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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES
BETWEEN STATES
REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON
THE DRAFTING OF AN INTERNATIONAL
CONVENTION AGAINST THE RECRUITMENT,
USE, FINANCING AND TRAINING OF
MERCENARIES
DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF
GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES

 SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-third year

Letter dated 11 November 1988 from the Permanent Representative
of Afghanistan to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the statement entitled
"Comprehensive initiatives for peace", delivered by President Najibullah at a joint
session of the House of Representatives and the Senate on 29 October 1988 (see
annex).

I should be grateful if you would have the text of the present letter and its
annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda
items 72, 129, 133 and 136, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Shah Mohammad DOST
Ambassador,
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Statement entitled "Comprehensive initiatives for peace", delivered by
President Najibullah at a joint session of the House of
Representatives and the Senate on 29 October 1988

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Beneficent;

Dear members of the National Assembly,
Credible representatives of the people of Afghanistan,

It is a matter of pleasure for me to meet you, members of the national assembly of the Republic of Afghanistan, at this sensitive and critical juncture. I suppose our present meeting, held at a time when a hard and complicated condition lies before the government, the parliament and the people of Afghanistan, would be effective and fruitful and we will forge ahead with firm and practical steps for eliminating these difficulties and attaining a nationwide peace and security.

The second session of the National Assembly which is about to be concluded has adopted certain necessary decisions for the expansion and consolidation of legality and democracy in the country. It is to be mentioned with confidence that the people have more expectations from the esteemed members of the National Assembly.

The ten years of war have inflicted great losses and damages on the suffering people of our country. The adopted policy, i.e. the policy of national reconciliation is the only alternative to the devastating war and bloodshed in the country.

The constitution of our country is the constitution of national reconciliation and the parliament of the country which is the aftermath of the provisions of the constitution is the parliament of national reconciliation, a parliament which is the reflector of the interests of the people. We look from this angle to our parliament. The national and historic mission

of the parliament lies in the settlement of the most vital issue of our society i.e. the issue of war and peace. There is no doubt that the present parliament can play its vital and basic role in ensuring this national end and materialising the historic desire of the people i.e. the establishment of peace and security in the country.

The national assembly consisting of senators and representatives has engendered the hope that the members of national assembly can contribute to the consolidation of state power and the solution of urgent and acute issues of the country.

Honourable Representatives,

At present it is necessary for us to perceive in which condition do we live. Doesn't there exist a hard and complicated military situation in the country? It is the duty of the President to explain to the people the facts relating to the situation of the country and the prospects of its development.

Taking this opportunity I would like to address from this rostrum, the convention centre of the representatives of the people of Afghanistan, to all the compatriots living inside as well as outside the country that I am fully sure of their wisdom and patriotism and I believe that the destiny of peace and security of the war-stricken Afghanistan is at their hands.

With an aim to further implementing the policy of national reconciliation and reaching new borders of compromise, the government of the Republic of Afghanistan set forth new proposals for ensuring peace and security based on the exalted interests of the people and the homeland. I am confident that the new initiatives of the Republic of Afghanistan will help the realization of the peace programme in order that a common language be found between the government and the opposition.

22 months have elapsed since the proclamation of the policy of national accord. Past is the best instructor of the future. We learnt and experienced that we should act in accordance with the requirements of objective realities and conditions. Therefore, despite all hardships and obstacles on the way to the triumph of the national accord, we have traversed a long path. We have the right to ask the opposition now that if they really want peace and the cessation of bloodshed they should accept the facts and traverse the remaining half way which belongs to them.

The policy of national reconciliation opened new horizons for normalization of the situation around Afghanistan and putting an end to the conflicts and confrontations of forces. By working out the legislative pillars of the policy numerous measures and decisions have been adopted in practice. Here I would like to point out once again the measures taken in this respect;

the releasing of 16,000 political prisoners, decree on restoration of repatriates' properties, general amnesty, compilation of new principles of water and land reform management which is responsive to the demands of the middle and big land owners, endorsement of the law on the formation and activity of political parties, enactment of the Constitution of the country, holding elections to the National Assembly and local organs of state power and administration, establishment of a coalition government as a bridge towards broader coalition consisting of the representatives of three other political parties and members of the previous regimes, removal of power monopoly, invitation of all opposing parties and organizations for conducting dialogues and negotiations etc. These are all practical measures taken by the government of Afghanistan. We are prepared to go ahead and listen to all proposals of the other side.

