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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 13 September 1993, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mr. TAYLHARDAT

(Venezuela)

Members:

Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
France	Mr. MERIMEE
Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
Japan	Mr. HATANO
Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
United States of America	Mr. WALKER

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The meeting was called to order at 4.50 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN
MOZAMBIQUE (S/26385 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Mozambique in which he requests 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 that representative 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. Afonso (Mozambique) took a place at the Council table.

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

The 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 United Nations Operation in Mozambique, documents S/26385 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/26426, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

I should like to draw attention to the following revision to be made to the draft resolution contained in document S/26426, in its provisional form: at the end of operative paragraph 7, the words "and information" should be deleted.

(The President)

Members of the Council have also received photocopies of a letter dated 8 September 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Mozambique to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, which will be issued as document S/26432.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it, as orally revised in its provisional form. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

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.

Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): First of all, I wish to congratulate you warmly as a distinguished diplomat and as the representative of Venezuela on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September. Your unique diplomatic experience and skills are guarantees that the conduct of the work of the Council will be in good hands. I should also like to convey a well-deserved word of recognition to Ambassador Madeline Albright, Permanent Representative of the United States, for the intelligence and enthusiasm with which she guided the work of the Council last month.

Close and solid ties link Brazil to the Portuguese-speaking community of nations. It is thus with great attention that the Brazilian Government has been following the evolution of the situation in Mozambique and the commendable work of the United Nations in that country, to which we are connected by history, culture and the common quest for economic development and social progress.

The latest report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) confirms that important positive developments have recently enhanced the advancement of the peace process. Those developments, which include a fruitful series of meetings in Maputo between the President of the Republic of Mozambique and the leader of RENAMO, allow for a certain sense of optimism.

The Final Document of the meeting between President Joaquim Alberto Chissano and Mr. Afonso Macacho Dhlakama spells out measures related to the territorial administration of the country and the

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

running of police activities that, once put into practice, should help in the smooth implementation of the General Peace Agreement. Some progress has also been achieved on the humanitarian front, despite financial shortcomings that we expect can be overcome soon. The successful implementation of the comprehensive humanitarian programme remains an essential aspect of the United Nations efforts in Mozambique.

This encouraging picture, however, must under no circumstance overshadow the need for the Security Council to keep a watchful eye as the peace process unfolds. The revised timetable for the implementation of all provisions of the General Peace Agreement must be applied in a timely fashion, as stated in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution now before the Council.

We expect that current problems, such as the question of the composition of the National Electoral Commission, the adoption of the electoral law and the delay in the initiation of the cantonment and demobilization process, will be solved in the light of the newly improved political climate. The holding of democratic elections by October 1994 must be kept as a fundamental objective.

The steadfastness and commitment to the peace process displayed by the Mozambican Government, under the leadership of President Chissano, are to be commended. As rightly stated in the draft resolution before us, it is essential that RENAMO and other political parties join with the Government in ensuring the full and undelayed implementation in good faith of the General Peace Agreement.

Only a lasting peace will make it possible for the Mozambican people to regain the path to development and to embark upon the challenging task of national reconciliation and reconstruction. For its part, the international community must stand ready to do its share and contribute to the successful outcome of the peace process and to the reconstruction efforts that will follow.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Brazil for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Please allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am confident that with your rich diplomatic experience and talents you will successfully guide the work of the Council for this month. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Albright of the United States, for her outstanding contribution to the successful conclusion of the work of the Council last month.

The General Peace Agreement of Mozambique has brought hope for an end to the civil war which has lasted for more than 10 years, and has opened up new vistas for the restoration of peace and economic revitalization there. The Chinese delegation is glad to note that, through the efforts of the United Nations and the two Mozambican parties, initial progress has been made in the peace process in Mozambique and that agreements on state administration and the impartiality of the national police force were reached in the wake of the direct talks between President Joaquim Chissano and President Afonso Dhlakama of the RENAMO. This gives powerful impetus to the peace process in Mozambique. However, owing to various reasons the implementation of the peace agreement is still faced with many difficulties, and the two sides have yet to reach agreement on questions such as that of the future National Electoral Commission. We wish to express our deep concern about this.

