fully representative, broad-based government. He stressed that the worrying aspect of the current situation was the increasingly ethnic nature of the conflict. He also stressed that his country remained deeply concerned by continuing reports of outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.<sup>80</sup>

The representative of France, recalling resolution 1076 (1996), reiterated that the Afghan parties needed to put an end to hostilities without delay and without preconditions and engage in true political dialogue aimed at achieving national reconciliation. He stressed that outside interference, especially in the form of arms supplies, needed to cease.<sup>81</sup>

The representative of the United States emphasized that no faction in Afghanistan could impose its will on the entire country through military action. A lasting settlement could be achieved only by establishing a representative and broad-based multi-ethnic Government that could effectively govern and honour the international obligations of Afghanistan. He called on the Afghan factions to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian aid by the United Nations and non-governmental organizations and urged the Afghan factions to cease all assistance to terrorists, including providing sanctuary, and to expel them from

Afghanistan. He asked the neighbours of Afghanistan to not interfere or take any actions that could further inflame the conflict at that critical time.<sup>82</sup>

A number of other speakers expressed grave concern at the situation in Afghanistan, particularly the violations of human rights. They stressed that political dialogue and a broad-based government in which all groups were represented remained the only solution to the conflict.<sup>83</sup>

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1193 (1998), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Having considered* the situation in Afghanistan,

*Recalling* its resolution 1076 (1996) of 22 October 1996 and the statements by the President of the Security Council on the situation in Afghanistan,

*Recalling also* General Assembly resolutions 52/211 A and B of 19 December 1997,

*Expressing its grave concern* at the continued Afghan conflict which has recently escalated sharply as a result of the offensive by the Taliban forces in the northern parts of the country, causing a serious and growing threat to regional and international peace and security, as well as extensive human suffering, further destruction, refugee flows and other forcible displacement of large numbers of people,

*Concerned* by the increasingly ethnic nature of the conflict, by reports of ethnicity and religion-based persecution, particularly against the Shiites, and by the threat this poses to the unity of the Afghan State,

*Reaffirming its strong commitment* to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan, and its respect for its cultural and historical heritage,

*Deploring* the fact that despite repeated pleas by the Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General to halt foreign interference in Afghanistan, including the involvement of foreign military personnel and the supply of arms and ammunition to all parties in the conflict, such interference continues unabated,

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>83</sup> S/PV.3921, p. 10 (Turkey) and pp. 11-12 (Kazakhstan); S/PV.3921 (Resumption), pp. 3-4 (Portugal); pp. 5-6 (Japan); p. 6 (Kenya); pp. 7-8 (Sweden); p. 8 (Bahrain); pp. 8-9 (Costa Rica); pp. 9-10 (Brazil); pp. 10-11 (Gambia); and pp. 11-12 (Slovenia).

*Reiterating its view* that the United Nations must continue to play its central and impartial role in international efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict,

*Deeply concerned* at the serious humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan, and deploring in this regard the measures taken by the Taliban which resulted in the evacuation of the United Nations humanitarian personnel from Afghanistan, and expressing hope for their early return under conditions of security,

*Expressing its grave concern* at the capture by the Taliban of the Consulate-General of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Mazar-e-Sharif and at the fate of the personnel of the Consulate-General and of other Iranian nationals missing in Afghanistan,

*Deeply disturbed* by the deteriorating security conditions for United Nations and other international and humanitarian personnel,

*Deeply concerned* at the continuing presence of terrorists in the territory of Afghanistan and at the production and trafficking of drugs,

*Remaining deeply concerned* at the continuing discrimination against girls and women and at other violations of human rights and of international humanitarian law in Afghanistan,

1. *Reiterates* that the Afghan crisis can be settled only by peaceful means, through direct negotiations between the Afghan factions under United Nations auspices, aimed at achieving a solution accommodating the rights and interests of all Afghans, and stresses that territorial gains through military operations will neither lead to a durable peace in Afghanistan, nor contribute to a comprehensive settlement of the conflict in this multicultural and multi-ethnic country;

2. *Demands* that all Afghan factions stop fighting, resume negotiations without delay and preconditions, and cooperate with the aim of creating a broad-based and fully representative government, which would protect the rights of all Afghans and would observe the international obligations of Afghanistan;

3. *Reiterates once again* that any outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan should cease immediately, and calls upon all States to take resolute measures to prohibit their military personnel from planning and participating in military operations in Afghanistan and immediately to end the supply of arms and ammunition to all parties to the conflict;

4. *Calls upon* all States neighbouring Afghanistan and other States with influence in the country to intensify their efforts under the aegis of the United Nations to bring the parties to a negotiated settlement;

5. *Reaffirms its full support* for the efforts of the United Nations, in particular the activities of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan and those of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan, in facilitating the political process towards the goals of national reconciliation and

a lasting political settlement with the participation of all parties to the conflict and all segments of Afghan society;

6. *Condemns* the attacks on the United Nations personnel in the Taliban-held territories of Afghanistan, including the killing of the two Afghan staff members of the World Food Programme and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Jalalabad, and of the Military Adviser to the Special Mission in Kabul, and calls upon the Taliban to investigate urgently these heinous crimes and to keep the United Nations informed about the results of the investigation;

7. *Demands* that all Afghan factions and, in particular, the Taliban, do everything possible to assure the safety and freedom of movement of the personnel of the United Nations and other international and humanitarian personnel;

8. *Condemns* the capture of the Consulate-General of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Mazar-e-Sharif, and demands that all parties and, in particular, the Taliban, do everything possible to ensure safe and dignified passage out of Afghanistan of the personnel of the Consulate-General and other Iranian nationals missing in Afghanistan;

9. *Urges* all Afghan factions and, in particular, the Taliban, to facilitate the work of the international humanitarian organizations and to ensure unimpeded access and adequate conditions for the delivery of aid by such organizations to all in need of it;

10. *Appeals* to all States, organizations and programmes of the United Nations system, specialized agencies and other international organizations to resume the provision of humanitarian assistance to all in need of it in Afghanistan as soon as the situation on the ground permits;

11. *Expresses its readiness* to call, on a priority basis, for all possible financial, technical and material assistance for the reconstruction of Afghanistan once the conditions are established by the achievement of a lasting peaceful solution of the Afghan conflict, and for the voluntary, safe and secure return of refugees and internally displaced persons;

12. *Reaffirms* that all parties to the conflict are bound to comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law and, in particular, the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and that persons who commit or order the commission of grave breaches of the Conventions are individually responsible in respect of such breaches;

13. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue investigations into alleged mass killings of prisoners of war and civilians as well as ethnicity-based forced displacement of large groups of the population and other forms of mass persecution in Afghanistan, and to submit the reports to the General Assembly and the Council as soon as they become available;

14. *Urges* the Afghan factions to put an end to the discrimination against girls and women and to other violations of human rights, as well as violations of international

humanitarian law, and to adhere to the internationally accepted norms and standards in this sphere;

15. *Demands* that the Afghan factions refrain from harbouring and training terrorists and their organizations and halt illegal drug activities;

16. *Reminds* all parties of the obligation to abide strictly by the decisions of the Council, and expresses its firm intention, in accordance with its responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations, to consider such further steps as may be required for the implementation of the present resolution;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to keep it regularly informed of the situation in Afghanistan;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

**Decision of 15 September 1998 (3926th meeting): statement by the President**

At its 3926th meeting, held on 15 September 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>84</sup>

The Security Council strongly condemns the murder of Iranian diplomats in Afghanistan by Taliban combatants. This was a crime committed in flagrant violation of international law and despite repeated assurances by the Taliban leaders guaranteeing the safety and security of the personnel of foreign missions in Mazar-e-Sharif. The killing of Iranian diplomats by Taliban combatants has seriously increased tension in the region.

The Council expresses its deepest condolences to the families of the Iranian diplomats and to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It believes that this criminal act should be fully investigated with the participation of the United Nations with a view to prosecuting those responsible. The Council demands that the Taliban release other Iranians detained in Afghanistan and ensure their safe and dignified passage out of Afghanistan without further delay.

The Council recalls its condemnation of the murders of members of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan and the personnel of humanitarian agencies in areas controlled by the Taliban and demands that these crimes be investigated and the Taliban ensure the safety and security of all international personnel.

The Council expresses its deep concern at the escalating military operations in the Bamyán province and at reports of mass killings of civilians in northern Afghanistan. It demands that the Taliban fully respect international humanitarian law and human rights.

<sup>84</sup> S/PRST/1998/27.

The Council calls upon all concerned to exercise maximum restraint. It also calls upon the parties, in particular the Taliban, to take action in response to the strong concerns expressed by the international community, to stop fighting and resume negotiations aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement of the conflict on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Council.

The Council will keep the situation under close review and is prepared to consider urgently further action.

**Decision of 8 December 1998 (3952nd meeting): resolution 1214 (1998)**

On 23 November 1998, pursuant to resolution 1193 (1998), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.<sup>85</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General noted that Afghanistan, once a flashpoint of superpower rivalry, had become the stage for a new, regional version of the “Great Game”, in which the economic and security interests of the country’s neighbours and their supporters were played out. A vicious cycle had developed in which the inability of the Afghan factions to agree to a political settlement was both the cause and the effect of persistent outside interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. He stated that the Taliban had taken control of most of the country and the anti-Taliban coalition, with the exception of the fighters under the command of Ahmed Shah Massoud, appeared to have been largely eliminated as a viable fighting force. He further said that the success of the Taliban on the battlefield appeared to have diminished the willingness of some parties to negotiate further and had also increased the prospect of a deeper regionalization of the conflict. The Secretary-General remained convinced that a durable settlement could be achieved only through a ceasefire and the start of a political dialogue among the Afghans leading to national reconciliation. While appreciating the “six plus two” group as a useful forum to discuss the Afghan issues, he stated that he was somewhat disappointed “by the failure of some of those countries to narrow their differences and to cease supplying the weapons and other war materiel that fuel the conflict in Afghanistan”. At that juncture, he welcomed the proposal to convene a ministerial meeting of the group in Tashkent, with the participation of all major Afghan

<sup>85</sup> S/1998/1109.



factions. The Secretary-General welcomed the success of his Special Envoy in defusing a possible military confrontation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Taliban during the envoy's recent visit to the region, following the murder of the Iranian diplomats and the journalist in Mazar-e-Sharif in August 1998. Expressing concern at reports of mass killings and other forms of gross violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, he proposed to establish a separate civil affairs unit in UNSMA, with the primary objective of promoting respect for humanitarian standards and deterring future violations of human rights.

By a letter dated 23 November 1998,<sup>86</sup> the Secretary-General informed the Council of his intention, with the agreement of the Council, to establish a Civil Affairs Unit within UNSMA and proposed to send an assessment mission to Afghanistan in order to determine the exact mandate, composition and location of the civil monitors.

At its 3952nd meeting, held on 8 December 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General and the letter dated 23 November 1998 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Bahrain) invited the representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.<sup>87</sup>

At the outset, the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran underlined that the capture by the Taliban of the Consulate-General of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the murder of the Iranian diplomats and a journalist added to the already chronic and complex problems in Afghanistan, which threatened regional and international peace and security. His delegation remained deeply concerned about the political and humanitarian situation in Afghanistan. The persistence of the Taliban in seeking a military solution, despite the wishes of the international community and repeated pleas by the

Security Council, continued to pose an increasing threat to regional peace and security. He maintained that the historical realities and the traditional structure of Afghanistan as a multi-ethnic country made it abundantly clear that no single group or ethnicity, however supported by outside forces, could rule over the country and bring back peace and normalcy to Afghanistan. The solution lay in a resolute process of international persuasion for inter-Afghan political negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations.<sup>88</sup>

The representative of Pakistan urged the international community to adjust to "the new realities on the ground" by recognizing the Kabul authorities as the *de jure* and *de facto* Government of Afghanistan. He maintained that despite significant modifications of the original text, the draft resolution continued to have "a number of significant shortcomings", including the failure to acknowledge that the Taliban controlled 90 per cent of the country and the forces of Massoud continued to shell Kabul. He stated that the overall tone and tenor of the draft resolution was thus biased against one party to the conflict. That and its noticeable and numerous omissions did not augur well for the image of the United Nations, or of the Security Council for that matter, as an impartial player. With regard to the Security Council expressing its readiness to consider the imposition of measures against the Taliban, he stressed that it was likely to send the wrong signal to the Kabul authorities. His delegation strongly believed that dialogue and engagement, rather than coercion and intimidation, would produce the desired results.<sup>89</sup>

Speaking before the vote, the representative of the Russian Federation stated that the escalation of military activities in the north of Afghanistan by the Taliban was a real threat to the southern borders of CIS and, together with other members of CIS, reserved the right of his Government to take all necessary measures to ensure the proper protection of its borders, including measures in accordance with existing international legal commitments. He maintained that the military expansion of the Taliban in northern Afghanistan was being carried out with the direct involvement of foreign military personnel. His delegation called on the

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<sup>86</sup> S/1998/1139.

<sup>87</sup> S/1998/1140.