Parallel to practical steps taken inside the country, the government of the Republic of Afghanistan, in compliance with the policy of national accord, has taken more flexible and more realistic stand in international sphere. The signing of the Geneva Agreements is in fact the logical outcome of this policy.

Following the signing of the Geneva agreements, our people impatiently waited for the urgent normalization of the situation around Afghanistan. Since the signing of the Geneva agreements, the people of Afghanistan and the world public became confident that the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union honestly and practically abide by the Geneva agreements. It is clear to all that the limited Soviet military contingent have returned home from 26 provinces of the country. The governments of Pakistan and the United States have not only violated the Agreements, but have intensified the war by repeated and flagrant interferences in our country.

We shall now see what is the proposal of the armed opposition for the people of the country. The leaders of the extremists have not so far submitted any constructive proposal for the cessation of bloodshed. They desire to seize the political power. Meanwhile each ringleader of the opposition dreams to be at the helms of the power. This way of thinking means that they want to ensure their selfish interests through war, a war in which the people of our country are burning and suffering during the last ten years.

The leaders of the opposition used to claim that if the Soviet troops are withdrawn from Afghanistan, peace will be maintained. But practically it turned out that despite the signing of the Geneva agreements and the return home of the Soviet troops, not only bloodshed did not stop but it acquired broader dimension. In case the war is not stopped and peace is not ensured with the return of Soviet troops, it means that the presence of Soviet troops have not been the cause for the war and conflict. The main cause is the encouragement of the

armed opposition by Pakistani authorities who want to kindle the flame of war in our country and want to impose a puppet regime on Afghans, a regime subservient to the ruling circles in Pakistan putting the interest of Afghan people in the service of Pakistan.

Some opposition circles outside the country, in Europe and the United States claim that following the return home of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, if the PDPA and the government of the Republic of Afghanistan give up the political power, peace and security would be established in Afghanistan. But it is practically experienced what armed clashes are under way between the armed opposition groups in areas evacuated by the state or the regions from which the armed forces have retreated. We see the people of these provinces and regions live in misery and their sons become the victims of clashes of the rival groupings every day.

Right now a part of Taluqan city has been divided between armed opposition groups. Plundering is continuing in this city. We can see the same examples in Bamyan and Kunar. Thousands of members of the opposition have been killed in infighting clashes since the return home of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. On the other hand, the opposition has not declared any socio-economic development programme for the people of Afghanistan. Yesterday they declared "Jihad" against the Soviet troops, then they claimed that they are doing "Jihad" against the Government of Afghanistan, and now they are engaged in "Jihad" against each other.

Extremists fully reject the participation of national forces in national sovereignty. If it is so what guarantees do they have for preservation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country?

What our forefathers devoted their life for? Didn't they struggle in the course of history for preservation of independence and consolidation of a central state? A country which has been divided into several parts cannot achieve genuine freedom and sovereignty. Dismembering of Afghanistan from economic and political points of view and favourable for interferences of foreign forces are the objectives of the extremists in our country.

The enemies want to damage the national character of the Afghans and weaken their national and patriotic spirit. Our people know to whom they should vote: to those who destroyed Kunduz and Takhar or to those who want the Afghans to live in honour and dignity. The enemies of Afghanistan have exerted all their mights for intensification of psychological war against Afghans aiming at humbling our nation.

We are destined to prevent such plots and intrigues. They

want to carry out their humiliating plans. If the extremists insult and humiliate the Afghanistan it also apply with them. For some film making companies under various names provides films in which they introduce the Afghans contrary to their zealousness and dignity as uncivilized people to the world public. While the Afghans have this strength and wisdom to preserve their independent identity in the contemporary world and open their way towards future, notwithstanding all hardships and difficulties and the intrigues of the enemy.

Consider the ground-to-ground rockets. It can be understood what heinous plans lie behind all these missiles. They want to instigate and intimidate the people, create panic and meanwhile revenge upon those people who think about national reconciliation and support it. The extremists claim that 99 per cent of the people of the country favour them. If it is so why do they kill their supporters in villages and cities? Imagine if the extremists seize the power how would they behave with the people. The main purpose of firing rockets is to discredit the policy of national reconciliation. Because the extremists have no capability to tolerate the peace programme. The extremists resort to highway robbery and plunder the primary and essential needs of their countrymen. They do so to keep their countrymen in starvation and hunger. What kind of military resistance is this?

