



Security Council

PROVIS IONAL

S/PV. 2852 11 April 1989

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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Tuesday, 11 April 1989, at 4.20 p.m.

President: Mr. BELONOGOV

(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

Members: Algeria

Brazil Canada China Colombia Ethiopia Finland France Malays ia

Nepal Senegal

United Kingdom of Great Britain and

Northern Ireland

United States of America

Yugoslavia

Mr. DJOUDI

Mr. NOQUEIRA-BATISTA

Mr. FORTIER Mr. YU Mengjia Mr. PENALOSA Mr. TADESSE Mr. TORNUDD Mr. BLANC Mr. RAZALI

Mr. RANA Mrs. DIALLO

Sir Crispin TICKELL

Mr. PICKERING Mr. PEJIC

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The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like at the outset of the meeting to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to Her Excellency

Mrs. Absa Claude Diallo, Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations, for her service as President of the Security Council for the month of March 1989.

I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Diallo for the great diplomatic skill, patience and unfailing courtesy with which she conducted the business of the Council last month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION RELATING TO AFGHANISTAN

LETTER DATED 3 APRIL 1989 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE PERMANENT MISSION
OF AFGHANISTAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE
SECURITY COUNCIL (S/20561)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Afghanistan,

Pakistan and the Syrian Arab Republic in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Wakil, (Afghanistan) and Mr. Akhund

(Pakistan) took places at the Council table; Mr. Al-Masri (Syrian Arab Republic)

took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting today in response to the request contained in a letter dated 3 April 1989 from the Chargé d'affaires of the Permanent Mission of Afghanistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/20561). I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/20577, which contains the text of a letter dated 7 April 1989 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, .

His Excellency Mr. Abdul Wakil. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to make his statement.

Mr. WAKIL (Afghanistan) (spoke in Dari; English text furnished by delegation): Mr. President, at the outset I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the high post of President of the Security Council. It is my firm conviction that under your wise and able guidance this Council will be successful in its deliberations.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express our appreciation for the work done by your predecessor, Her Excellency Madame Absa Claude Diallo, the Permanent Representative of the friendly country of Senegal. Indeed the work of the Council during the presidency of Madame Abda Claude Diallo is a matter of great satisfaction for my country.

Allow me to express our gratitude to you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Security Council for the positive response they have made in convening this meeting of the Security Council to consider our request.

On behalf of the Government and the people of the Republic of Afghanistan and pursuant to our letter dated 2 April 1989, we have come to the Security Council, which has the responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, to draw its attention to the serious threat posed to the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country, a Member State of the United Nations, by the blatant acts of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of our country committed by Pakistan.

The recent intensification of Pakistan's armed aggression and the overt and covert interference by Pakistan in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, an independent, sovereign and non-aligned country, has acquired ever-wider dimensions, thus threatening peace, stability and security in South-West Asia. Furthermore, this situation has prompted us to draw the urgent attention of the Council to this matter and to ask for immediate action by it in accordance with the United Nations Charter, so as to check Pakistan's aggression and interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Recognizing its responsibility for the safeguarding of its national independence and territorial integrity, and aware of the dangerous implications of the aggression by Pakistan for peace and security in the region and in the world, the Republic of Afghanistan is turning to the Security Council under Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter, on the peaceful settlement of disputes, and on the basis of the obligations of the Security Council stemming from Articles 34 and 35 of the Charter.

Pakistan's aggression and interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan constitute a blatant violation of the Declaration on the Principles of International

Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted in General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted in resolution 2734 (XXV), as well as the Declarations of 21 December 1965 and 9 December 1981 on the inadmissibility of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of States. Finally, they are in breach of all the principles agreed upon in the Geneva accords on the normalization of relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan and the principles of good neighbourliness.

These acts of aggression and interference have changed from the imposed undeclared war of the past 10 years into a full-fledged war against the Republic of Afghanistan by Pakistan. The continuation of these acts of aggression and their repercussions are a source of great concern for the people of the regions and the world.

Since 15 February 1989 Pakistan has resorted to extensive deployment of its armed forces along the eastern and southern borders with Afghanistan. The concentration of the Eleventh and Eighteenth Divisions of the Pakistan Army along the eastern borders has resulted in the intensification of military aggression and interference and the expansion of the dimensions of the war in Afghanistan. Not only do the Eleventh and Eighteenth Divisions of the Pakistan Army provide logistical support to the opposition, but units from the Eleventh Division, together with Pakistani commandos and militia, the armed opposition extremists and the military advisers of some countries, are participating in the pre-planned war aimed at capturing the frontier provinces, especially the city of Jelalabad.

The acts of aggression and interference by Pakistan against Afghanistan have caused deep resentment among the patriotic people of our country. From 15 February 1989, it became clear to the people of Afghanistan and the world community that prior to the intensification of Pakistani aggression against

Ningarhar province, Pakistani military units consisting of 6,575 persons, 65 tanks, 25 armoured personnel carriers and 68 long-range artillery units were concentrated around the city of Jelalabad. These numbers have increased by another 40 per cent since then.

Jelalabad is subjected daily to 5,000 to 7,000 - and at times even 20,000 - rounds of rockets and other types of heavy weapons. Who put all these rockets and heavy weapons at the disposal of the extremists in the war against the people and the armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan? The death of 243 commandos and other personnel of the Eleventh Division of the Pakistani army and 91 Pakistani and Arab military advisers in the war in Ningarhar province and the capture of two Pakistani intelligence officers and their confessions at a press conference, as well as in their open trial, are undeniable facts of Pakistan's military aggression and interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Those among the Afghan opposition who are running away or refraining from continuing the war are forced through intimidation and other means by the Pakistani army officers deployed behind the war front in Jelalabad to continue the war against the people of Afghanistan aimed at accomplishing the strategic political and military objectives of Pakistan.

