



Security Council

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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 13 October 1993, at 6.40 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. SARDENBERG	(Brazil)
<u>Members:</u>	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. MOTOMURA
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. PEDAUYE
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. TAYLHARDAT

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The meeting was called to order at 6.40 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE QUESTION CONCERNING HAITI

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (S/26573)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Haiti, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity 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. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to the distinguished Ministers representing the States of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

I invite the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Barbados, His Excellency The Honourable Mr. Branford M. Taitt; the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belize, His Excellency The Honourable Mr. Dean Barrow; the Minister for External Affairs and Organization of Eastern Caribbean States Unity of Dominica, His Excellency The Honourable Mr. Brian Alleyne; the Attorney General and Minister of Legal Affairs of Grenada, Minister Responsible for CARICOM Affairs of Grenada, Chairman of the Standing Committee of Ministers Responsible for Foreign Affairs of the Caribbean Community, His Excellency The Honourable Mr. Francis Alexis; and the Minister for Foreign Affairs and

(The President)

Tourism of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, His Excellency
The Honourable Mr. Herbert Young, to take places at the Council
table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Taitt (Barbados),
Mr. Barrow (Belize), Mr. Alleyne (Dominica), Mr. Alexis (Grenada),
and Mr. Young (St. Vincent and the Grenadines) took places at the
Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its
consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the
understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the
Secretary-General on the question concerning Haiti. This report is
contained in document S/26573.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/26578,
which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the
course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to
the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no
objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call
on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before
the voting.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): This past
Monday, the military leaders of Haiti violated a solemn agreement.
That agreement sought to resolve peacefully the governmental crisis
in their country. Armed demonstrators acting with police and
military support prevented United States troops on a United Nations

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

mission from entering Haiti. These troops were invited into Haiti by Haiti's Prime Minister, Robert Malval. America's troops were not sent to confront the military or police, but to provide technical and training assistance. The Governors Island Agreement of 3 July 1993 called for this mission.

But my Government has said from the outset that our participation depended upon the willingness of the Haitian military to provide, as promised, a cooperative and secure environment. We have never suggested or threatened an intervention in Haiti over the opposition of the military, nor has that course of action ever been endorsed or proposed by Haiti's elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. This has never been - nor should it be - some kind of gunboat diplomacy. The events in Port au Prince on Monday demonstrated a Haitian military capability that has never been contested. The force of the mob was used to delay a mission that would never have been undertaken without their consent. Some in Haiti may think that a great victory has been won, but this would be a dangerous delusion.

The day will come when democratic rule is restored to Haiti. The Governors Island Agreement sought to ensure that the transition would be peaceful, that recriminations would be minimal, and that amnesty would be given to those who illegally ousted a democratically elected President. General Cédras and Police Chief François have chosen a perilous, self-defeating and dishonourable course. They are riding a tiger that may ultimately devour them. We urge them to reconsider their actions now.

Another blow has been struck against Haitian democracy. To the vast majority of the Haitian people, I say this: The community of nations remains with you. The members of this Council are with you. The Organization of American States is with you, and the Caribbean Community is with you.

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

Today the Council votes to reimpose economic sanctions. We have not taken this decision lightly. But we know that imposing sanctions in New York has changed behaviour in Port-au-Prince. Tough economic sanctions brought the Haitian military to the bargaining table last July. Our hope is that today's renewal of sanctions will provide another wake-up call to those who seek to extinguish the democratic flame in Haiti.

I want to thank my colleagues on the Council who have cooperated in this quick action.

My Government will take firm measures to enforce this resolution. We will direct travel and financial sanctions against individuals obstructing the agreement. We will maintain the pressure for democratic change in every manner possible, short of an armed intervention that no one wants. We will continue to explore every avenue for a peaceful solution.

In closing, let me say to the Council and to the people of Haiti that the United States is committed to the return of Haitian democracy. Achieving that goal will not be easy. Our preferred course is not the stick of sanctions but the carrot of economic and technical assistance. Today the Haitian military left us no choice. But when the day comes that democracy dawns again in Haiti my Government stands ready to begin with you, the people of Haiti, the job of rebuilding and revitalizing your country.

Mr. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation has taken note, with deep concern, of the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Haiti in the light of the latest events that have taken place in that country. In this report, submitted at the request of the Council, the Secretary-General tells this body that the military authorities of Haiti have

(Mr. Taylhardat, Venezuela)

not carried out in good faith the commitments assumed in the Governors Island Agreement. That lack of compliance with the obligations imposed in the Agreement obviously reflects a situation that is a threat to peace and security in the region and requires the Council to take action under Chapter VII of the Charter.

Accordingly, my delegation supports the reimposition of sanctions on Haiti in view of the fact that, as was indicated, the Armed Forces of Haiti, one of the parties to the Governors Island Agreement, not only have not carried out their commitments in good faith but have also placed obstacles in the way of the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH).

The report submitted to us by the Secretary-General is eloquent in this respect, indicating that the Armed Forces have not heeded the instructions given by the constitutional Government of Haiti, thereby violating the principle of the subordination of the Armed Forces to the civilian authorities and demonstrating a clear and explicit lack of will to cooperate in the restoration of democracy.

In these circumstances we believe that it is essential to send an unambiguous signal to those who are challenging the authority of the Security Council and the international community, which has committed itself to guaranteeing the implementation of the Governors Island Agreement. Our purpose to assist in the return of democracy to Haiti is firm and we will not hesitate to take all measures to ensure that we attain that goal.

