

**General Assembly Security Council**Distr.
GENERALA/43/720 ✓
S/20230
14 October 1988

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-third session
Agenda item 30
THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN AND ITS
IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL
PEACE AND SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-third year

Report of the Secretary-General

1. The present report is submitted in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 42/15 of 10 November 1987, in which the Assembly reaffirmed the principles involved and the action required with regard to the situation relating to Afghanistan.
2. It will be recalled that, at the time of the issuance of my previous report (A/42/600-S/19160) of 29 September 1987, the negotiating process towards the achievement of a comprehensive settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan had reached an advanced stage. Agreement had been reached on three of the four instruments comprising the settlement as well as on most provisions of the fourth instrument. On the one main outstanding issue in that document, the time frame for withdrawal, the gap between the positions of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan had been reduced to 11 months during the round of talks held at Geneva in February/March 1987. At a subsequent round of talks, held at Geneva in September 1987, there had been a further narrowing of the gap.
3. In that report, I also pointed out that this issue had enormous political and other implications for both interlocutors and that early agreement on a short time frame for the withdrawal of troops would give decisive impetus to the Afghans' own efforts towards internal settlement. I noted further that all Afghans, both inside and outside their homeland, had become manifestly concerned about the need to begin a process designed to reaffirm their right to self-determination - which was one of the principal objectives of the settlement.
4. A period of intensive consultations followed. My Personal Representative, Diego Cordovez, visited Washington, D.C., and Moscow in December 1987, where he held a number of meetings with senior officials of the United States of America and

the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In Moscow, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze gave him assurances of his Government's determination that the negotiations should be concluded and requested that a new round of talks be convened at Geneva at an early date. Before a new round could be held, I felt that further consultation was necessary and decided to send my Personal Representative to visit the area once again. Mr. Cordovez visited Islamabad and Kabul from 20 January to 9 February 1988, shuttling several times between the two capitals. In Islamabad, he met with President Zia ul-Haq, Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani. In Kabul, he met with President Najibullah and Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil. For technical reasons, he was unable to stop in Teheran on that occasion, but, in accordance with established practice, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran was duly briefed on the contents of the discussions.

5. On the basis of those consultations it was agreed that a round of talks would be held at Geneva beginning on 1 March 1988. All Governments concerned conveyed to me in that context through my Personal Representative their determination to bring the negotiating process to an early conclusion. A statement made by General Secretary Gorbachev on 8 February 1988 that the withdrawal would begin on 15 May 1988 if agreement was reached at Geneva by 15 March 1988 gave an important impetus.

6. A round of talks accordingly began at the Palais des Nations at Geneva on 1 March 1988. The Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, Mr. Abdul Wakil, and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, Mr. Zain Noorani, were present for that purpose. While early and encouraging progress was achieved on the question of the time frame and the modalities for the withdrawal of foreign troops, final agreement proved elusive because of a number of other issues to which each side gave varying degrees of relevance and significance.

7. Following extended and intensive consultations held over a period of six weeks, in which both sides displayed a genuine spirit of determination to reach a political settlement, it was possible to announce on 8 April 1988 that the instruments which would comprise the settlement were finalized and open for signature. In making that announcement, the following statement, on which the participants had agreed as part of the negotiations, was also made by my Personal Representative:

"I am authorized to state, at this time, that throughout the negotiations it has been consistently recognized that the objective of a comprehensive settlement implies the broadest support and immediate participation of all segments of the Afghan people and that this can best be ensured by a broad-based Afghan Government. It was equally recognized that any questions relating to the Government in Afghanistan are matters within the exclusive jurisdiction of Afghanistan and can only be decided by the Afghan people themselves. The hope was therefore expressed that all elements of the Afghan nation, living inside and outside Afghanistan, would respond to this historic opportunity. At this crucial stage, all concerned will therefore promote the endeavours of the Afghan people to work out arrangements for a broad-based Government and will support and facilitate that process."

In this context, Mr. Cordoves was given in his personal capacity a mandate by the participating Governments to promote such a process.

8. On 14 April 1988 in the ceremony at the Palais des Nations at which I presided, the Agreements on the Settlement of the Situation Relating to Afghanistan were signed. The Agreements comprised the following four instruments:

Bilateral Agreement between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on the Principles of Mutual Relations, in Particular on Non-interference and Non-intervention;

Declaration on International Guarantees;

Bilateral Agreement between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on the Voluntary Return of Refugees;

Agreement on the Interrelationships for the Settlement of the Situation Relating to Afghanistan (including the annexed Memorandum of Understanding on the monitoring arrangements to be provided by the United Nations).

The text of the instruments has been issued as document S/19835, annex I. Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan signed the relevant instruments on behalf of their respective Governments as Parties to the settlement. Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Secretary of State George Shultz of the United States of America signed the relevant instruments on behalf of their respective Governments as States Guarantors and issued statements, the texts of which have been circulated as document S/19835, annex II and annex III, respectively.