The inhuman and anti-civilization character of the military aggression led by Pakistani officers such as Colonel Mahboob, Colonel Jangjo and Colonel Emmam in the area of Ghazi Abad Farm is clear to the whole world. The <u>Wall Street Journal</u> has revealed the looting, carnage and murder of innocent people and other grave crimes committed at Ghazi Abad Farm.

Right now the armed forces of Pakistan are concentrating in the five following areas for the purpose of intensifying the aggression against targets in Afghanistan: first, in Barnal, to carry out aggression against Orgoon; secondly, in

Miram Shah, to carry out aggression against Khost and Gardez; thirdly, in Teri
Mangal, to carry out operations against Logar and Gardez; fourthly, in Torkham, to
carry out aggression against Jelalabad; and fifthly, in the Shahi area, to
intensify military operations against Junar province.

The efforts of Pakistan aimed at the military occupation of Jelalabad have met with the strong resistance of the people of Afghanistan in defence of the national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Afghanistan.

Despite the fact that thousands of Afghans have died in the war in Jelalabad, the Pakistanis have not stopped amassing new forces for a fresh attach. The creation of three militia regiments, numbering 15,000 persons, to participate in the attacks on Jelalabad, led by Pakistani Generals Aref and Egbal, reveals the wide dimensions of these acts of aggression. Pakistan refuses to learn a lesson from the war in Jelalabad, which clearly indicates that war is not, and never will be, a logical means for the solution of the situation around Afghanistan.

The people of Afghanistan, who have deep feelings of nationalism and patriotism, regard it as very insulting to accept a handful of spies of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) as their masters. The history of the liberation struggles of the people of Afghanistan amply demonstrates that that people has always resolutely and courageously defended its high national interests and national heritage and the dignity and honour of its country.

The resistance in Jelalabad against Pakistani aggression by the people of Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (FDPA), the armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan and the social organizations led by His Excellency Najibullah, President of the Republic of Afghanistan, is a good example of patriotism and the courageous defence of the independence, national

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sovereignty and territorial integrity of our united country. Our policies emanate from our national interests, and for our leadership there exists no matter that is higher than the national interests of Afghanistan.

These national interests of ours have unbreakable ties with peace. We have concentrated all our efforts on the realization of the just cause of the people of Afghanistan, that is, the cessation of war and the establishment of peace. The Republic of Afghanistan, preferring reconciliation, national accord and serious dialogue to war and bloodshed, has directed all its endeavours to the achievement of this end.

Contrary to the claims and predictions of our opponents and their patrons, the resistance put up by the Republic of Afghanistan after 15 February 1989 demonstrates that the armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, have the capability not only to repel the treacherous and inhumane attacks of the opposition but successfully to resist the aggression of Pakistani militia, commandos and army. Afghanistan has the necessary power to resist such aggression in the future, inflicting fatal blows on the aggressor.

Today there exist in the territory of Pakistan 125 active military training centres of the Alliance of Seven, utilized by Pakistani military circles as a means of aggression against Afghanistan. The following are a few such centres:

First, Spina Thana training camp;

Second, Kohabrode training camp, located 20 kilometres to the south-east of Peshawar, where more than 700 terrorists undergo training in each training period;

Third, Parachinar training camp of the Alliance of Seven, where more than 400 extremists undergo training at a time;

Fourth, Kanjar Kelay training camp, located 30 kilometres to the south of lawagai, where every term 600 extremists are trained in the use of various types of heavy and light weapons. They are then dispatched for the conduct of destructive activities on the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan;

Fifth, the training centre of Mangaray-Chinar, located 34 kilometres to the west of Nawagai, with the capacity of training 300 terrorists at a time;

Sixth, the Yosuf Abad training centre, located in Bajawor agency, has the capacity of training 1,200 terrorists at a time;

Seventh, the Shah Kat training centre, located 8 kilometres to the south of Peshawar, in the vicinity of Botsai, where 1,000 extremists undergo military training at a time;

Eighth, Shegay camp, where 600 terrorists undergo military training at a time; Ninth, Hamza Centre in Jote Bakhsh with a capacity of 700 trainees at a time.

Along with the training centres of the fundamentalists on the territory of Pakistan, the extremists are also trained in centres of the Pakistan army, such as Atok, located 50 kilometres south-east of Islamabad, which is the centre for the training of the commanders of the fundamentalist groups, Kokhi Sorkh, located 5 kilometres to the west of Quetta and Nawa Shir, the new centre for the training of the armed extremists in the use of artillery and explosives.

The continued existence of the centres for the training of the extremists and arming them with advanced weapons has largely contributed to the intensification of military tension in Afghanistan.

From the date of the entry into force of the Geneva Agreements up until mid-Pebruary 1989, 557 armed attacks on residential areas and military posts have been carried out and 403 bombs have been dropped on big cities where populations are concentrated. During this period there have been 2,363 attacks with advanced weapons, and 201,000 rockets and other heavy weapons have been fired all over the country. This has resulted in the death of 6,954 people and the injury of another 12,200. The great majority of these casualties were civilians.

It is a fact that the heavy and light weapons put at the disposal of the extremists are not produced in Afghanistan. These weapons are transported from overseas to Pakistan and are then put at the disposal of the extremists by the Inter-services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan to be used for robbing and murdering innocent people in Afghanistan.