Are they fighting with the government, or with the people. In most of the provinces, the people showed their heroism against these robberies. We take pride of it that our armed forces could defend the gains of the people. The enemies have not succeeded to occupy any important and strategic province of the country. Though the provinces have faced with war and interference from abroad but they do not give up resistance. It cause^s the elevation of our integrity. Though our forces are engaged in protection of highways, roads, bridges, economic institutions and the enemies do not feel a bit sense of responsibility, we have to mobilize the people in preservation of state establishments and defense of the cities and strenghtening our military forces for struggling against the extremists.

Six months after the signing of the Geneva accord and the return home of Soviet troops from Afghanistan showed that the extremists are not able to fulfill their sinister plans in strategic provinces.

Based on the objectives of the policy of national reconciliation and our military doctrine which is defensive, we have brought great changes in our fore-fronts. For example, we evacuated a number of administrative units and regiments in some border areas, so that Afghan refugees can return home and settle there without any hindrance. We also retreated in some regions. Now we should see what do they obtain by occupying the mentioned regions. Just concentrating of their forces in one or two provinces for plundering and preparing of favourable military objectives for our forces. Following the occupation of several

regions by extremists, they received deadly blows in mopping up operations carried out by our armed forces. I should clearly state that the extremists must know that they cannot gain anything through war, for they will be scattered by the armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan and receive shattering blows. Particularly that we have equipped our armed forces with new and sophisticated weapons. The only thing which singles out here is the political settlement of the issue not the military one.

A new situation that we Afghans have faced in recent months is that two ways now exist before the political parties and organizations and armed groups: Either they should jointly cooperate for peace in order to survive or they would jointly be eliminated.

The present condition of our country requires a basic turning point with the participation of all concerned forces of the country. To ensure peace and security, they should seek ways of constructive negotiations and dialogues and act for its implementation. It requires wisdom and political realism and demands a new approach for the solution of issues of the country. As it is seen the number of political figures and personalities, organizations and political parties who are interested in ensuring peace is increasing. Peace cannot be ensured by being armed against each other. Reaching an agreement with each other concludes to peace. Under the present circumstances none of the genuine national forces can reject talks and negotiations.

I should clearly tell you that till all political parties set around the negotiation table, no one can reach an accord and ensure durable peace. The present condition calls upon all forces to consider each others interests and security and approach realistically. They should popularize their rivalry through peaceful means and without resorting to force.

The government of the Republic of Afghanistan calls upon the international community to support the following peace initiatives of the Republic of Afghanistan:

1. The government of the Republic of Afghanistan calls upon the UN Security Council to immediately assess the threat which is posed against our territorial integrity and national sovereignty by the interferences in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan and violations of the Geneva agreements by Pakistan.

2. As a result of the violation of the Geneva agreements by Pakistan, the destiny of Afghan refugees in Iran and Pakistan becomes more tragic. These countries prevent the return home of Afghan refugees by different means. Calling upon international community we request it to compel the government of Pakistan to observe the implementation of the Geneva agreements.

3. In the sphere of foreign policy, Afghanistan has always pursued the policy of non-alignment and neutrality. These principles have been enshrined in the constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan. But there exist forces in the region who attempt to turn our country into a springboard of aggression against other countries and by doing so they want to deviate Afghanistan from the policy of non-alignment and neutrality. These forces should not be allowed to determine the destiny of Afghanistan in the capitals of other countries.

To confirm and guarantee this principle, we propose the convocation of an international conference on Afghanistan under the auspices of the United Nations. We ask His Excellency Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN Secretary General to undertake the responsibility of holding the conference. What points can be tabled in this conference?

- determination of the neutral status of Afghanistan;
- compilation of a comprehensive international programme for rendering assistance to the socio-economic growth of Afghanistan and creation of a mechanism for its realization;
- provision of international guarantees for defending human rights in Afghanistan, including the right to vast political freedoms.

Keeping in view the fact that in the course of ten years of war, a large quantity of assorted arms has been stock-piled in Afghanistan, the issue pertaining to the demilitarization of Afghanistan and collection of all arms in the country and their delivery to the manufacturing countries can also be studied in a bid to create an atmosphere of trust, to prevent the calamities of a civil war in the future and to establish durable peace in the country. It does not only have national, but also international character, and would create an atmosphere of non-violence and a climate of vast international cooperation in this part of Asia. In this respect, reliable international guarantees are to be given.