<sup>88</sup> S/PV.3952, pp. 2-3.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

Taliban leadership to immediately halt military activities and establish a long-term ceasefire and commence serious negotiations regarding ways and means to establish peace in the country. Only through the steadfast implementation of United Nations decisions by the Taliban, could there be a basis for constructive interaction with other Afghan parties and the world community to establish a lasting peace in Afghanistan.<sup>90</sup>

The representative of the United States stated that by adopting the draft resolution, the Council had taken a clear stand against terrorism and those who provided safe haven to terrorists. She called on all Afghan factions, particularly the Taliban, to abide by the Council resolutions and to ensure that all indicted terrorists on their soil were brought to justice. She condemned the killing of the Iranian diplomatic staff at the Consulate-General in Mazar-e-Sharif, expressed support for an international investigation into those deaths and reminded all Afghan factions of the special protected status of diplomats under international law. She also stressed their support for the demand of the draft resolution that the Taliban immediately inform the United Nations of the results of their investigation into the deaths of United Nations workers in Kabul and Jalalabad.<sup>91</sup>

The representative of China was deeply concerned by the fact that fighting had continued in Afghanistan and that a political solution to the conflict remained elusive. Afghanistan was a multi-ethnic country, where ethnic problems had deep roots in history. With the involvement of outside forces, the complex of tensions and contradictions had become even more entrenched. His delegation sincerely hoped that the Afghan factions responded positively to the appeal of the international community and endeavoured through negotiations to establish a broad-based representative government and to restore peace and stability as soon as possible. At the same time, he expected the international community to make concerted efforts to prevent outside forces from meddling in the Afghan conflict so as to create external conditions that would allow the silencing of the guns in Afghanistan. He expressed hope that the international community would exert a positive influence and that

any action taken by the Security Council would contribute to the resumption of talks among the Afghan factions with a view to agreement on a plan for a political settlement.<sup>92</sup>

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that it was deeply disturbing that some countries that professed to support peace in Afghanistan continued to prolong the war by supplying the factions with arms and funding. The call on all States to demonstrate their commitment to peace by stopping the supply of arms was as clear and strong in the draft resolution before the Council as it was in resolution 1193 (1998), and all Member States had to comply with that call. He maintained that there could be no question of the Security Council taking sides in the Afghan conflict. As the report of the Secretary-General made clear, all factions were guilty of abusing human rights, and violating Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. The responsibility of the Council required it to increase the pressure on all factions to stop the fighting and to recognize that the conflict could only have a political solution, which safeguarded the rights of all ethnic and religious groups in Afghanistan. He stated that the international community needed to prevent the conflict from threatening lives beyond the borders of Afghanistan through the export of international terrorism and illegal drugs. His delegation welcomed the work of the "six plus two" group and urged them to redouble their efforts.<sup>93</sup>

The representative of France stated that the draft resolution before the Council was necessary because it described a situation of ongoing conflict, external interference, discrimination, the assassination of Iranian diplomatic personnel, the murders of high-ranking United Nations officials, humanitarian crisis and unacceptable constraints imposed upon humanitarian agencies and non-government organizations. He maintained that the fighting went on and the negotiations between the parties had yet to resume. The United Front was prepared to open a political dialogue with the Taliban and to conclude a ceasefire, but the Taliban, for its part, had shown no readiness to resume the negotiations or to put an end to hostilities. He said that it was, therefore, fitting that the draft resolution, while referring to all the factions,

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-7.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-10.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-12.

concerned the Taliban first and foremost. It was also appropriate that the draft reflected the idea that the Council was prepared to consider imposing further measures in order fully to implement its resolutions.<sup>94</sup>

A number of other speakers appealed to all internal and external parties to the conflict, to find an early and negotiated settlement to the armed conflict. Most speakers demanded that the Afghan factions, and the Taliban in particular, put an immediate end to military confrontation, conclude a ceasefire, and cease all activities contrary to international humanitarian law.<sup>95</sup>

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1214 (1998), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Having considered* the situation in Afghanistan,

*Reaffirming* its previous resolutions, in particular resolutions 1189 (1998) of 13 August 1998 and 1193 (1998) of 28 August 1998, and the statements by its President on the situation in Afghanistan,

*Recalling* General Assembly resolutions 52/211 A and B of 19 December 1997,

*Expressing its grave concern* at the continued Afghan conflict, which has recently escalated sharply as a result of the offensive by the Taliban forces, which is continuing despite the repeated pleas by the Security Council to cease the fighting, and is causing a serious and growing threat to regional and international peace and security, as well as extensive human suffering, further destruction, refugee flows and other forcible displacement of large numbers of people,

*Deploring* the fact that despite the readiness of the United Front of Afghanistan to conclude a durable ceasefire and to enter into a political dialogue with the Taliban, fighting continues on both sides,

*Concerned* by the increasingly ethnic nature of the conflict, by reports of ethnic and religious-based persecution, particularly against the Shiites, and by the threat this poses to the unity of the Afghan State,

*Reaffirming its strong commitment* to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of

Afghanistan, and its respect for its cultural and historical heritage,

*Reiterating* that any outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, including the involvement of foreign military personnel and the supply of arms and ammunition to all parties to the conflict, should cease immediately,

*Reaffirming its full support* for the efforts of the United Nations, in particular the activities of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan and those of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan, in facilitating the political process towards the goals of national reconciliation and a lasting political settlement with the participation of all parties to the conflict and all segments of Afghan society, and reiterating its position that the United Nations must continue to play its central and impartial role in international efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict,

*Welcoming* the work of the “six plus two” group, and supporting in this regard the “points of common understanding” adopted at its meeting at the level of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, convened and chaired by the Secretary-General on 21 September 1998,

*Deeply concerned* at the serious and rapidly deteriorating humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan, deploring in this regard the measures taken by the Taliban which resulted in the evacuation of the United Nations humanitarian personnel from Afghanistan, and underlining the urgent need for the prompt implementation of the necessary security requirements to allow their early return,

*Reaffirming* that all parties to the conflict are bound to comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law and, in particular, under the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and that persons who commit or order the commission of breaches of the Conventions are individually responsible in respect of such breaches,

*Deeply disturbed* by the continuing use of Afghan territory, especially areas controlled by the Taliban, for the sheltering and training of terrorists and the planning of terrorist acts, and reiterating that the suppression of international terrorism is essential for the maintenance of international peace and security,

*Deeply disturbed* also by the growing cultivation, production and trafficking of drugs in Afghanistan, especially in areas controlled by the Taliban,

*Reiterating its deep concern* at the continuing discrimination against girls and women and at other violations of human rights and of international humanitarian law in Afghanistan,