In the period since the entry into force of the Geneva Accords, and particularly following 15 February 1989, when the withdrawal of the Soviet contingents was completed, there has been an unprecedented increase in the transfer and stockpiling of heavy and sophisticated weapons, such as guided anti-tank Milan missiles, Blowpipe and Stinger rockets, different versions of surface-to-surface missiles, such as Socker 20 and 30, and other types of deadly weapons, in the territory of Afghanistan. The transfer of these weapons and other logistic supplies to the armed extremist forces and the penetration of Pakistani commandos into Afghanistan, along with Arab and other foreign advisers, from areas such as Torkham, Teri Mangal, Chaman, Nawagai, Parachinar, Miram Shah and Spin Boldak, for the purpose of aggression, increasing the interference and continuing the war, are all vivid proof of Pakistani interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. As further evidence of this, it can be stated that, only in the last week of February, the ISI transported into Afghanistan via Karachi and Quetta 15 trucks loaded with weapons and 120 tons of military hardware to the armed extremist groups.

With due recognition of the strategic importance of the said areas, the Republic of Afghnistan requested the United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGCMAP) team to establish additional outposts to supervise these areas. The request to establish additional outposts in those areas was communicated to UNGCMAP via notes No. 57 on 24 July 1988, No. 58 on

26 July 1988, No. 24 on 12 August 1988, No. 73 on 18 August 1988, No. 47 on 3 September 1988, No. 296 on 11 March 1989, and No. 312 on 15 March 1989. Messages from His Excellency President Najibullah in which the necessity to establish additional outposts in Torkham, Teri Mangal, Chaman, Parachinar, Nawagai, Miram Shah, and Spin Boldak have been addressed to the Secretary-General. The Republic of Afghanistan is confident that the establishment of these additional outposts will indeed play an important role in reducing tensions, implementing the Geneva Agreements and promoting a cessation of the Pakistani military aggression and interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan. Any delay in the establishment of these outposts will result in further intensification of Pakistani aggression and interference against the Republic of Afghanistan.

After the completion of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, that is since 15 February 1989, Pakistan has 1,200 times interfered in the internal affairs of Afghanistan in various ways. UNGOMAP has been notified of these instances through 142 notes. None of these complaints has been investigated in accordance with the Geneva Agreements.

I wish to draw the Council's attention to the following with regard to the participation of Pakistani militiamen in military operations in Afghanistan:

On 16 Pebruary 1989, 2,100 Pakistani militiamen entered Afghanistan. On the same date a regiment of 1,500 Pakistani militiamen under the command of Pakistani General Arif entered Afghanistan via Kunar province.

On 28 February 1989, 300 Pakistani militiamen entered the Kunas province of Afghanistan.

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On 22 February .989, 80 Pakistani militiamen crossed into the Samkani region in Paktia.

On 2 March 1989, 300 Pakistani militiamen entered the grand district of Khost.

On 3 March 1989, 250 Pakistani militiamen entered the Shinwar area.

On 5 March 1989, 800 Pakistani militiamen entered the Jaji Maidan of Afghanistan from the Parachinar area.

On 5 March 1989, 400 Pakistani militiamen entered Khost province.

On 6 March 1989, 300 Pakistani militiamen entered the Naziyan area in Jelalabad province along with 80 horses carrying arms and ammunitions.

On 8 March 1989, 500 Pakistani militiamen entered Jelalabad with six tanks, anti-aircraft guns, anti-tank missiles and mortars.

On 8 March 1989, 350 Pakistani militiamen entered the Gardez area.

On 9 March 1989, 200 Pakistani militiamen entered Abdul Khalil village in the Nangarhar province.

On 10 March 1989, 150 Pakistani militiamen entered the Rowzah area in Paktia province.

On 15 March 1989, 400 Pakistani militiamen entered Chaprihar and Shaikh Misri area in Nangarhar, carrying a large number of surface-to-surface rockets to launch an extensive attack.

On 20 March 1989, 200 militiamen entered Nangarhar province via Torkham.

On 21 March 1989, 200 Pakistani militiamen entered into the grand district of

On 23 March 1989, 300 Pakistani militiamen entered the Ghaziabad area via Torkham.

On 22 March 1989 Pakistani militiamen entered the Goshta area, in the Nangarhar province through Miram Shah and on the same day 250 militiamen entered the Dor Baba area in the Nangarhar procince.

On 25 March 1989, 800 akistani militiamen entered into the Tsamkani area, in Paktia province, to launch an all-out military action against the people.

All the above instances have been notified to the United Nations Good Offices
Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) with detailed information for
investigation. However, Afghanistan has so far received no reply to its notes.

Secondly, I wish also to draw the Council's attention to the following with regard to the transfer of arms and ammunition:

On 3 March 1989, 26 heavy trucks transferred Stinger rockets, Blow Pipe, Socker 20 and 30, via Torkham, to Razuddin headquarters, in Nangarhar province.

On 5 March 1989, big trucks entered the Hesarak area, in Nangarhar, via Teri Mangal, carrying huge quantities of arms and ammunition.

On 5 March 1989, 25 trucks from Pakistan transferred huge amounts of arms and ammunition from Jalozi base in Pakistan to Kunar province in Afghanistan.

On 16 March 1989, 13 lorries from Pakistan carrying rocket launchers and surface-to-surface rockets were transferred into fardak province.

On 9 March 1989, 13 lorries from Pakistan carrying heavy weapons entered Wardak province, in Afghanistan, via Teri Mangal.

On 12 March 1989, 36 trucks from Miram Shah full of heavy weapons and large amounts of ammunition entered Afghanistan. On the same day, 200 mules carrying

arms and ammunition from Pakistan entered Nangarhar pvovince via the Tore-Bora area.

On 14 March, 140 lorries carrying anti-tank rockets and anti-aircraft guns entered Nangarhar, via Torkham, from Pakistan.

On 25 March 1989, 150 trucks and 600 mules from Pakistan entered Nangarhar.