Our very aim behind the said proposal is to prevent our people not suffer from war and fratricide anymore. For the losses of ten-year-long war was very tremendous for us, Afghans. The first and second world wars lasted eight years as a whole, but the war and destruction are reaching a decade in Afghanistan. Under such conditions, the true offspring of the homeland and the responsible officials who think of Afghanistan and her people, must consider, as the committed political forces, the salvation of their people from these calamities, and put this mission above their ideological, party, class, stratum and group interests, and close the dangerous ways leading to the future conflicts.

4. We are making positive approach towards the formation

of a coalition government having vast and neutral bases in Afghanistan, a government acceptable for all concerned. Such a government should, above all, attract all parties to a dialogue, then adopt and fulfill serious measures as its urgent and basic tasks for convening a peace conference, establishing ceasefire and maintaining control over its observance and encountering those forces who continue to resist.

5. Our government is preparing a new economic programme now. A large number of entrepreneurs and traders, including the repatriates, have been drawn to the growth of national economy.

We would expand economic relations with different countries, and at the same time, establish contacts with western companies, and help the inauguration of the establishment of joint western companies, and help the inauguration of the ventures in Afghanistan.

The financial, monetary, credit and customs policy would also fully consider the interests of private sector in industry, transport and trade services.

I express from this tribune, the best thanks of my own the state and the people of Afghanistan to the state leaders of the Soviet Union and governments of West Germany, Japan for the agreement of granting 600 million dollar aid by the Soviet Union and assistance of the other said countries to the UN fund to be used for the rehabilitation of economy of Afghanistan. It is better for the United States to follow the example of the Soviet Union in showing good will, and instead of sending rockets to extremists, display humanism and observe human rights, and as a civilized country of the world, assist the rehabilitation of Afghanistan through granting aid to the UN fund.

Esteemed compatriots,

Following the establishment of peace in the country, the socio-economic development of the country would possess a special place in the programme of the Republic of Afghanistan. We would pursue the programme within the plan for the socio-economic development of the country. We will utilize all the possibilities, domestic resources and international assistance for providing employment, favourable opportunities for education and higher studies, improvement and ensurance of mother and child health, protection of the young generation, expansion of construction affairs, building residential houses, implying the underground resources, supplying power energy, improving the transportation and communications, encouraging the growth of trade and guaranteeing the private investments, rendering assistance to the peasants and land holders, rehabilitation of local irrigation systems. However our compatriots witness that the extremists do not have any programme for the country's socio-economic growth. You may have seen or learnt of the destructions caused by the extremists in Kunduz, Kunar, Takhar and other areas of the country. The government of the Republic of Afghanistan

does not seek to pursue the policy of revenge against anybody and any force. To take vengeance is not at all conducive with the policy of national reconciliation. All the opposition forces should be convinced of the peaceful nature and human behaviour of the State.

Honourable members of the National Assembly!

Our country traverses hard and sensitive conditions when the tasks of the overall state organs particularly the National Assembly, the highest legislative organ in the country, have been clearly defined in the constitution.

First of all it is needed that the esteemed deputies should have a comprehensive understanding of the authorities which the constitution has entrusted to the National Assembly. It should not be allowed that the legislative organs shall replace the executive organs. The most important task of a parliament member is to work for the implementation of national reconciliation policy and to seek ways for attracting the opposition forces for negotiations and understanding. Thousands of our countrymen, who burn in the flames of war, have associated their hopes to you. I think the leisure time of the National Assembly would be the most appropriate time to work for reconciliation.

We expect the esteemed deputies to cooperate, as the people's representatives, the leadership of the state and the government with their vital and fruitful consultations for ensuring peace and consolidating the defence might of the country, as well as implementing the plans of the state.

At present conditions seriously concerned are the need for strengthening lawfulness and the legislative system. We all know that in the course of implementation of the new policy strengthening the legal pillars and fundamentals of this policy is one of the basic questions at the focus of our attention. It means that following the proclamation of national reconciliation, consistent efforts have been made so that lawfulness and legal system can be strengthened in the society and necessary legal foundations come into being for the determination of rights, freedoms as well as perception of the tasks and obligations of the citizens. Based upon this after the proclamation of the peace programme over 60 legislative documents mostly concerning with guaranteeing the rights and determining the obligations of the citizens have been enacted. These documents plus other legislations enforced in the country which constitute the pillars for our activities, reflect our humanism and human approach towards the settlement of the issues. They show our trust to the lawfulness and domination of law in the society.