1. *Demands* that the Taliban, as well as other Afghan factions, stop fighting, conclude a ceasefire and resume negotiations without delay and preconditions under the auspices of the United Nations, and cooperate with the aim of creating a broad-based and fully representative government, which would

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8 (Costa Rica); pp. 8-9 (Japan); pp. 10-11 (Slovenia); pp. 12-13 (Sweden); pp. 13-14 (Gambia); p. 14 (Portugal); pp. 14-16 (Kenya); pp. 16-17 (Brazil); and p. 17 (Bahrain).

protect the rights of all Afghans and observe the international obligations of Afghanistan;

2. *Welcomes* the progress made by the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan in his efforts based on resolution 1193 (1998) and its relevant preceding resolutions to reduce tensions in the region and towards improving the human rights and humanitarian situation in Afghanistan, and calls upon all concerned to implement fully the commitments they have already entered into;

3. *Reiterates its very strong support and appreciation* for the continuing efforts of the Special Envoy to secure the full implementation of its resolutions, and demands that all parties, in particular the Taliban, cooperate in good faith with these efforts;

4. *Reiterates its strong call* on the Taliban to inform the United Nations without further delay about the results of the investigation into the killing of the two Afghan staff members of the World Food Programme and of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Jalalabad, and of the Military Adviser to the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan in Kabul;

5. *Condemns* the capture by the Taliban of the Consulate-General of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the murder of the Iranian diplomats and a journalist in Mazar-e-Sharif, stresses that these acts constitute flagrant violations of international law, and calls upon the Taliban to cooperate with the United Nations in investigating these crimes with a view to prosecuting those responsible;

6. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to dispatch a mission to Afghanistan to investigate numerous reports of grave breaches and serious violations of international humanitarian law in that country, in particular mass killings and mass graves of prisoners of war and civilians and the destruction of religious sites, and urges all parties, especially the Taliban, to cooperate with this mission and, in particular, to assure the safety and freedom of movement of its personnel;

7. *Supports* the proposal of the Secretary-General, as contained in his letter dated 23 November 1998 to the President of the Security Council, to establish within the Special Mission, without prejudice to its mandate and taking into account security conditions, a civil affairs unit with the primary objective of monitoring the situation, promoting respect for minimum humanitarian standards and deterring massive and systematic violations of human rights and humanitarian law in the future, and to send an assessment mission to Afghanistan, as soon as security conditions permit, in order to determine the exact mandate, composition and location of the civilian monitors;

8. *Encourages* the initiatives of the "six plus two" group to facilitate the peace process in Afghanistan;

9. *Also encourages* the additional support of other Member States for the peace process in Afghanistan;

10. *Reiterates its call* upon all States to take resolute measures to prohibit their military personnel from planning and participating in military operations in Afghanistan and immediately to end the supply of arms and ammunition to all parties to the conflict;

11. *Urges* all Afghan factions and, in particular, the Taliban, to demonstrate their full commitment to the safety and security of all international and humanitarian personnel, which is a prerequisite for their activities in Afghanistan, to facilitate their work and to ensure unimpeded access and adequate conditions for the delivery of aid to all in need of it;

12. *Demands* that the Afghan factions put an end to discrimination against girls and women and other violations of human rights, as well as violations of international humanitarian law, and adhere to the international norms and standards in this sphere;

13. *Demands also* that the Taliban stop providing sanctuary and training for international terrorists and their organizations, and that all Afghan factions cooperate with efforts to bring indicted terrorists to justice;

14. *Demands further* that the Taliban, as well as others, halt the cultivation, production and trafficking of illegal drugs;

15. *Deplores* the failure of the leadership of the Taliban, in particular, to take measures to comply with the demands made in its previous resolutions, especially to conclude a ceasefire and to resume negotiations, and in this context expresses its readiness to consider the imposition of measures, in accordance with its responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations, with the aim of achieving the full implementation of its relevant resolutions;

16. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

#### **Deliberations of 27 August 1999 (4039th meeting)**

At its 4039th meeting, held on 27 August 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Namibia) invited the representatives of Afghanistan, Egypt, Finland, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, Kazakhstan, Norway, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The Council also extended an invitation, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, to the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs and the Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>96</sup> S/PV.4039, p. 2.

The Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs briefed the Council on the deteriorating military situation in Afghanistan following the launch of the long-anticipated Taliban offensive on 28 July, and on the consequences of the resumed fighting on the political, human rights and humanitarian situations. He noted that the attacks had been reinforced by a large influx of recruits from religious schools in Pakistan, with the participation of an estimated 2,000 to 5,000 students of Afghan and other nationalities. He stated that the involvement of neighbouring and other countries in the Afghan conflict not only continued to fuel the fighting but also brought into question the practical significance of the various declarations adopted by the members of the “six plus two” group, including the Tashkent Declaration on Fundamental Principles for a Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict in Afghanistan. He added that the disunity among the “six plus two” members could call into further question the relevance of that group as presently constituted. The Secretary-General hoped that the debate in the Council would generate new ideas and approaches to end the senseless fighting in Afghanistan.<sup>97</sup>

The representative of Afghanistan stated that the aggression and state-sponsored terrorism of Pakistan, which posed a threat to the peace and security of the region and hampered regional development and cooperation, needed to be condemned and dealt with by taking appropriate measures. He accused the Taliban of launching an “all-out offensive” on the Shomali plains, north of Kabul, “aided and accompanied by Pakistani consignments”, just nine days after the group’s meeting in Tashkent. Citing paragraph 15 of resolution 1214 (1998), he urged the Council to consider the immediate imposition of sanctions against the Taliban and “their Pakistani mentor”.<sup>98</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation, while appreciating the role of the United Nations, stated that his country, mindful of the principle of a peaceful solution to the conflict, earnestly desired a broad-based, fully representative and multi-ethnic government in Afghanistan. He stated that his delegation strongly opposed the continuing escalation of the fighting in Afghanistan by the Taliban and condemned the policy of the Taliban leadership of using force to solve the Afghan problem. He noted the particular cynicism displayed by the Taliban in

carrying out a major offensive literally two days after the conclusion of the Tashkent meeting of the “Group of friends and neighbours of Afghanistan”. His country was seriously concerned by the increasing external interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and called on Pakistan to take immediate measures to prevent its territory from being used to provide military support to the Taliban in line with the commitments made by Pakistan, along with the other members of the “six plus two” group, in accordance with the Tashkent Declaration. His delegation could not accept the continuation of a situation in which the territory of Afghanistan was used to support international terrorism and extremism of all stripes and also to encourage the illegal production of and trafficking in narcotics. In connection with such developments that directly affected the security of the Russian Federation, his country, jointly with partners in CIS, would continue to take all necessary measures. While expressing satisfaction with the results of the meeting of the “six plus two” group, held in July in Tashkent, he stressed that the group needed to increase its efforts aimed at achieving a political settlement to the conflict, and that the Security Council needed to support it in every way possible.<sup>99</sup>