On 21 March 1989, 160 mules loaded with arms and ammunition from Pakistan were transferred to Nangarhar.

On 22 March 1989, 180 lorries from Pakistan carrying arms and ammunition, including surface-to-surface rockets, entered Nangarhar province via Torkham.

On 26 March 1989, 120 big lorries carrying large amounts of arms and ammunition from Pakistan came into the Ghaziabad area, in Nangarhar province.

On 28 March 1989, 250 lorries of Pakistan carrying different kinds of weapons entered Jelalabad via the Torkham area.

It was because of these arms shipments into Afghanistan from Pakistan that on 31 March alone 12,000 rockets were fired on the city of Jelalabad, as a result of which 71 persons were killed and 8 wounded, and a mosque, a Hindu temple and 13 residential houses were damaged.

Hence it can readily be seen what harships and what a difficult life our people have to endure as a result of the aggression imposed by Pakistan.

Thirdly, I wish further to draw the Council's attention to the following with regard to violations of Afghan airspace:

In the month of March alone the Pakistan air forces committed the following acts of aggression against the Republic of Afghanistan:

On 21 February 1989, at 1032 hours, a Pakistani helicopter carried foreign advisers and a number of the leaders of the extremists to Barikot, Kunar province, and returned to Pakistan.

On 4 March 1989, at 1235 hours, a Pakistani air force jet, flying at a speed of 720 kilometers per hour, violated the airspace of Afghanistan to a depth of 6 kilometers and, after carrying out espionage operations over Baqi Kalai, of Spain Boldak, returned to Pakistan.

On 5 March 1989, at 0945 hours, one Pakistani air force craft, with a speed of 700 kilometers per hour, violated the airspace of Afghanistan to a dept of 12 kilometers and, after carrying out espionage activities over Groko and Dar Band, returned to Pakistan.

On 15 March 1989, at 1120 hours, a Pakistani jet, with a speed of 720 kilometers per hour, violated the airspace of Afghanistan and returned to Pakistan after one and a half minutes.

On 10 March 1989, at 0940 hours local time, 4 Pakistani helicopters, carrying the leadership of the armed extremists opposition and foreign advisers, entered the territory of Afghanistan. Two of these helicopters landed in Shinwar district and two in Ghaziabad. At 0946 hours local time they flew back to Pakistan.

On 11 March 1989, at 0610 hours local time, 2 Pakistani helicopters transported weapons to the vicinity of Ghazi Abad and returned to Pakistan at 0620 hours.

The above instances are just a few cases of the Pakistani military interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan which poses a threat against our national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

Does any norm or principle of international law allow States to resort to the use of force in their foreign relations and to conduct acts of aggression against the territory of another State in an effort to change that State's system as they like?

Does any chapter or section of the United Nations Charter or other documents regulating international relations or any principles of international law allow States to establish centres for training terrorists and to arm these political groups and dispatch mercenaries, spies and foreign advisers to the territory of another country for the purpose of inciting disorder and disrupting public order? Pakistan has resorted to such irresponsible, short-sighted and widespread aggression against our country.

The creation of an illegal and illegitimate government of the Alliance of Seven in Rawalpindi, with the direct assistance of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), is clear and udeniable interference by Pakistan. The creation of this government did not even muster the support of other segments of the opposition and the refugees in the neighbouring countries and in Europe, and all the people of Afghanistan have rejected it. The premeditated scenario of the ISI of Pakistan for the creation of the "interim government" in the territory of Pakistan has only intensified the aggression and interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

For years, during the course of the Geneva process and during the signing of these Agreements, Afghanistan had doubts as to Pakistan's willingness to comply with its obligations. Nevertheless, Afghanistan signed the Agreements with the hope that, with the beginning of the return of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, Pakistan would consider positive changes in its attitude. The correctness of our undertstanding of Pakistan as the gendarme of the region was proved correct in practice. Pakistan has completely ignored its international obligations, including the Geneva Agreements, undermining the prestige of these accords, in the signing of which the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, played a prominent role.

Pakistan's co-operation with the Alliance of Seven in the creation of the "interim government" on the territory of that country and Pakistan's interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan are undeniable facts.

It is regrettable that, following the creation of the "interim government", congratulatory messages were sent to the fundamentalist leaders of the extremist groups by Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the President of Pakistan. Sahib Zada Yaqub Khan, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, in his letter dated 27 February 1989 addressed to the Security Council, stated that his country welcomed the decision of the Consultative Council on the creation of an "interim government" in that country.

The political ends Pakistan seeks from the support it provides to the "interim government" of the Alliance of Seven is apparent to the people of the world. Plans to annex Afghanistan under the guise of forming a confederation is the basis of all-round support provided by Pakistan to the extremists.

Pakistan is pursuing a particular policy with regard to Afghanistan. However, the question is why the United States, a big world Power, is acting as the tool for the implementation of Pakistani policies with regard to Afghanistan and why the strategic interests of the United States are subordinated to Pakistan's expansionist designs in the region.

The main question that the people of Afghanistan and of the world are asking is: If the claim of the extremists and their Pakistani patrons is correct - that they control 95 per cent of the territory of Afghanistan - why did they not create the so-called interim government on Afghan territory and why are they relying on the ISI and the Pakistani army in fighting against our people? It is a clear fact that the armed extremists have neither a territory nor the support of the people of Afghanistan. They are unable to create a modern administration and they do not have the authority to fulfil the international obligations of a contemporary and civilized government.

Is not the creation of the "interim government" of the Alliance of

Seven - dictated, encouraged and organized by the Pakistani military - a violation

of the Afghan people's right to self-determination? Are not the efforts being made

to export and install that "interim government" contrary to the principles of the

Charter of the United Nations? Are not those interventionist policies of Pakistan

a serious threat to peace and security in the region and in the world?