With the enactment of the constitution last November, a new chapter was opened in the socio-political life of our country. The constitution brought about democratic and human foundations

with regards to the freedoms, rights and obligations of the citizens.

I would like to explicitly declare that the guide of our activities are the constitution and other legislations enforced in the country in complete compliance with the provisions of the sacred religion of Islam. Changes in the political system, and the completion of state structure including the creation of the parliament, a government of coalition character, establishment of political parties-measures adopted according to the constitution-has opened a proper atmosphere so that we can fulfill, in the light of the government, law, the domination of law over all the spheres of social life, the historic aspirations and wishes of our countrymen. Our enemies, however, try to justify as one-sided the measures adopted and to misuse for their selfish aims good will and the democratic atmosphere rampant in the society. So we consider it necessary to repeat emphatically a set of principles for prevention of misunderstanding. I would like to draw the serious attention of the state officials to the legal system of our country. Our perception of right and rights is not disputable and abstract. We evaluate the right in relation with the obligation and rights of the citizens in connection with their obligations. We consider them both equally necessary for each other. We study the meaning of democracy in relation with the current political-military situation. In present conditions, the meaning of democracy inside our society is to establish secure conditions for the full implementation of national reconciliation policy. That is why more outstanding is our historic responsibility for struggling against the attempts for creating disorder, disseminating fabrications and other efforts made against the strengthening of state power and discrediting the Republic of Afghanistan. Therefore, in keeping with the constitution and legislations of the country we have to take concrete steps for preventing the disruption of the conditions which have come into being thanks to the policy of national reconciliation and the enactment of the constitution. Doing so we should provide for the complete realization of the law predominant in the country.

Relying on the constitution, I want to mention the following:

According to article four of the constitution, the state is bound to resolutely defend the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, maintain the security and the defence capability of the country. Therefore we are assigned to employ all our possibilities for fulfilling the above objective.

The last clause of article 64 of the constitution has embodied an important principle regarding the rights and the ways of its utilization. This can be a relying point for the accomplishments and measures adopted for strengthening the lawfulness and legal system in the society.

In present conditions, we have to launch an extended struggle against the crimes which erode the state system and the society's order. I would like to particularly emphasise on the importance of the struggle against the crimes such as sabotage, anti-state war propaganda, organized activity against the internal and external security and other anti-state crimes, and crimes against national interests. Struggle against the above crimes should be placed at the pattern of the activities of the law maintenance organs. Particularly I want to draw the serious attention of the officials of the law maintenance organs, especially the organs of detection, prosecution and the attorneys to this question that is why the illegal activities of the individuals are not legally persecuted in cases which have complete legal basis.

Esteemed Deputies!

Taking this opportunity, I want to address the commanders of the groups inside the country!

The state of the Republic of Afghanistan has a special approach towards you. You have also suffered from the calamities caused by the 10-year long war. It should be clear for you more than anyone else that coming to power by one of the parties does not lead to the discontinuation of war, but on contrary, this further intensifies it. Therefore, it is the time for you to take part in administration, through understanding and negotiations. Consider this address of mine as another call for negotiations.

I address the refugee countrymen!

The extremists do not propose to you the way of return, on the contrary, they instigate you to fight against your brothers. Your entrance into the territory of Afghanistan for waging war is the path of crime against the people. Do not allow the extremists to trade on you and keep you, under various pretexts, in torrid tents. Following the signing of the Geneva agreements, they have speeded up war in villages and localities to frighten you of returning home. They want to snatch your sons for dispatching them to war and killings inside Afghanistan. Do not let the extremists use you refugees once again as a reserve force for the sake of their own designs. The country is awaiting you. Peacefully return to your dwellings.

I call upon the honourable ulema and clergymen!

Realising the objective need for establishing peace in the country, accepting enormous concessions and acting on the proposal made by you honourable ulema, the State of the Republic of Afghanistan proclaimed the policy of national reconciliation. But our enemies are misusing our goodwill for ensuring peace in the country. They disobey the order of Allah, the Almighty (who has declared: "Muslims are brothers, bring peace among them") and have intensified killing and terrorizing the innocent

people.