The peace process in Mozambique is now at a crucial stage. In order to ensure that the general elections are held on schedule in October 1994, the two Mozambican sides must adopt practical measures, fulfil their commitments, cooperate with the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and act strictly in accordance with the new timetable. The current priority is for the two sides to complete the assembly and demobilization of their troops as early as possible and form a new national defence force so as to create conditions for the early realization of national reconciliation. The draft resolution before us exactly reflects this desire of the members of the Council. The Chinese delegation will therefore vote in favour of it.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

The Council will now vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/26426, as orally revised in its provisional form.

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 (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 863 (1993).

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

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): I would like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council and by thanking your predecessor, Ambassador Albright, for her splendid work in the previous month.

I would like to make a few remarks about the resolution we have just adopted. Firstly, my Government welcomes the positive developments, and welcomes in particular the useful outcome of the talks that have been held between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama. We would, however, like to underscore how important we feel it is for these two leaders to continue to meet frequently during the process of implementation of the peace agreements, because we believe that is the best way to ensure a continuing momentum in applying the agreements.

Secondly, I would not wish to conceal that we are concerned at continuing slippage in the timetable that was laid down when the two parties first came to the negotiating table and reached agreement. I think it is important that the parties to this Agreement in Mozambique should be aware that the resources of the international community are finite and are under great strain at the moment. There are many calls on these resources from many parts of the world, so if

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

international commitment is to be sustained in the Mozambique peace process - and my Government is very strongly devoted to sustaining that international commitment - it really is essential for progress to be continuous, visible and sustained. Otherwise, it will not be easy to maintain that support, and we would wish to do so.

As we see it, the priorities that lie immediately ahead are: Firstly, the assembly and demobilization of troops, which is absolutely crucial if the timetable for holding the elections is to be retained and met. Secondly, the arrival of the remainder of the RENAMO trainees for the joint U.K./Zimbabwe military training at Nyanga. This is equally important because it is the basis of the future National Army of Mozambique. And, thirdly, progress in the multi-party consultative conference on the electoral law, in order to prepare for elections by October 1994, is now urgent. The process of agreeing on those preparations for elections has become temporarily halted, and the resolution does refer critically to that hesitation. We hope that it can be overcome very rapidly and we would strongly express the hope that there will be no further conditions placed in the way of the work of the Electoral Commission. In that respect, we believe that RENAMO has a particular responsibility not to raise further difficulties.

Finally, we very much look forward to the Secretary-General's report on the possibilities for responding to the two parties' wish that the United Nations monitor police activities. We hope that in the interests of timeliness and economy, the Secretariat will consider transferring some of the elements of ONUMOZ that are already deployed to meet this task. We for our part will be ready to take decisions on the report of the Secretary-General when it is submitted to us, and we hope that report can come forward, as the Council has asked, before the end of October.

I will conclude by saying that we very strongly support and welcome the work done by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. Mr. Ajello seems to us to be navigating with great skill under quite difficult circumstances to apply a very complex Agreement, and he has all our support.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): I would like to begin by extending to you, Mr. President, a very warm welcome to New York, not that you are a stranger here. The facility and ease with which you have settled into your new position is just one indication of your experience and capabilities. In the few days that you have been here, you have indeed proved to be a worthy successor to your brilliant predecessor.

Immediately upon arrival, you have been straddled with the difficult and demanding task of presiding over the Security Council. I wish to congratulate you not only on assuming the office of President of the Council but also on the skilful manner with which you are discharging your onerous responsibilities. I pledge to you the unqualified cooperation of my delegation.

May I also place on record our special thanks and sincere appreciation for the leadership that Ambassador Madeleine Albright, Permanent Representative of the United States, provided to the Council last month. Her presidency bore the stamp not only of diligence, thoroughness and efficiency but also of her personal charm, warmth and a particularly strong human touch. My delegation was profoundly impressed by her sincerity and her most effective leadership.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for his report of 30 August 1993 on Mozambique. The report is informative and lucid. We also appreciate the information provided subsequent to the report.

There are a number of positive developments in the ongoing process in Mozambique which are a source of satisfaction to my delegation. We are pleased that the military component of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) is now fully deployed and that considerable progress has been made in the establishment of assembly areas for the cantonment and eventual demobilization of Mozambique Government troops and RENAMO troops. We are thankful to all the troop-contributing countries, as without their contributions this would not have been possible.