9. At the ceremony, I noted that the Agreements laid the basis for the exercise by all Afghans of their right to self-determination, a principle enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. I also noted that the challenge facing the people of Afghanistan could and must be met by them alone. I expressed confidence that the signatories of those Agreements would abide fully by the letter and spirit of the texts and that they would implement them in good faith - for the sake of all the people of Afghanistan and for the wider objective of peace in the region and the world.

10. The Agreements entered into force on 15 May 1988. The settlement includes, under paragraph 7 of the Agreement on the Interrelationships for the Settlement of the Situation Relating to Afghanistan and the Memorandum of Understanding annexed to that Agreement, specific arrangements to ensure the faithful and complete implementation of all its provisions. As part of these arrangements the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan have requested me to lend good offices to the two Governments and, in that context, to appoint a Representative of the Secretary-General as well as to provide assistance for the purpose of investigating any possible violations of the instruments that comprise the settlement.

11. Accordingly, I have appointed Mr. Diego Cordoves as my Representative on the Settlement of the Situation Relating to Afghanistan. I should like in this context to express my appreciation to President Rodrigo Borja of Ecuador for agreeing to have Mr. Cordoves continue to serve in this capacity after he assumed his responsibilities as Foreign Minister of his country.

12. I also appointed Major-General Rauli Helminen (Finland) as Deputy to the Representative and Mr. Benon Sevan as Alternate Representative. In order to assist them in their responsibilities, the Agreements also envisaged that up to 50 military officers would be temporarily detached from existing United Nations operations and deployed in the area. These arrangements were brought to the attention of the members of the Security Council in my letters addressed to the President of the Council dated 14 and 22 April 1988 (S/19834 and S/19835). In a letter dated 25 April 1988 (S/19836), the President of the Security Council informed me of the provisional agreement of the members of the Council to the proposed arrangements pending formal consideration and decision by the Council later.

13. Following consultations with the Parties, the force commanders of existing United Nations operations concerned and troop-contributing countries, 50 military officers have been temporarily detached from existing United Nations operations, namely, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) and United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), and constituted as United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP). At present the military officers comprise the following number from 10 nationalities:

Austria	5	Ghana	6
Canada	5	Ireland	5
Denmark	4	Nepal	6
Finland	5	Poland	4
Fiji	4	Sweden	6

While the Agreements envisage that the duration of the Good Offices Mission would be up to 20 months, the number of military officers may be adjusted according to the needs of the situation and it is anticipated that the bulk of them would not need to be deployed for the full period of 20 months.

14. The military personnel of the Good Offices Mission are organized into two small headquarters units - one in Kabul and the other in Islamabad - comprising a number of inspection teams. There is also a small civilian auxiliary staff deployed at the two headquarters units.

15. The mandate and the terms of reference of the military officers are based on the provisions of the Agreements and include the balanced and flexible deployment of the inspection teams in accordance with the mandated tasks.

16. In accordance with the terms of the Agreements, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan have undertaken to provide to the Representative of the Secretary-General and to all

personnel assigned to assist him full support and co-operation and to accord every facility and assistance, including freedom of movement and communications, accommodation, transportation and other facilities that may be necessary for the performance of their tasks. They have undertaken to grant to the United Nations personnel all the relevant privileges and immunities provided for by the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations. They have further undertaken to be responsible for the safety of the United Nations personnel while operating in their respective countries.

17. The two Governments have also undertaken to bear the cost of all facilities and services they are providing to the Good Offices Mission. It is envisaged that other expenses of the operation will be financed under the regular budget of the United Nations. In this context, a voluntary contribution by Japan associated with the Special Account of the United Nations has been received in connection with the efforts to achieve a political solution to the situation relating to Afghanistan. The full cost of the Mission has been provisionally estimated at \$US 7.8 million for a duration of one year. In order to bridge the period until a decision is taken by the General Assembly, and in accordance with paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 42/227 on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the biennium 1988-1989, the authorization has been obtained of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to enter into commitments not exceeding \$US 5 million to cover the period 25 April to 31 October 1988. Revised estimates on the financing of UNGOMAP will be submitted to the General Assembly at its forty-third session.

18. With the co-operation of the Parties the Good Offices Mission has been discharging the functions entrusted to it. In accordance with the terms of the Agreements, the advance party of the Mission arrived in the area on 25 April 1988, 20 days prior to the entry into force of the Agreements, and the two headquarters units with the combined total complement of 50 military officers were operational well in advance of 15 May 1988, when the instruments entered into force. Some initial administrative and logistic difficulties that were encountered, particularly at Islamabad headquarters unit, have been overcome.

19. The first review of the operation of the Mission was conducted by my Representative, assisted by my Military Adviser, Major-General Timothy K. Dibuma, and by General Helminen, in Geneva from 24 to 26 May 1988. On that occasion, Mr. Cordovez also held extensive consultations with the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan. The Government of Afghanistan was also invited to send a representative to participate in the review, but regrettably it did not prove possible for a representative to travel to Geneva.

20. A broader review was conducted by Mr. Cordovez when he travelled to the area from 29 June to 10 July 1988. In Islamabad, he met with President Zia ul-Haq and Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan. In Kabul, he met with President Najibullah, Prime Minister Mohammed Hassan Sharq and Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil. In Kabul, he also had an opportunity to meet with military authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who briefed him on the status of the withdrawal of troops. These authorities have throughout the period of implementation given full co-operation to the Good Offices Mission. On this occasion, my Representative also

visited Teheran, where he met with Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati in order to keep the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran fully informed of developments.