In conclusion, I should like to draw attention to the importance my delegation attaches to the presence this afternoon at this meeting of the distinguished Ministers and representatives of a number of the countries of the Caribbean Community, which

(Mr. Taylhardat, Venezuela)

indicates the concern aroused in all of the countries of the region by the situation prevailing in Haiti.

The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/26578.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 873 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): It was with deep regret that my delegation voted in favour of this resolution under which the Security Council decides to reimpose sanctions that had been lifted on 27 August last. But, there was no alternative, and my delegation is very pleased at the Council's extremely prompt action, which bears out its determination to ensure that the process of peace and the restoration of legality in Haiti, set in train by the Governors Island Agreement, is successfully concluded.

France condemns those responsible for acts of intimidation and violence which, contrary to the commitments they entered into, have prevented the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH).

A few days are granted before the sanctions take effect. France hopes that those in charge of the army and the police will

(Mr. MÉRIMÉE France)

use this time in order to decided to comply fully with the Governors Island Agreement, which should lead to the reinstating of the legal authorities and the return of President Aristide on 30 October. If sanctions are to be lifted, those responsible for the present impasse will have to give formal guarantees of their full cooperation with the United Nations Mission in Haiti. They must demonstrate that they are committed to strict compliance with the orders received from the constitutional Government. Finally, they must immediately implement points 7, 8 and 9 of the Governors Island Agreement, which provides, in particular, that before the return of President Aristide, the Commander-in-Chief of the Police Forces and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces should be replaced.

It should be very clear that if these provisions are not implemented within the necessary time frame, France will not hesitate to adopt additional measures against those responsible for the failure of the process. France, however, would like to believe that the interests of the Haitian people and reason will prevail.

Finally, I would recall that the French Government fully supports the action of the Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Malval, and that of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, Mr. Dante Caputo.

Mr. PEDAUYE (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): Spain has been following with great concern the serious events that have taken place in the past few days in Haiti, and specifically the harassment by the members of the Malval Government, the threats against diplomats and foreign journalists, and the incidents which prevented the disembarkation in Port-au-Prince of the components of the United Nations Mission in Haiti. These incidents, as indicated in the Secretary-General's report of 13 October 1993, made very

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

apparent the lack of any determination on the part of the Haitian military authorities to carry out the commitments freely entered into these forces are obliged to carry out the Governors Island Agreement and the resolutions of the Security Council.

As was pointed out in the Presidential statement of 17 September and in Security Council resolution 861 (1993), failure by those responsible for the military and security machinery in Haiti to fulfil the commitments entered into would lead to the imposition of sanctions. The President of the Council repeated this warning in his statement of 11 October.

The delegation of Spain indicated when resolution 861 (1993) was adopted that the Council should be prepared to reimpose sanctions as quickly as it had lifted them at that time, if circumstances so required. Unfortunately, that is what has happened and, accordingly, the Council has been obliged to act with the utmost speed.

The resolution we have just adopted offers a new and final opportunity for the de facto authorities of Haiti to comply with the Governors Island Agreement. Otherwise, the Council will have no alternative but to reconsider the situation with a view to adopting additional measures.

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

The military and security authorities in Haiti would do well not to ignore the resolutions of the Security Council and the serious warning, which was issued by the President in his statement of 17 September, that they will be held personally accountable for the security of United Nations personnel in Haiti.

My delegation is firmly committed to the path embarked on for the restoration of democracy to Haiti, and we trust that the serious obstacles we are now facing can be resolved and that the United Nations Mission in Haiti will be able to carry out its mandate. It is of the utmost importance that the international community, represented by this Council, demonstrate its firm determination to confront the challenges to the authority of the United Nations which we have witnessed in recent days.

Those who believe that privileges can be maintained through fear and terror are not only morally reprehensible but ignorant as well. In today's world, no one can sit on a bayonet for very long, to use the words of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General and the Organization of American States (OAS), Mr. Dante Caputo, and with them I shall conclude my statement.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Brazil.

The Brazilian Government received with great apprehension the news of the aggravation of the situation in Haiti over the past few days. We cannot but be extremely disappointed and concerned at the fact that the commands of the Haitian Armed Forces and the police are not complying with the provisions of the Governors Island Agreement and, in particular, are not taking the measures that are required for ensuring the safety and the freedom of movement of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH).

The events of 11 October when, by acts of intimidation and violence, a ship carrying a contingent of UNMIH members was

(The President)

prevented from docking in Port au Prince, thus making it impossible for UNMIH personnel to disembark, were extremely serious. It was and it is clearly the duty of the military and security authorities in Haiti to ensure conditions for UNMIH personnel to arrive safely in Haiti and afterwards to perform their tasks without any obstacles.

The Organization of American States, through its Permanent Council, has condemned the acts of intimidation of 11 October as well as the lack of cooperation on the part of the military and police authorities to enable to United Nations contingent to disembark. In resolution 861 (1993) adopted last August the Security Council had already indicated that the measures of sanctions which were then suspended would be reimposed should the Haitian security authorities fail to implement in good faith the provisions of the Governors Island Agreement.

Over the past few days the authorities responsible for the armed forces and police have fallen far short of what was expected of them in order to ensure the pursuance and successful conclusion of the democratic process in Haiti. The Council thus had to respond appropriately but making it clear that it will continue to support firmly the restoration of legitimacy, democracy and the rule of law in Haiti. To do otherwise would not be consistent with the goals and principles of the Organization.

It is important that the authorities responsible for public security in Haiti understand this. We believe the resolution just adopted leaves no doubt as to our determination, and Brazil therefore hopes that the Secretary-General and his Special Representative will be successful in their efforts to ensure the necessary conditions for the work of UNMIH and for the continuation of the democratic process as established in the Governors Island Agreement.

(The President)

I now resume my function as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.