The representative of China stated that his Government offered encouragement and support to the conflicting parties in Afghanistan to put the interests of their nation above everything else, disregard their ethnic, religious and political differences, stop fighting among themselves and establish a broad-based and stable government acceptable to all sides, on the basis of mutual respect and extensive consultations. He stressed that military means would not advance the achievement of a final settlement of the issue, and the only way to achieve such a settlement was for all the parties in Afghanistan to return to negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations. He also stated that the United Nations might want to consider imposing a stringent arms embargo on Afghanistan and formulating a specific monitoring mechanism in order to stop the provision of military assistance to the various factions in Afghanistan.<sup>100</sup>

The representative of the United States, expressing grave concern about the most recent Taliban

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-5.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-8.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-9.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-10.

offensive and subsequent retreat, stated that this had again demonstrated the futility of any attempt to impose a military solution. Only by the formation of a broad-based government that represented the interests of all Afghans could a lasting resolution of the conflict be achieved. Her delegation supported the continuing efforts of the United Nations and the group of “six plus two” to help shape the outcome through a ceasefire, the exchange of prisoners and the resumption of negotiations. She expressed deep concern that the Afghan territory, particularly that under Taliban control, continued to be used for the sheltering and training of terrorists and for terrorist acts. Citing resolution 1214 (1998), in which the Council expressed its readiness to consider the imposition of measures with the aim of achieving full implementation of its resolutions, she warned that if, in defiance of Security Council resolutions, the Taliban failed to end their protection of terrorists, the international community should bring “increasing and certain pressure” to bear on them.<sup>101</sup>

The representative of France stated that the internal situation in Afghanistan had undergone a clear deterioration following the new offensive waged in the north. He was particularly concerned by these developments, which were blocking a settlement of the conflict by peaceful means, flouting the Tashkent Declaration of 19 July 1999 and exacerbating the terrible situation of the civilian population. He noted that the refusal of the Taliban to engage in constructive dialogue with the United Front was a major obstacle to the implementation of a peaceful solution. He demanded that the various Afghan factions cease sheltering of and training terrorist organizations and halted the production of and trade in illegal drugs. He also demanded an immediate cessation to all foreign interference in the Afghan conflict, and in particular the sending of arms and volunteers to the factions.<sup>102</sup>

The representatives of the United Kingdom stated that the neighbours of Afghanistan needed to face facts and commit themselves wholeheartedly to a negotiated settlement. Pakistan, with its unique influence over the Taliban, had a particularly important role to play. He recalled that the Taliban and the Northern Alliance had at last acknowledged the “six plus two” group as a

valid mechanism, which could help bring progress. In the next few months, all concerned needed to find a way to build on the Tashkent Declaration and lock the parties into a genuine negotiation.<sup>103</sup>

The representative of Finland, speaking on behalf of the European Union and associated and aligned countries,<sup>104</sup> stated that the European Union was deeply concerned at the recent escalation of the military confrontation in Afghanistan. It was dismayed that the Taliban had ignored the call in the Tashkent Declaration for the Afghan conflict to be settled through peaceful political negotiation and had instead launched a major offensive. He reiterated the position of the European Union that there was no military solution to the conflict, and that only a political settlement, aimed at the establishment of a fully representative, broad-based Government could lead to peace and reconciliation. He reiterated that the European Union had reaffirmed its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan and strongly condemned all foreign interference in Afghanistan. He recalled that the European Union continued to enforce the embargo on the export of arms, munitions and military equipment provided for in its Common Position of 17 December 1996 on Afghanistan, and urged other countries to adopt a similar policy of restraint. He also expressed strong support for the proposal of the Secretary-General to add a new function to UNSMA by establishing a separate civil affairs unit within the Mission whose primary objectives would be to promote respect for humanitarian standards and deter massive and systematic violations of human rights and humanitarian law in the future.<sup>105</sup>

The representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran stated that the recourse of the Taliban to violence against ethnic groups tended to further polarize the multi-ethnic Afghan society and consequently aggravated the situation. That trend posed a serious threat to the future of the country as a whole. He expressed deep concern that the path taken by the Taliban might jeopardize the unity of Afghanistan and

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>104</sup> S/PV.4039 (Resumption 1), p. 7 (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia; and Cyprus and Malta).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

lead to a situation that endangered the national security of the neighbouring countries and thus further destabilize the region. He pointed out that the continuation of military offensives by the Taliban, which could not be carried out without outside political and military support, certainly destabilized the whole region. The engagement of an ever-growing number of non-Afghan nationals, fighting alongside the Taliban forces, could change the Afghan conflict into a transnational one. The persistence of that dangerous element could cause the conflict to spread beyond Afghan borders. He stressed that the Council needed to review the situation in Afghanistan with a view to taking a number of concrete measures in line with its previous resolutions aimed at compelling the Taliban to heed the demands of the international community concerning peace in Afghanistan.<sup>106</sup>

The representative of India stated that the territories in Afghanistan that the Taliban had occupied through military force had become a breeding ground for international terrorism, which had also found a safe haven in the areas straddling the southern borders of Afghanistan. He stressed that the efforts of the international community to bring peace and stability to Afghanistan had to be active and purposeful. Those efforts had to be channelled through the United Nations and all countries that had an interest and influence in Afghanistan needed to be brought within the ambit of those peacemaking efforts.<sup>107</sup>

The representative of Tajikistan reiterated that his country was very seriously concerned at the situation that prevailed in neighbouring Afghanistan, because the “hot breath” from the Afghan conflict was felt in the immediate vicinity and all along the 1,500 kilometre border shared with Afghanistan. He called upon the Taliban movement to halt military action and enter into peace negotiations. He emphasized the need to halt direct foreign military interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. His country was firmly convinced that the Council needed to take concrete measures to force the perpetrators of the short-sighted destructive policy on Afghanistan to heed the clear demands in the resolutions relating to the Afghan settlement. He believed that the “six plus two” group needed to make a more important contribution and

were obliged to agree as soon as possible on a specific formula for resolving the crisis in Afghanistan. He stated that Tajikistan was prepared to support any international efforts under the aegis of the United Nations to bring about a radical change in the situation in Afghanistan. In that connection, he again reaffirmed the proposal regarding the need to convene an international conference on Afghanistan, to encourage the Afghan parties to enter into serious talks on fundamental problems of an Afghan settlement.<sup>108</sup>