Contrary to the provisions of articles 3, 4 and 5 of the Geneva Agreements on the voluntary, peaceful and orderly return of the refugees, Pakistan is continuing to create serious obstacles to their return. Yesterday the presence of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan was used as a pretext for propaganda by Pakistan and the extremists; today that pretext no longer exists. The Afghan refugees are eagerly

looking forward to returning to their homeland, to the land of the forefathers who so valorously defended the independence, freedom and sovereignty of the Afghan nation.

If there is a question of security, it is obvious to all that the insecure situation has been created by the very existence of Pakistani interference and aggression in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Indeed, the question of insecurity will be removed as soon as the question of Pakistan's interference and intervention ceases to exist.

Eleven months have passed since the entry into force of the Geneva Agreements. So far, Pakistan has ignored article 7 of the agreement on the voluntary return of refugees. Moreover, Pakistan has not yet responded positively to notes No. 314, of 8 August 1988, and No. 319, of 9 September 1988, on the issue of the establishment of joint commissions between Afghanistan and Pakistan to facilitate the voluntary and mass return of Afghan refugees.

The conditions are now conclusively present for the refugees to return with dignity and honour, and the country is looking forward to welcoming them. If the insecure situation created by Pakistan ceases to exist, no Afghan refugee will remain in that interventionist country.

Pakistan's war and aggression have imposed grave civilian casualties. We call upon the international community to demand that Pakistan stop its blatant crimes against the people of Afghanistan.

The acts of genocide perpetrated by Pakistani commandos and militiamen in Jelalabad are becoming more obvious with each passing day. On one occasion alone they abducted 160 women to Pakistan. The world has also witnessed the mass murder of members of the Afghan armed forces taken prisoner by the extremists supported by Pakistan, which took place in its territory. All of those acts are fundamentally

in contradiction with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Pakistan's present war against Afghanistan, with its anti-human dimensions and acts contrary to the accepted norms of international law, in fact represents a qualitative new stage in Pakistan's aggression against our country.

In 391 notes the Republic of Afghanistan has notified UNGOMAP of 3,279 instances of Pakistani violations. Those instances of Pakistani interference and aggression have been listed chronologically and accompanied by undeniable proof. However, owing to Pakistan's hostile and obstructionist attitude, UNCOMAP has been unable to implement the agreement's implementation mechanism. Lists of those notes are annexed for the information and action of the Security Council, and we request that they be circulated as official documents of the Council.

The present leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan has critically analysed the developments in the country over the past 10 years. It has been engaged in a constant process designed to do away with its past mistakes. That process includes the search for a peaceful solution to the problem surrounding Afghanistan. A logical consequence of those policies was the signing of the Geneva Agreements. The policy being pursued by the Republic of Afghanistan is illustrative of the new, positive developments in the international climate, in which understanding is replacing confrontation and distrust.

The Republic of Afghanistan has proclaimed the policy of national reconciliation as the only alternative for solving its domestic problems. The consolidation of that policy is being ensured, notwithstanding the problems posed by the aggression and interference of Pakistan and the unconstructive attitude of the armed extremist groups. The Republic of Afghanistan has on several occasions

proclaimed unilateral ceasefires; it has proposed holding a national dialogue among Afghans, the creation of a peace assembly, the establishment of a pluralistic political society, the establishment of a broad-based Government with the participation of all forces and ensuring the interests of all, as called for in the resolution adopted at the forty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly and in the Political Declaration adopted by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement held a Nicosia, as well as the pursuit of the policy of a free economy. All those steps clearly demonstrate our sincere desire to find an immediate solution to the problems in Afghanistan and to respect our obligations with a view to establishing international peace and security.

The Republic of Afghanistan has proclaimed on many occasions in the past and wishes to state once again that only by ensuring the ceasefire and its respect by all other forces concerned will it be possible to hold a free and democratic election with the participation of all political parties.

In line with our earlier communication to the United Nations Secretary-General we wish to reiterate that in order to ensure the balance of interest of neighbouring States and the big Powers and to establish nationwide peace an international conference to establish Afghanistan's permanent neutrality and demilitarization should be convened. We have proposed that the two big Powers - Afghanistan's neighbour, the USSR, and the United States of America, which have guaranteed the Geneva Agreements - and the other members of the Security Council should all participate in that conference. The participation of other States would also be welcomed.

The Republic of Afghanistan is firmly convinced that questions relating to the right to self-determination and to the country's political and economic system are the sole and reserved right of the Afghan people and of the Afghan nation alone.

Thus, no Afghan can ever accept those rights' being exercised by the Pakistani army or by that country's ISI.

Pakistan's aggression must be checked and the cause of peace and security must be saved from serious threat. for the Geneva Agreements were signed to bring peace and security and to put an end to all forms of interference and intervention, as well as to establish conditions conducive to keeping the big Powers free from involvement in regional conflicts. However, owing to Pakistan's policies of aggression and of interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, that process has been diluted.

In view of the present grave situation, the continuation of which will result in a serious regional conflict, the Republic of Afghanistan, in accordance with Articles 33 and 39 of the United Nations Charter, hereby requests the Security Council to undertake the following actions: first, to take all urgent measures within its competence under the United Nations Charter to stop Pakistani aggression and intervention against Afghanistan; secondly, to send a fact-finding mission made up of members of the Security Council to Afghanistan and Pakistan and, thirdly, to request the Soviet Union and the United States of America, as co-guarantors of the Geneva Agreements, to play a further active role in persuading Pakistan to meet its obligations arising from those Agreements.