The continuing flow of Mozambican refugees back to their country is another encouraging sign. This shows that, despite some initial hesitation, the process set in motion under United Nations auspices and within the framework of the General Peace Agreement enjoys credibility among the people of Mozambique.

We are encouraged that some of the Commissions set up under the General Peace Agreement have continued their work and made headway in a number of areas. However, the failure of the Commission for State Administration, the National Information Commission and the Police Affairs Commission to convene is indeed disturbing. We urge the Mozambique Government as well as RENAMO to immediately resolve their differences in this context and to make the Commissions functional without any further delay.

Perhaps the most significant recent development is the commencement of direct talks between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama. These talks have already led to an important agreement. We endorse their joint request for United Nations monitoring of police activities in Mozambique, and would encourage the Secretary-General to move as expeditiously as possible in this regard. We also welcome the readiness of RENAMO to accept the principle of a single Administration for all of Mozambique.

Despite the recent forward movement in the implementation of the Mozambique Peace Agreement, the delays that have already occurred have not been fully

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

overcome. The progress towards the finalization of the election law is much too slow. The apparent deadlock over the question of the composition of the National Electoral Commission is unfortunate. If work relating to the election law, as well as in other areas, is not completed in time, the entire programme could be thrown into disarray, making it impossible to hold the general elections in October 1994, as presently envisaged.

The imbroglio in Mozambique is basically an internal problem of that country. The international community has already invested a lot of time, effort and money, and is prepared to continue to assist the Mozambicans in restoring democratic institutions, stability and law and order in their country. But the leaders of Mozambique would be well advised not to treat the international commitment as open-ended nor to regard the resources being made available to help them as inexhaustible.

My delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted, since it addresses adequately the concerns and views of the Government of Pakistan on the peace process in Mozambique.

The President (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): Allow me to express to you, Sir, my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September.

I also wish to convey my warm thanks and appreciation to Ambassador Albright for the skilful manner in which she guided the Council's work last month.

Japan welcomed the start of the meetings between Mr. Chissano, the President of Mozambique, and Mr. Dhlakama, the President of RENAMO. But unfortunately the peace process does not appear to be advancing smoothly, and the delay that continues to beset the peace process is a source of profound concern to all. For this reason, Japan supported the resolution we have just adopted and is gratified that by virtue of its unanimous adoption it conveys the unity of the Council's views on this matter.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

The resolution reaffirms the international community's commitment to restore peace to Mozambique and its insistence that the elections be held no later than October next year. Past experience in Africa has taught us that the assembly and demobilization of troops should be effected before the elections take place, and that if the scheduled date of the elections is to be met this effort of cantonment and demobilization should begin immediately.

My Government has been approached on the need for economic support and foreign investment for the economic reconstruction of Mozambique. But progress in the peace process is perhaps essential for smooth and effective implementation of assistance and investment from abroad.

In their first direct talks the two leaders reached agreement on a number of elements that are critically important to the implementation of the peace process. It is now time for both sides to demonstrate their good faith by translating their words into actions that will restore genuine peace and democracy to Mozambique.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Japan for his statement.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): First, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on the effective way in which you are carrying out your functions. Your well-known diplomatic skill is the best guarantee of positive results from the Council's work this month. I also wish to express my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Albright of the United States for the excellent way in which she conducted our work during August.

The report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Mozambique, and in particular the document signed on 3 September in Maputo by the President of the Republic of Mozambique, Mr. Chissano, and the leader of RENAMO, Mr. Dhalakama, emphasize the importance of the recent progress achieved in the peace process in that country in order to bring about the rapid implementation of all the provisions of the General Peace Agreement.

The Council can congratulate itself on the fact that since the adoption of resolution 850 (1993) two months ago the parties to the conflict have demonstrated to the international community, through concrete facts, their

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

determination to resolve their differences and make progress in the peace process. The recent meetings between President Chissano and Mr. Dhalakama are clear proof of this. We sincerely hope that this dialogue will be maintained as an essential part of the peace process and will make it possible to make progress on the various outstanding issues, with a view to ensuring that the process leads to a happy conclusion with the holding of democratic elections in October 1994.

We must also congratulate ourselves on the fact that the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), in which my country participates, is effectively carrying out its mandate under the skilful leadership of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ajello. The completion of the deployment of ONUMOZ is good news, as is the progress in the work of the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Force, which is permitting the training of instructors in Nyanga, as well as other far-reaching measures.