The representative of Uzbekistan stressed that the Afghan conflict had grown from an internal problem of Afghanistan into a conflict of regional scale. In that context, some of his delegation’s main concerns were the use of Afghan territory for terrorist activities and for the training and concealing of international terrorists and their organizations, a policy whose consequences created a great danger not only for the region of Central Asia itself, but also for wider international peace and stability. Afghanistan had become one of the main exporters of international terrorism and religious extremism, as well as the largest producer and supplier of narcotics in the world. One of the main concerns of his Government was the continued supply of arms and ammunition to the parties to the Afghan conflict and the unabated foreign interference in Afghanistan. He maintained that the Tashkent meeting of the “six plus two” and its political Declaration had provided a solid basis for the achievement of a regional consensus among the members of the group, elaborated common principles and a single approach to the resolution of the Afghan conflict, and provided an opportunity for the Afghan parties to renew the negotiating process.<sup>109</sup>

The representative of Turkmenistan stated that the internal conflict in Afghanistan, which had lasted many years and which had been caused by foreign intervention 20 years ago, was a source of grief in her country. She noted that Turkmenistan remained the only country that maintained an ongoing presence in Afghanistan. Although the domestic political situation had changed, the consular office of Turkmenistan had remained, because it ensured the normal functioning of the border. For neutral Turkmenistan the border was not a fence, but was an instrument for carrying out a

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-12.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-14.

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp. 15-16.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., pp. 18-19.

foreign policy that sought to help establish an atmosphere of peace, security and mutually advantageous partnership in the region. Turkmenistan would maintain relations with Afghans irrespective of what position was adopted. She called on the United Nations to be more active and to focus its efforts on one goal: the resumption of a direct inter-Afghan dialogue without any discriminatory evaluations of any Afghan party, and particularly without the imposition of any formulas or outside participants. She stated that in the efforts of the United Nations and of all those concerned to see a solution to the Afghan conflict, an important role needed to be played by countries that bore a special responsibility, in particular the five permanent members of the Security Council, States that were the immediate neighbours of Afghanistan and the major regional Powers — India, Turkey and Saudi Arabia. She stated that Turkmenistan, which had direct ongoing relations with the parties to the Afghan conflict, was prepared to continue to promote the process of seeking peace, with the agreement of the Afghans.<sup>110</sup>

The representative of Pakistan maintained that however ardently his country desired to insulate itself from events in Afghanistan, it could not do so. The 2,500 kilometre-long border shared by Pakistan and Afghanistan consisted of extremely difficult terrain and had always been very porous. Historically, there had been tribal movements from Afghanistan to Pakistan during the winter months and back to Afghanistan during the summers. Millions of Afghan refugees trekked to Pakistan after the Soviet occupation, and their movement to and from Afghanistan had since been largely uncontrolled. Pakistan had to cope with those realities, which was the fundamental difference between its situation and those of others. The reality in Afghanistan was also that the Taliban controlled 90 per cent of the territory, including the capital. He stressed that the international community needed to recognize this reality. Due to the major economic and social costs that Pakistan had had to bear and the price that the people of Pakistan had paid and continued to pay in terms of the impact on the quality of their lives and on their personal security, a peaceful and stable Afghanistan with its unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty fully intact was in the highest national interest of Pakistan. He emphasized that a durable

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp. 20-21.

peace in Afghanistan was possible only on the basis of an intra-Afghan consensus and that any solution to the Afghan conflict had to be indigenous. Afghan history was witness to the fact that external solutions could not be imposed on the fiercely independent people of Afghanistan. He stressed that Pakistan understood this reality and had no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Pakistan did not lend any support to any side in Afghanistan, but some countries in the neighbourhood and beyond were doing so by various means, including provision of defence experts, military equipment and even landmines. He agreed with the proposal of China for an arms embargo on Afghanistan and noted that his delegation had also proposed the imposition of a verifiable arms embargo applicable to the whole of Afghanistan. With regard to moves for the imposition of sanctions against the Taliban, his delegation firmly believed that sanctions would be counter-productive, as they would give rise to the feeling of injustice and victimization, which could strengthen extremist sentiments. Finally, he expressed support for the decisions adopted by the “six plus two” group and believed that the group needed to continue and intensify its laudable efforts.<sup>111</sup>

A number of speakers expressed concern at the deterioration of the situation in Afghanistan and called on the parties to cease hostilities and return to the negotiating table under the auspices of the United Nations. Most speakers expressed support for the work of the “six plus two” group. Several speakers expressed concern over the production of drugs and drug trafficking, as well as the harbouring of international terrorism in Afghanistan.<sup>112</sup>

**Decision of 15 October 1999 (4051st meeting):  
resolution 1267 (1999)**

At its 4051st meeting, held on 15 October 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (the Russian Federation) invited the representatives of Afghanistan and the

<sup>111</sup> S/PV.4039 (Resumption 1), pp. 21-23.

<sup>112</sup> S/PV.4039, pp. 10-11 (Argentina); p. 11 (Bahrain); p. 12 (Canada); and pp. 15-16 (Netherlands); S/PV.4039 (Resumption), pp. 2-3 (Malaysia); pp. 3-4 (Gabon); p. 4 (Gambia); pp. 4-6 (Slovenia); p. 6 (Brazil); pp. 6-7 (Namibia); pp. 9-10 (Kazakhstan); pp. 10-12 (Norway); pp. 14-15 (Japan); p. 17 (Turkey); pp. 19-20 (Egypt); and pp. 23-24 (Permanent Observer of OIC).



Islamic Republic of Iran, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution, submitted by Canada, the Netherlands, the Russian Federation, Slovakia, the United Kingdom and the United States.<sup>113</sup>

At the outset, the representative of Afghanistan expressed support for the draft resolution, which would send an “adequate signal to the Taliban and to their Pakistani mentors”, indicating that the international community was extremely concerned about the policy of Pakistan and the Taliban, which was a major threat to international peace and security.<sup>114</sup>

The representative of the United States stated that the adoption of the draft resolution would send a strong message to the Taliban that the continued harbouring of Osama bin Laden posed a threat to international peace and security. The draft resolution would bring new pressure on the Taliban to turn over Osama bin Laden to authorities in a country where he would be brought to justice. It also established a Committee to monitor implementation of sanctions.<sup>115</sup>

While announcing that they would vote in favour of the draft resolution, the representatives of Malaysia<sup>116</sup> and Bahrain<sup>117</sup> expressed concern about measures in the draft resolution which might affect the civilian population.