The Republic of Afghanistan firmly believes that the intervention of the United Nations Security Council can bring an end to the pain and sufferings imposed on the people of Afghanistan as the result of Pakistani aggression and interference and that it can prevent the situation from further deterioration. It will thus prove productive in safeguarding peace and security in the region.

In conclusion, I wish to assure the Council, on behalf of the Government of Afghanistan, of our fullest co-operation in this respect.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan for his kind words addressed to me.

In his statement the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan has requested the circulation as an official document of the Security Council of the summarizing material to which he has referred. That request will of course be met.

The next speaker is the Adviser to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs and National Security of Pakistan, Mr. Iqbal Akhund. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to make his statement.

Mr. AKHIND (Pakistan): I thank you for your words of welcome, Sir, and I should like to begin by conveying to you, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Pakistan delegation, sincerest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council during a month in which the Council has on its agenda the consideration of the deteriorating situation in Namibia, a matter of vital interest to the entire international community.

I take this occasion also to place on record the profound gratitude of my delegation to Ambassador Absa Claude Diallo of Senegal, who presided with such skill and success over the deliberations of the Council last month.

It is a matter of deep regret and surprise to my Government that the attention of the Security Council, which is grappling at this moment with the grave situation in Namibia, should be sought to be diverted and its precious time taken up by the request for the convening of an emergency session, under cover of Articles 34 and 35 of the Charter.

Those articles have no hearing on the current situation inside Afghanistan.

The situation inside Afghanistan in no way endangers peace and security as defined in Article 34. What is happening there today is a continuation of the struggle of the Afghan people to overthrow an illegal and unrepresentative régime that was

imposed on them by external military intervention and is today desperately seeking to prolong its rule.

The continuing struggle of the Afghan people for the restoration of their national and human rights is a purely internal matter that does not come within the purview of Articles 34 or 35 of the Charter. Therefore the request of the Kabul régime for a Security Council debate is, in the view of my delegation, untenable. We fail to see how such a debate can further the efforts to find a peaceful and comprehensive solution to the situation relating to Afghanistan.

The purpose of the Kabul régime in calling for this meeting has just been made clear by the Kabul representative's diatribe against my country. His statement elaborates on the fabrications and distortions contained in his letter circulated in a Security Council document of 3 April. It draws a picture that has no relationship to the realities on the ground. The Kabul statement makes untenable charges and baseless allegations against my country.

In order to lend some authenticity to those statements, the Kabul representative made a great show of reciting facts and figures and names and numbers of mules, militia, aircraft, surface—to—surface missiles and God—knows—what that his people have been watching on a day—to—day and hour—to—hour basis. Nobody else has seen this, and the reason why the United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) has sent no reply to these statements is that no such thing is happening. The UNGOMAP teams have found no evidence whatsoever that arms and ammunition are being transported to Afghanistan from Pakistan. During their inspection tours, members of the teams thoroughly checked all types of traffic. Many of the passes or routes said to have been used were found in these reports to be narrow paths through which vehicles, or even mules, carrying military equipment could not possibly pass. Furthermore, some of these paths are mined on the Afghanistan side, and it is hardly likely that they would be used for the alleged purpose.

No training camps, no bases, ammunition dumps or any such things have been found in any of the places mentioned by the Kabul representative. Most of those sites were identified as refugee camps inhabited mainly by old men, women and children.

The UNCOMAP reports clearly state that there was no evidence that Pakistan had prevented any refugees from returning to Afghanistan. The refugees themselves have indicated that they did not want to return to their homes until a truly representative government capable of ensuring peace and stability in the country has been established. Pakistan has a self-evident interest in ensuring the safe return of the more than 3 million Afghan refugees who are in our country. We want them to return to their hearths and homes in peace and safety. It is the height of absurdity on the part of the Kabul representative to assert that Pakistan wants to delay or prevent their return.

No evidence could be found by UNGOMAP inspectors that Pakistan had violated Afghan air space or territory. On the contrary, a number of posts from which the Kabul side claimed that shellings had originated were actually found to be on the Afghan side of the border. An UNGOMAP report also notes that in some of the areas mentioned in the Kabul complaints the terrain rules out the possibility of deploying tanks or artillery.

The interim government of Afghanistan was elected through a secret ballot by a representative Consultative Shura which met in February this year. During his discussions in Islamabad, Mr. Vorontsov, the Soviet Deputy Poreign Minister, who is also Ambassador to Kabul, fully supported the idea of convening such a Consultative Shura as soon as possible. As we all know, Mr. Vorontsov held lengthy meetings with the Mujahideen leaders, first in Taif and then in Tehran and Islamabad, to discuss this matter and the formulation of a broad-based government with the representatives of the Afghan resistance.

The Consultative Shura that elected the interim Afghan Government was an independent body representing a wide spectrum of Afghan opinion. The members of the Shura held long and protracted deliberations and finally decided to elect an interim Government through a secret ballot. The interim Government includes eminent Afghans representing different shades of opinion. Cabinet posts have been reserved for Iran-based Afghan groups as well as for representatives from Kabul.

The admission of the interim Government into the Organization of the Islamic Conference shows that it is supported by a very important group of countries. It also shows that the Islamic countries continue to view the Kabul régime as being illegal and unrepresentative of Afghanistan.

The tragic continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan is a consequence of the refusal of the régime in Kabul to bow to the reality of the situation. This régime is not acceptable to the Mujahideen based in Pakistan or in Iran. It is not acceptable to the emigrés, nor is it acceptable to the intellectuals, the refugees or the Ulema. It is not acceptable to the field commanders and it is not acceptable to the tribal leaders. It is not acceptable to the people of Afghanistan.