During the recent two months we were all witness to the sad incidents affecting every heart and spirit. Fallen victim to the rocket fired by a dirty, cruel and bestial hand were a mother and her kid who were rushing towards home, a vendor who wandered all the day for maintaining the livelihood of his family, a faithful old man who was on his way home after offering prayers, a school boy who worked half day at the bank of the street to win a loaf of bread, finally a state official, a driver, a cobbler, shopkeeper, an apprentice of a mechanic and scores of our countrymen. They are of course the son of a father, brother of a sister, husband of a wife, father of several children, member of a family and in short the bread winner of a family who has not any other task but to maintain the livelihood of his family and serve the society. They are unaware of the devil plots and their harsh consequences. The extremist disrupted the sweet sleep of innocent children and quickens the pulse of their hearts. Committing such inhuman deeds, they rob their lives add the list of innocent martyrs and make the families mourn for years for the death of their dear ones.

These incidents are frequently repeated in Kabul city and provinces. They call this "Jehad". What is "Jehad"? and "Jehad" for what?

In an Islamic country where the people enjoy full freedom in performing their religious rites and the call of Allah Akbar is raised from all its mosques, fanning the flames of war between two Muslim brothers, cannot be described as "Jehad".

During the battle of Ghazwat-ul-Marwa, the great Prophet of Allah, Mohammad Mustafa, (PBUH) ordered the army of Islam not to kill the women, children and elderly people of Kuffar (infidels), not to cut the date trees and not to destroy the houses. You see our Muslim people are killing by rockets and other heavy arms the innocent Afghan Muslims and take pride in their shameful deeds.

The United States has put in the hands of saboteurs and terrorists millions of dollars through the government of Pakistan to change our country into a ruin. Now our people are subject to the aggressions of the United States or its supporters. Acting against the order of Allah, the Almighty who has said "Oh the Muslims keep the promises you have made", the government of Pakistan tramples under foot the Charter of the United Nations.

In such conditions the tasks of the religious scholars and pious clergymen are graver than ever. According to the order of Allah: "Among you is the group which calls the people for good things, orders them for accepted works and abstains them from evil", our religious dignitaries are bound to take the initiative of calling the people for peace, which is good

in such sensitive conditions. They should more activate the pulpits of mosques and other holy places for inviting the Muslims for peace.

Recently, we all were witness to the convening of the glorious International Islamic Gathering in the capital hailing the auspicious Birth Anniversary of the Prophet of Islam. This gathering once again signified the high prestige of beloved Afghanistan in the family of Islamic countries. It was attended by prominent dignitaries of Islamic countries like Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Indonesia, Uganda, Democratic Yemen, India and a large number of ulema belonging to the world Islamic organizations. Here they saw for themselves the realities of life of our Muslim people and denounced the fabrications falsehood and insinuations made by the enemies of Afghan people from beyond the borders.

In their talks and speeches the delegates supported wholeheartedly the stand and the policy of the Republic of Afghanistan towards the current developments in the world, cessation of the fratricidal bloodshed in Afghanistan, the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation and the proposal offered by the State of the Republic of Afghanistan to hold talks with the opposition in Holy Mecca, where the Kibla (the point to which prayers are directed) is located. With full sympathy they promised to convey to their peoples the realities here and the process of implementation of national reconciliation in our country.

You dear countrymen witnessed that hailing the Mila-u-Nabi, an auspicious day for the Muslims the world over, the State of the Republic of Afghanistan organized the International Islamic Gathering attended by delegates from different countries and organizations. The state honourably marked this day. But on this very day the extremists fired 480 rockets on cities of Kabul, Kandahar, Samangan, Nangarhar, Ghazni, Logar, Paktia. As a result 12 persons were killed, 44 injured, two houses destroyed and other casualties inflicted. Such are the inhuman deeds which the opposition resort to under the guise of "Jedhad".

Distinguished ulema,

You should work further for publicizing the reconciliation, direct this humanitarian and national movement. For our way is in compliance with the tenets of holy Quran.

We request the Islamic Conference Organization to help in the reconciliation of hostile forces in Afghanistan.

Youth of the homeland, I am addressing you!

You are the active force of our society now the youth of the country are defending the homeland with arms in their hands. Our armed forces are composed of youth in principle, are completed with youth. Defence of progress, advancement, peace and living in such hard years in the history of our country are registered in the name of the youth.

Despite the conditions of war and economic pressures, the state of the Republic of Afghanistan has laid the ground for the free education for the young generation of the country both inside and outside the country. Please throw a glance at neighbouring Pakistan. The minimum annual expenditure of education in state-run schools and universities is 2,000 rupees equivalent to 20,000 Afs and the monthly expenditure in private schools is equivalent to Afs. 30,000 which the families of school and college students have to pay. But a great deal has been done during difficult years in our country for raising the general knowledge of young generation. Universal free education has been enshrined in the Constitution of the country.