21. In Islamabad and Kabul Mr. Cordoves held extensive consultations with the Governments concerned and carried out with them a thorough and detailed review of all aspects of the implementation process. He reported to me that both Governments had shown a very constructive spirit of co-operation. The discussions dealt with the compliance with substantive obligations of the Agreements as well as with the establishment and functioning of the United Nations Good Offices Mission. They centred on the initial period of the implementation of the Agreements and on measures to ensure effective compliance with the obligations arising therefrom.

22. Complaints of alleged violations have been filed by both Parties with the Good Offices Mission. Complaints submitted by Afghanistan included, inter alia, allegations of border crossings of men and matériel from Pakistan to Afghanistan, cross border firings, continued presence in Pakistan of training camps and arms depots for Afghan opposition groups, restrictions placed on refugees who wished to return, political activities hostile to the Government of Afghanistan taking place in Pakistan and violations of its airspace by Pakistani aircraft. Complaints submitted by Pakistan included, inter alia, allegations of violation of its airspace, bombing incidents, acts of sabotage and political activities by Afghanistan hostile to Pakistan. These complaints were investigated and results conveyed to both Parties in accordance with the procedure contained in the Agreements. The Good Offices Mission has also pointed out to both Parties that certain of these allegations of violations have not been accompanied by sufficient information to permit a practical and effective investigation. Difficulties have also been encountered owing to the extremely rough terrain, time lapsed from the alleged incidents and prevailing security conditions in the area of investigation. Having reviewed these complaints, both Governments reaffirmed their determination to implement the Agreements fully and to ensure faithful compliance with all obligations. Further, an understanding was reached on improving future procedures for the investigation of complaints. It was also recalled and reaffirmed that the letter and spirit of the Geneva Accords required confidentiality of the investigation procedures.

23. The Agreements provide, inter alia, for the withdrawal of one half of the foreign troops from Afghanistan by 15 August 1988 and the withdrawal of all troops within nine months. On 16 August 1988, on the basis of the report received from the Good Offices Mission, I expressed my satisfaction and that of my Representative that the withdrawal of foreign troops had been proceeding in compliance with the fourth instrument of the Geneva Accords.

24. I wish to express at this time my warm appreciation to my Representative, Mr. Diego Cordoves, for his patient and dedicated efforts spanning many years. I also pay tribute to Major-General Rauli Helminen, Mr. Benon Sevan and all the officers and civilian staff of the Good Offices Mission. They have performed with exemplary efficiency and dedication under often difficult conditions. I also take this opportunity to place on record my appreciation to the Governments providing military officers of the United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

25. With a view to enhancing the capacity of the United Nations to meet the needs of what is expected to be one of the largest programmes of humanitarian and economic assistance that the Organisation has been called upon to provide, I have appointed a Co-ordinator for Humanitarian and Economic Assistance Programmes Relating to Afghanistan, Sadruddin Aga Khan, to ensure a co-ordinated approach to the work of agencies of the United Nations system in this regard. I express my appreciation to the Governments that have made generous contributions in response to my appeal of 10 June 1988 and hope that Governments which have not yet done so would respond generously and promptly.

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26. The conclusion of the Geneva Accords represents a major stride in the efforts to bring peace to Afghanistan. As I said at the signing ceremony in Geneva, the Agreements lay the basis for the exercise by all Afghans of their right to self-determination. Their full and faithful implementation is essential in order to bring these objectives to reality. It is regrettable, therefore, that signatories of the Geneva Accords have found it necessary to express to me their preoccupation at what they considered serious violations by the other side. I cannot reiterate strongly enough that it is imperative that the signatories of these Agreements abide fully by the letter and spirit of the commitments they have undertaken and that they implement all provisions of the Agreements in good faith.

27. Further, I must express my deep concern that fighting has continued in Afghanistan taking a heavy toll in casualties, including many civilians, and that the suffering of the Afghan people as well as the economic and social problems posed to neighbouring countries by the presence of millions of refugees has not been brought to an end. This underscores the urgent need to achieve a full political settlement.

28. It goes without saying that any questions relating to the Government of Afghanistan are a matter exclusively for the people of Afghanistan to decide. To enable such an exercise has been the principal and consistent aim of the United Nations diplomatic process. It is to be hoped, therefore, that all segments of the Afghan nation would respond to this historic opportunity by working out in whatever way they see fit an acceptable mechanism that would enable them to achieve a broad-based government. In accordance with the mandate referred to in paragraph 7 above, my Representative in his personal capacity is ready to assist by facilitating communication among Afghans. In this context, he has presented a number of ideas, which are intended essentially to serve as a catalyst and are based on consultations which indicated the existence of a broad support among Afghans for a traditional way of decision-making. The United Nations remains committed to promoting conditions under which the Afghans can realize their goals of peace and concord in their country and stability in the region. I urge all Governments to lend their support to these crucial and urgent endeavours of the Afghan people.