The work of helping the people of Mozambique, who for 16 years have suffered the consequences of a bloody conflict, and of making it possible to rebuild their society is an integral part of the work of the United Nations forces in that country. Therefore, we must reaffirm the need for the humanitarian assistance programme to continue to have the cooperation of the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO in order to give the civilian population full access to humanitarian aid.

The agreement reached on 3 September embodies the principle of a single Administration for the whole country. This matter, which was formerly one of the main difficulties between the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO, has been satisfactorily resolved by the two parties. We appeal to them to ensure that the agreement is rapidly and effectively put into practice in the field, thus creating the necessary basis for the development of democracy and the holding of elections.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

We are certain that the Security Council will consider favourably the proposals to be submitted to it by the Secretary-General in order to respond to the request of the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO that the United Nations carry out police activity observer missions in the country. This aspect is of crucial importance in order to build confidence among all parties and citizens, and the United Nations must continue to play an active role in this area. We also trust that this will give the Secretary-General an opportunity to review the current deployment of ONUMOZ in order to adapt it to the new circumstances.

In connection with these facts, which are very encouraging, we must also express our concern at the difficulties that persist in certain essential points of the compliance with the provisions of the General Peace Agreement. The hopes of the people of Mozambique and the international community cannot be disappointed, particularly now that there is a dynamic of progress. Accordingly, the Council has adopted resolution 863 (1993), which reflects both its satisfaction and its impatience to see the light at the end of the tunnel, which is only too slow in coming.

The will of the parties, and RENAMO in particular, must be reconfirmed by a rapid start of the process of cantonment and demobilization of troops in accordance with the revised timetable for the implementation of the provisions of the General Peace Agreement. It must also be reconfirmed with the beginning and development of the work of the various national commissions. Lastly, it should be reaffirmed, and speedily, by the agreement of all parties on the draft election law, including the establishment of a national election commission that is balanced and effective. These are the steps to be achieved and they must be achieved relatively quickly, if there is any true desire to hold democratic elections by October 1994.

My delegation would like to express its concern that any delay in this process will eventually wear out the international community, adversely affecting external support for the entire process. Spain is committed to the peace process in Mozambique, and we are therefore hopeful that the interests of the people of Mozambique will prevail above all else in the priorities of the Government and RENAMO. Those priorities, which the international community

Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

shares, are peace, reconciliation and development. The 3 September document shows the path to be followed.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): I should like to thank Ambassador Albright of the United States for her excellent guidance of the Security Council's work during the month of August.

I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome you, Sir, and to express my certainty that you will guarantee the effective functioning of the Council's deliberations during the month of September.

The adoption of resolution 863 (1993) is an important stage in the settlement process that will lead Mozambique to a state of lasting internal peace and security. If, as we would wish, this process is accompanied by the necessary wisdom, clear-sightedness and political will of the Mozambican leaders, the efforts to establish democratic political institutions in that southern African country will be crowned with success. If, however, these essential elements are missing, the situation can only culminate in a new and bloody tragedy for the Mozambican people.

We believe that the Security Council's action is timely, because the positive internal developments within the country now need fresh political stimulus from the outside so as to give fresh impetus to the talks between the Mozambican Government and RENAMO and to halt unjustified attempts to slow and harmfully delay the settlement process. In this context, we attach importance to the firm language of the resolution, particularly as regards the cantonment and demobilization of troops, as well as the establishment of the revised calendar for the implementation of the General Peace Agreement. The political attention and commitment of the Security Council are, we are sure, a significant contribution to the holding of free and fair elections in Mozambique in October 1994, at the latest, and to respect for the results of these elections by the parties involved. In this way, we will avoid repeating the poor example recently set in the same area of Africa, the consequences of which continue to afflict the Angolan people.

(Mr. Erdős, Hungary)

For the settlement process to achieve results, it is essential to establish a single administrative system covering the entire territory of the country. We expect the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO alike to permit without further delay the effective functioning of the National Commission for Administration, the National Information Commission and the Police Affairs Commission. In any case, the Security Council will continue to follow closely the evolution of the situation relating to the implementation of the provisions of the General Peace Agreement. It should also be noted that, in accordance with resolution 863 (1993), the Council will receive a further report of the Secretary-General on this matter before the end of October.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Hungary for his kind words addressed to me.

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

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.