Peace and stability in Afghanistan can be restored only if power is transferred from the illegal Kabul régime to a broad-based government acceptable to the Afghan people as a whole. The establishment of such a government is the exclusive prerogative of the Afghan people themselves. That is acknowledged by the Geneva Agreements and the associated understandings, as well as in General Assembly consensus resolution 43/20 of 3 November 1988 which, inter alia, mandated the Secretary-General of the United Nations to facilitate the establishment of a broad-based government. That was reiterated in the joint statement of 7 February 1989 issued at the conclusion of a visit to Pakistan by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze. The establishment of the interim government is a major step towards the achievement of this objective.

The allegation that Pakistan has massed troops along its border with Afghanistan is patently false. Heavy troop concentrations cannot be concealed. UNGOMAP teams headed by General Helminen himself recently visited the areas along the Pakistan-Afghan border in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan and were unable to find any evidence to substantiate the accusation.

The charge that Pakistani troops are fighting alongside the Mujahideen inside

Afghanistan is preposterous. Many foreign journalists have visited the battle

front and have found no sign of any Pakistani troops presence.

The Afghan Mujahideen, who have successfully turned away foreign intervention as a result of a bitter but successful struggle lasting more than nine years, do not need any assistance from Pakistan in the final phase of their struggle against a régime that is being kept alive only by outside support.

The Kabul régime's search for some evidence to implicate Pakistan in the fighting has pushed it to ridiculous lengths. Two persons were arrested and displayed on Kabul television as Pakistan nationals and, after a stage-managed "public trial", were awarded long prison sentences.

Though those persons were supposed to be on an intelligence mission, neither of them speaks either Pushto or Dari, the languages of Afghanistan - a very unusual shortcoming, the Council will admit, in personnel sent on an intelligence mission. They were arrested in the region of Kandahar, which is nowhere near Jelalabad, and the arrests hardly prove Pakistani military presence around the latter city. Finally, the two persons were described as a Subedar Major and a Corporal in the Pakistan army. Both are in their twenties. It seems that the Kabul régime is unaware of the fact that, in the Pakistani army, it takes a soldier about 26 years of service to attain the rank of Subedar Major, and that the rank of Corporal simply does not exist in the Pakistan army.

Not a shred of evidence has been produced to substantiate the accusations made against Pakistan by Kabul. Indeed, it is Pakistan which is the aggrieved party. Afghan war planes shot down over Pakistani territory and the capture of Soviet and Afghan pilots establish, beyond all doubt, that Pakistan's air and ground space continue to be violated. Since the coming into force of the Geneva Agreements, there have been 144 air violations, 378 ground violations and 170 acts of sabotage carried out by the Kabul régime. Those blatant acts of aggression have resulted in 183 deaths, 414 injuries and extensive damage to property.

Only a week ago, on the night of 6-7 April, the Kabul régime fired a Scud missile which struck the border post of Torkham, causing damage to buildings and property.

I should like to recall that it was my country which proposed the establishment of a neutral machinery to investigate complaints regarding the implementation of the Geneva Agreements. Pakistan's aim in requesting the establishment of UNGCMAP was to investigate the kind of allegations that are being made by the Kabul side for its own purposes. Since these baseless allegations have been found to be entirely without substance, the Kabul régime has now chosen to ignore the established mechanism, UNGCMAP, for redress of complaints and has instead approached the Security Council in an attempt to malign Pakistan.

The Kabul side has sought to make cynical use of UNCOMAP by advancing irrelevant proposals in support of its campaign of accusations against Pakistan instead of facilitating the implementation of the Geneva Agreements.

In his letter to you, Mr. President, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan stated that Pakistan remains ready to continue its co-operation with UNGOMAP and is prepared to discuss with the Secretary-General of the United Nations any feasible and relevant proposals that would enable UNGOMAP to continue to discharge its responsibilities effectively.

It is ironic that the Kabul régime has sought to portray the establishment of the interim Afghan government, elected by a widely respresentative Consultative Shura, as interference in its internal affairs. The truth is that the Kabul régime itself wished to participate in the Shura that was convened in Pakistan, and had actually provided a list of nominees, including its entire present leadership. It surprised no one that the move was rejected out of hand by the alliance leaders in Pakistan and Iran and by all sections of Afghan opinion, which consider the Kabul régime as an entity imposed on the country by foreign military intervention and,

therefore, illegal and unrepresentative. The important thing, however, is that the interim government has kept a number of cabinet posts vacant for individual representatives from Kabul. Today, what stands in the way of broadening the base of the interim government is the Kabul régime's refusal to accept this proposal.

In considering this question, we cannot lose sight of the history of the conflict in which the sovereignty of the proud Afghan nation was subverted and its cities and countryside devastated, and in which more than a million of its citizens were murdered and innumerable others maimed and incapacitated. The country's economic and historical heritage was targeted for destruction, and more than one-third of its population was uprooted and driven to seek refuge in Pakistan and Iran.

The successive régimes in Kabul propped up by foreign troops must be held accountable for the incalculable damage the Afghan nation has sustained during the past 10 years. The extent of the damage and destruction to the economic, social, cultural and educational infrastructure of Afghanistan is outlined in the report of the United Nations Co-ordinator for Humanitarian and Economic Assistance Programmes Relating to Afghanistan. I quote the following from the report, contained in document UNOCA/1988/1:

"In the 1970s, Afghanistan was one of the poorest, least developed countries in the world. The meagre infrastructure and services were beginning to be expanded and progress seemed feasible. The country was virtually self-sufficient in food production and the economy was growing with increasing exports of agricultural products and natural gas. Nine years of war have not only brought this progress to an end, but today much of the physical infrastructure, services and the agricultural sector - the backbone of the Afghan economy - lies shattered and destroyed ...

"The basic education system in rural Afghanistan has been severely affected by extensive damage to school buildings, the migration of most teachers and the severe lack of school materials. Almost a generation of Afghan children has been denied the educational environment to prepare for a self-reliant and happy, productive future."