The military-political situation of the country needs for the active participation of youth in the consolidation of defence capability of the country. Under conditions when the destructions and intrigues of extremist and belligerent forces are intensified, the youth cannot keep themselves away from the participation in ensuring the order and security of peace-loving population.

The task of present moment is to achieve peace. Then let us struggle for the sake of peace, cooperation and national reconciliation, and defend them in an enthusiastic and patriotic manner.

Soldiers, officers and officials of the armed forces of the country!

Defend your free, independent, neutral and peace-loving homeland, safeguard the territorial integrity and independence of the country. You have proved in the course of last ten years that the armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan are able to defend the homeland. The epics of the servicemen of our armed forces in Qalat, Nangarhar, Ghazni, Kunar, Khost, Gardes, Herat, Kandahar and other provinces have been recorded in the country's history.

Generals and officers, soldiers and officials of the armed forces of the RA, true patriots, you are a matter of pride for your republic both on earth and in space.

Your countrymen have kept the eyes of hope on you more than ever so that you defend peace and tranquility for them.

I am addressing the true patriots who have chosen the path of reconciliation:

So far we have refrained from no effort for ensuring peace and tranquility. We are not alone in this struggle. How is it possible to feel ourselves alone in this noble and humanitarian struggle which the people of Afghanistan wholeheartedly support. We have powerful parties, international comrades and friends who also struggle for the sake of peace.

However, love and support for peace are not enough, but

one must struggle for achieving it. Your help, the Muslim people of Afghanistan is our permanent need. Please not let the repetition of an event of 59 years ago that had bitter historic experience. Today we feel regret for that. Therefore, the point of support and defence is before us today, so that we should not be remorseful tomorrow. Sacrifices of today are the honour of tomorrow.

We who have endeavoured to lay the ground for the return of the Soviet troops, have not done an incorrect thing. For we rely on our people and armed forces, and it is our national pride. Safeguarding the national honour and dignity of the people is our duty.

Occasionally rumours are spread about me saying that the President of the Republic of Afghanistan would give up struggle for the sake of national reconciliation. We will never give up the continuation of the struggle for establishing peace and security for our people. Ours is a honest and just way. We will carry on this sacred struggle for ensuring peace and tranquility for our people. If the establishment of tranquility, peace and prosperity of our people is concerned, then we will not refrain from our lives. Revolutionaries have set such examples in our country and other countries. We observe in reciprocation that the opponents work out different designs and propose various governments. They say that they want nothing for them, but only the good and welfare of the Afghan people. But hidden behind these beautiful words are their very aim of attaining power and forming various governments. Do such claims fit those who call themselves political figures and dignitaries and who chant slogans of peace?

But we say that such a government having vast bases should be created in Afghanistan that must be acceptable for the Afghan people and that can gather all forces for the sake of establishment of peace. This government has the duty, above all, to declare ceasefire and control its observance. It must convene a peace conference and lay the ground for elections and holding of Loya Jirgah. But it is favourable for the opponents to seek power prior to the establishment of peace, and sacrifice peace for the sake of power. People suffer losses everyday, but they are dreaming of their favorite government. The seal of no and failure will be put at the very beginning on every government, if it does not consider the present political system in Afghanistan, that is, the PDPA, government of the RA, the armed forces of the country, social organizations like the youth, women, trade unions and other existing foundations as a reality. Let all hear it, and instead of dreaming and conducting subjective behaviour, they must be realistic and yield to the truth.

They say, "We want peace, but you must submit the power to us to the benefit of other forces. They say so, when we set forth the policy of national reconciliation with the condi-

tions of removal of monopoly power. We have given up the monopoly of power by the PDPA for the sake of peace, so every government that can defend peace on the prevailing objective bases of the country be formed. The formation and protection of this is difficult.

Only the participation of all social and political parties and organizations in the government would form a necessary coalition and will extinguish the fire of war.

Dear countrymen,

Change the reconciliation into the major way of your life, be the true leaders of national reconciliation, unite the peace-creating wisdom with staunchness and resoluteness in defending the peaceful life of the people. Defend mosques, holy places, lycees, schools and kindergartens against the extremist attacks, don't be under the influence of capitulatory spirit.