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1267 (1999), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its previous resolutions, in particular resolutions 1189 (1998) of 13 August 1998, 1193 (1998) of 28 August 1998 and 1214 (1998) of 8 December 1998, and the statements by its President on the situation in Afghanistan,

*Reaffirming its strong commitment* to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan, and its respect for Afghanistan’s cultural and historical heritage,

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<sup>113</sup> S/1999/1054.

<sup>114</sup> S/PV.4051, p. 2.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

*Reiterating its deep concern* over the continuing violations of international humanitarian law and of human rights, particularly discrimination against women and girls, and over the significant rise in the illicit production of opium, and stressing that the capture by the Taliban of the Consul-General of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the murder of Iranian diplomats and a journalist in Mazar e Sharif constituted flagrant violations of established international law,

*Recalling* the relevant international counter-terrorism conventions and in particular the obligations of parties to those conventions to extradite or prosecute terrorists,

*Strongly condemning* the continuing use of Afghan territory, especially areas controlled by the Taliban, for the sheltering and training of terrorists and planning of terrorist acts, and reaffirming its conviction that the suppression of international terrorism is essential for the maintenance of international peace and security,

*Deploring* the fact that the Taliban continues to provide safe haven to Osama bin Laden and to allow him and others associated with him to operate a network of terrorist training camps from Taliban-controlled territory and to use Afghanistan as a base from which to sponsor international terrorist operations,

*Noting* the indictment of Osama bin Laden and his associates by the United States of America for, inter alia, the 7 August 1998 bombings of the United States embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam and for conspiring to kill American nationals outside the United States, and noting also the request of the United States to the Taliban to surrender them for trial,

*Determining* that the failure of the Taliban authorities to respond to the demands in paragraph 13 of resolution 1214 (1998) constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

*Stressing* its determination to ensure respect for its resolutions,

*Acting* under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Insists* that the Afghan faction known as the Taliban, which also calls itself the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, comply promptly with its previous resolutions and in particular cease the provision of sanctuary and training for international terrorists and their organizations, take appropriate effective measures to ensure that the territory under its control is not used for terrorist installations and camps, or for the preparation or organization of terrorist acts against other States or their citizens, and cooperate with efforts to bring indicted terrorists to justice;

2. *Demands* that the Taliban turn over Osama bin Laden without further delay to appropriate authorities in a country where he has been indicted, or to appropriate authorities in a country where he will be returned to such a country, or to appropriate authorities in a country where he will be arrested and effectively brought to justice;

3. *Decides* that on 14 November 1999 all States shall impose the measures set out in paragraph 4 below, unless the Council has previously decided, on the basis of a report of the Secretary-General, that the Taliban has fully complied with the obligation set out in paragraph 2 above;

4. *Decides also* that, in order to enforce paragraph 2 above, all States shall:

(a) Deny permission for any aircraft to take off from or land in their territory if it is owned, leased or operated by or on behalf of the Taliban as designated by the Committee established by paragraph 6 below, unless the particular flight has been approved in advance by the Committee on the grounds of humanitarian need, including religious obligation such as the performance of the Hajj;

(b) Freeze funds and other financial resources, including funds derived or generated from property owned or controlled directly or indirectly by the Taliban, or by any undertaking owned or controlled by the Taliban, as designated by the Committee established by paragraph 6 below, and ensure that neither they nor any other funds or financial resources so designated are made available, by their nationals or by any persons within their territory, to or for the benefit of the Taliban or any undertaking owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by the Taliban, except as may be authorized by the Committee on a case-by-case basis on the grounds of humanitarian need;

5. *Urges* all States to cooperate with efforts to fulfil the demand in paragraph 2 above, and to consider further measures against Osama bin Laden and his associates;

6. *Decides* to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a Committee of the Security Council consisting of all the members of the Council to undertake the following tasks and to report on its work to the Council with its observations and recommendations:

(a) To seek from all States further information regarding the action taken by them with a view to effectively implementing the measures imposed by paragraph 4 above;

(b) To consider information brought to its attention by States concerning violations of the measures imposed by paragraph 4 above and to recommend appropriate measures in response thereto;

(c) To make periodic reports to the Council on the impact, including the humanitarian implications, of the measures imposed by paragraph 4 above;

(d) To make periodic reports to the Council on information submitted to it regarding alleged violations of the measures imposed by paragraph 4 above, identifying where possible persons or entities reported to be engaged in such violations;

(e) To designate the aircraft and funds or other financial resources referred to in paragraph 4 above in order to facilitate the implementation of the measures imposed by that paragraph;

(f) To consider requests for exemptions from the measures imposed by paragraph 4 above as provided for in that paragraph, and to decide on the granting of an exemption to these measures in respect of the payment by the International Air Transport Association to the aeronautical authority of Afghanistan on behalf of international airlines for air traffic control services;

(g) To examine the reports submitted pursuant to paragraph 10 below;

7. *Calls upon* all States to act strictly in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution, notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any licence or permit granted prior to the date of coming into force of the measures imposed by paragraph 4 above;

8. *Calls upon* States to bring proceedings against persons and entities within their jurisdiction that violate the measures imposed by paragraph 4 above and to impose appropriate penalties;

9. *Calls upon* all States to cooperate fully with the Committee established by paragraph 6 above in the fulfilment of its tasks, including supplying such information as may be required by the Committee in pursuance of the present resolution;

10. *Requests* all States to report to the Committee established by paragraph 6 above within thirty days of the coming into force of the measures imposed by paragraph 4 above on the steps they have taken with a view to effectively implementing paragraph 4 above;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to the Committee established by paragraph 6 above and to make the necessary arrangements in the Secretariat for this purpose;

12. *Requests* the Committee established by paragraph 6 above to determine appropriate arrangements, on the basis of recommendations of the Secretariat, with competent international organizations, neighbouring and other States, and parties concerned with a view to improving the monitoring of the implementation of the measures imposed by paragraph 4 above;

13. *Requests* the Secretariat to submit for consideration by the Committee established by paragraph 6 above information received from Governments and public sources on possible violations of the measures imposed by paragraph 4 above;

14. *Decides* to terminate the measures imposed by paragraph 4 above once the Secretary-General reports to the Security Council that the Taliban has fulfilled the obligation set out in paragraph 2 above;

15. *Expresses its readiness* to consider the imposition of further measures, in accordance with its responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations, with the aim of achieving the full implementation of the present resolution;

16. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

After the vote, the representative of China expressed reservations about the imposition of sanctions, which would only exacerbate the suffering of the Afghan people.<sup>118</sup>

The representative of Canada praised the resolution, which was necessary for the Council to support the fight against terrorism.<sup>119</sup>

**Decision of 22 October 1999 (4055th meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 21 September 1999, pursuant to resolution 1076 (1996), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.<sup>120</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General noted with concern that the Taliban had started a new offensive only one week after the meeting of the “six plus two” group in Tashkent, and maintained that the disregard of the Taliban for the Tashkent Declaration raised serious concerns about the intentions of their leadership. He urged the Taliban leadership to accept an offer made by the United Front to resume negotiations. He stated that he was deeply disturbed by the reported involvement of thousands of non-Afghan nationals, mostly students from religious schools, in the fighting. The unabated external involvement in the conflict raised a question to the role of the “six plus two” group, as it appeared that, despite agreements and declarations, the group had not been able to make real progress on a more unified approach vis-à-vis the warring parties. He therefore supported his Special Envoy’s recommendation to review the United Nations approach regarding the Afghan conflict.