The report goes on to say:

"The prolific and indiscriminate use of mines has been one of the most brutal aspects of the nine-year conflict in Afghanistan. Modern delivery systems have enabled mines to be scattered by helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft, to be fired from artillery out to 25 kilometres, and to be mortared in combined infantry assaults. This widespread deployment has precluded the accurate registration of mined areas except for some limited chartered anti-personnel minefields around strategic installations such as airfields, power stations"

and so on.

There are graphic descriptions in this report of the Afghan landscape having been ravaged by years of foreign intervention with the willing co-operation of the régime which is now engaged in a desperate attempt to prolong its precarious life.

The February issue of the UNHCR magazine Refugee includes the following:

"In the Panjshir valley most of the infrastructure has been destroyed. In some places one can no longer find any trace of the roads or bridges. Everywhere were the same pictures of desolation, evidence of war, abandoned tanks, ruins of people's homes, blasted fields and asphalt roads torn up by heavy vehicles."

The magazine says that the Herat region showed the same signs of 10 years of war. Forty per cent of the cities were ruined, 600 out of 1,300 villages had been seriously damaged or totally destroyed. One observer noted that

"Visiting Western Herat is like a visit to Verdun in 1919: for

20 Kilometres around there is nothing but ruins; the roads and fields are

overgrown with weeds. In a landscape churned up by shells and bombs, people

frequently uncover the remains of peasants buried in their houses. The hulls

of tanks lie rusting on the verges. Unexploded 500-kilogram bombs lie stuck in the ground like beetroots.

Following the departure of foreign troops, the people of Afghanistan have, at last, a chance to resolve their internal problems free from foreign intervention. This favourable situation has been brought about by the combined efforts of the Security Council and the General Assembly, the vast majority of whose membership has stood by the Afghan people in their struggle to regain their independence and sovereignty.

If I may address you personally, Mr. President, we are grateful to you for your constructive role in winding up, on a positive note, the great debate in the General Assembly at its last session on the Afghanistan issue. We recall with appreciation your valuable co-operation in your capacity as the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union in the adoption of the consensus resolution on the situation in Afghanistan at the forty-third session of the General Assembly.

The joint statement issued at the end of Mr. Shevardnandze's visit to Pakistan in February showed furthermore that the prospect of putting an end to the war and its consequences and bringing peace to Afghanistan is very positive.

These developments, combined with the adoption of the consensus resolution in March this year by the Commission on Human Rights, point to a convergence of views on the need for a comprehensive and peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan issue and the induction of a broad-based government in Afghanistan.

We are convinced that only when a comprehensive settlement, in accordance with the wishes of the Afghan nation, has been reached and a broad-based government fully representative of the Afghan people has been established in Kabul will the millions of refugees who have sought shelter in Pakistan and Iran be able to return to their hearths and homes. Only then will the objectives of the Geneva Agreements have been achieved in their totality.

It is imperative for all of us, in particular those who are destined by history and geography to play a role in enabling the Afghan nation to regain its independence and sovereignty and its rightful place in the community of nations, to acquit ourselves, with seriousness of purpose and a full sense of responsibility in ensuring the success of this vital process.

These are the shared objectives which the present debate in the Security Council may confuse rather than promote. Instead of using the Security Council for purposes of propaganda and disinformation, the parties concerned can refer their grievances, if any, to UNGCMAP. And this is the course Pakistan has followed.

In his letter of 7 April addressed to you, Mr. President, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan stated that Pakistan has permitted the establishment of UNGOMAP outposts in Quetta and Peshawar in order to facilitate the expeditious investigation of complaints in remote areas, although such outposts were not envisaged in the Geneva Agreements. He also assured you that Pakistan remains ready to continue its co-operation with UNGOMAP and is prepared to discuss with the Secretary-General of the United Nations any feasible relevant proposals to enable UNGOMAP to fulfil its responsibilities effectively.

It is in this spirit that, in response to the Secretary-General's request, Pakistan has agreed to provide UNGOMAP a permanent presence in the border areas including Chaman, Parachinar and Torkham. Thus from 14 to 21 April UNGOMAP's presence would be facilitated in the North West Frontier Province, in the areas of Torkham, Parachinar and Nawa Pass, and from 10 April to 17 April in Baluchistan in the area of Chaman. Even as I speak an UNGOMAP team is inspecting the border areas in Bajaur and Mohmand Agencies, in particular at Nawa Pass. Altogether till today the number of inspection visits carried out by UNGOMAP amounts to 102.

The signing of the Geneva Agreements was a historic achievement by the United Nations and represented the triumph of reason and good sense on the part of all concerned. The departure of foreign troops from Afghanistan in the middle of last February has fufilled the central purpose of the Geneva Agreements.

Along with the rest of the world we welcome the courageous decision of General Secretary Gorbachev to call a halt to and reverse the policy that was recognized to have been mistaken. After 10 long years of conflict and suffering the people of Afghanistan must not be asked to endure more bloodshed and more destruction. It is the duty of the international community to help them attain and consolidate peace in the country so that the millions of refugees, the majority of whom are on Pakistan's soil, can return to their homes and begin to rehabilitate their lives and reconstruct their country.

I should like to conclude by assuring the members of the Security Council that Pakistan remains committed to promoting a comprehensive settlement of the Afghanistan issue on the basis of the Geneva Agreements and General Assembly resolutions. We shall continue to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General as he proceeds to carry out the mandate given to him to promote such a settlement.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the Adviser to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs and National Security of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers for this meeting. The time of the next meeting of the Security Council to continue the consideration of the item on the agenda will be announced at a later stage.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