From the view point of Islam, death is inevitable fact for every living body, and particularly for human beings. God Almighty says: "Death would find you wherever you will be, even in fortified places".

But the death would come from the Allah. It is Allah who would fix its time. Nothing would change without the will of the Almighty. Therefore the death, which we Muslims call "Ajjal" (appointed time of death) would also take place according to the will and power of the Almighty without a moment's delay. "When their "Ajjal" comes, a moment cannot be delayed or hurried". (Translation of a Quranic verse). Therefore, we must rescue, without fearing of death, but relying on Allah Almighty, our beloved country from the repeated, interrescent and destructive attacks and aggressions. We must unitedly safeguard the security of cities and provinces, including Kabul, capital of our country, that has shining ancient history, against the attacks of extremists. Our dear countrymen should not be anymore indifferent and be spectators towards the death and merciless killing of women, old men, children and youth who mourn and suffer from the shellings of rockets and heavy arms.

Let us refer to the instruction of our sacred religion, to our national history that is replete with great epics and throw glance at traditions, customs and sagas of our fathers and ancestors who valorously and manly lived in the course of 5,000 year-long history of the country, defended the security, territorial integrity and national sovereignty of our beloved Afghanistan.

Extremists propagate that the people of Afghanistan cannot safeguard the lie and security of their homeland without the existence of military troops of the Soviet Union. But before the military assistance of the Soviet Union, hadn't Afghanistan

and its brave people persistently defended manly from their country? And wasn't this country always a free and proud country? Weren't these Afghans who gained time and again the freedom and territorial integrity of the country at the cost of their blood, defended staunchly the stronghold of the defence of the homeland and delivered it to the coming generations?

Please don't be under the influence of propaganda extremists, get united for defending cities and ensuring security of Kabul and provinces, as the valorous people of Balkh and other cities created close and reliable unity and defend and safeguard through different ways, the security, state sovereignty, the life of residents, order of their socio-economic life. With such a patriotic and noble contribution, they have rescued the lives of women, children and old men, mosques, orchards, farm lands, schools, industrial institutions and other public utility institutions from the attack and aggression from the roar of missiles and rockets fired by hysteric and barbaric extremists.

Dear countrymen,

Notwithstanding all set backs, concessions, calls and facilities provided by the state, all of us have been enduring grave sufferings of death and destruction since the proclamation of the policy of national reconciliation that aims at establishment of mostly wanted and befitting cause of peace. We have done so in a hope that Islamic, Afghan and human cause of peace would not be damaged facing the similar approach. During all this period, we have always taken the first strides for peace. But if extremists respond to these peaceable measures with fire, then we would have to give them necessary answer. As the holy Quran orders: "Invade those in such a manner in which they had invaded you".

Instigated by the strangers, the extremists with their adventuristic and perplexed measures, have put us in a state of being to teach them that the people and the state of the Republic of Afghanistan enjoying the power of faith and confidence in their old and traditional traditions that have always been the manifestation of valour and manliness, have the capability of defending themselves and will remain so in the future.

Security is indivisible. Universal and faithful cooperation is necessary for security.

Above all, you must not allow the destructors and terrorists to function in your cities. As a result of their shellings, civilians including children and your relative would be martyred. You must change every one of your city and residential area into an unconquerable fort. Make use of all possibilities for strenghtening theprideful armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan. One must be staunch and tolerate hardships for the sake of peace.

There exist in every city adequate quantity of arms and ammunition for organizing defence, armed forces, militarized civil units. They can achieve the set objectives through their joint efforts.

Yes, we have really showed to all peoples of the world through giving concessions and displaying reconciliation, our flexibility, democracy and inclination to the settlement of created problems through peaceful and philanthropic manner.

Dear countrymen,

We know your path is difficult. Tiredness suffers you, poverty and diseases annoy your children. You have many enemies, but fight for attaining peace and security which is your most basic wealth. Safeguard and defend freedom.

We can save Afghanistan and her people from destruction and war, through maintaining the unity of all national and patriotic forces regardless of their political views, racial, tribal and other differences. Here we recall the good traditions and advice of our ancestors.

While perceiving the high national responsibility before the history and homeland, I call upon all armed opposition, refugees and all countrymen for direct negotiations for peace. The victory is attained with patience, staunchness and consistency.

Wishing the establishment of peace and tranquility in the beloved Afghanistan.

Help comes from Allah.