At its 4055th meeting, held on 22 October 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (the Russian Federation) invited the representative of Afghanistan, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

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<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>120</sup> S/1999/994.

At the same meeting, the President then made the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>121</sup>

The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 21 September 1999 concerning the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

The Council reiterates its grave concern at the continued Afghan conflict, which is a serious and growing threat to regional and international peace and security. It strongly condemns the Taliban for the launching in July 1999, only one week after the meeting of the “six plus two” group in Tashkent, of a new offensive, despite the repeated demands by the Council to cease fighting. This has undermined international efforts to facilitate the restoration of peace in Afghanistan. The fighting following the offensive has resulted in enormous suffering to the civilian population of Afghanistan. The Taliban has a primary responsibility for this.

The Council reiterates that there is no military solution to the conflict in Afghanistan and that only a negotiated political settlement aimed at the establishment of a broad-based, multi-ethnic and fully representative government acceptable to all Afghans can lead to peace and reconciliation. It recalls its demand that the parties to the conflict, especially the Taliban, resume negotiations under United Nations auspices without delay and preconditions in full compliance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Council. The Council notes that the United Front of Afghanistan has repeatedly made clear that it is willing to talk with the Taliban in order to reach a solution to the country’s problems.

The Council reiterates that outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, including the involvement of foreign combatants and military personnel and the supply of weapons and other materials used in the conflict, should cease immediately. It calls upon all States to take resolute measures to prohibit their military personnel from planning and participating in combat operations in Afghanistan, and immediately to withdraw their personnel and to assure that the supply of ammunition and other war-making materials is halted. The Council expresses its deep distress over reports indicating the involvement in the fighting in Afghanistan, on the side of the Taliban forces, of thousands of non-Afghan nationals, mostly from religious schools and some of whom are below the age of 14.

The Council reaffirms its full support for the efforts of the United Nations, in particular the activities of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan and those of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan, in facilitating the political process towards the goals of national reconciliation and a lasting political settlement with the participation of all parties to the conflict and all segments of Afghan society, and reiterates its position that the United Nations must continue to play its

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<sup>121</sup> S/PRST/1999/29.

central and impartial role in international efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict.

The Council expresses its grave concern at the seriously deteriorating humanitarian situation in Afghanistan. It calls upon all Afghan parties, and in particular the Taliban, to take the necessary steps to secure the uninterrupted supply of humanitarian aid to all in need of it and in this connection not to create impediments to the activities of the United Nations humanitarian agencies and international humanitarian organizations.

The Council once again urges all Afghan factions to cooperate fully with the Special Mission and international humanitarian organizations, and calls upon them, in particular the Taliban, to take the necessary steps to ensure the safety and freedom of movement of such personnel.

The Council welcomes the Tashkent Declaration on Fundamental Principles for a Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict in Afghanistan, adopted by the "six plus two" group on 19 July 1999, particularly the agreement of members of the group not to provide military support to any Afghan party and to prevent the use of their territories for such purposes. It urges the members of the group and the Afghan factions to implement these principles in support of the efforts of the United Nations towards a peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict.

The Council strongly condemns the continuing use of Afghan territory, especially areas controlled by the Taliban, for the sheltering and training of terrorists and planning of terrorist acts, and reaffirms its conviction that the suppression of international terrorism is essential for the maintenance of international peace and security. It insists that the Taliban cease the provision of sanctuary and training for international terrorists and their organizations, take effective measures to ensure that the territory under its control is not used for terrorist installations and camps or for the preparation or organization of terrorist acts against other States or their citizens, and cooperate with efforts to bring indicted terrorists to justice. The Council demands once again that the Taliban turn over indicted terrorist Osama bin Laden to appropriate authorities as set out in its resolution 1267 (1999) of 15 October 1999. It reaffirms its decision to implement on 14 November 1999 the measures contained in that resolution, unless the Secretary-General reports that the Taliban has fully complied with the obligation set out in paragraph 2 of that resolution.

The Council is deeply disturbed also by a significant increase in the cultivation, production and trafficking of drugs in

Afghanistan, especially in areas controlled by the Taliban, which will contribute to the war-making capabilities of the Afghans and will have even more serious international consequences. It demands that the Taliban, as well as others, halt all illegal drug activities. The Council calls upon Member States, in particular those neighbouring Afghanistan, and all others concerned to undertake concerted measures to stop the trafficking of illegal drugs from Afghanistan.

The Council deplores the worsening human rights situation in Afghanistan. It expresses particular alarm at the continuing disregard by the Taliban of the concerns expressed by the international community. The Council underlines the unacceptability of the forced displacement of the civilian population, in particular that conducted by the Taliban during their recent offensive, summary executions, the deliberate abuse and arbitrary detention of civilians, violence and continuing discrimination against women and girls, the separation of men from their families, the use of child soldiers, the widespread burning of crops and destruction of homes, the indiscriminate bombing and other violations of human rights and international humanitarian law in Afghanistan. It calls upon all Afghan parties, especially the Taliban, to put an end to such practices, to adhere to the international norms and standards in this sphere, to take urgent measures to improve the human rights situation and, as an immediate first step, to ensure the protection of civilians.

The Council reiterates that the capture by the Taliban of the Consulate-General of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the murder of the Iranian diplomats and a journalist in Mazar e Sharif constitute flagrant violations of international law. It demands that the Taliban cooperate fully with the United Nations in investigating these crimes with a view to prosecuting those responsible.

The Council looks forward to the next report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Afghanistan, and encourages him to review options for the Council and the General Assembly.

The Council deplores the failure of the leadership of the Taliban to take measures to comply with the demands made in its previous resolutions, especially to conclude a ceasefire and to resume negotiations, and in this context reaffirms its readiness to consider the imposition of measures, in accordance with its responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations, with the aim of achieving the full implementation of its relevant resolutions.