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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH MEETINGHeld at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 23 February 1994, at 11.30 a.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. OLHAYE	(Djibouti)
<u>Members:</u>	Argentina	Mr. CARDENAS
	Brazil	Mr. FUJITA
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. KOVANDA
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	New Zealand	Mr. BOHEMEN
	Nigeria	Mr. OTUYELU
	Oman	Mr. AL-KHUSSAIBY
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Rwanda	Mr. BIZIMANA
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. INDERFURTH

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The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.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/1994/89 and Add.1 and Add.2)

The PRESIDENT: 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: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its 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 (ONUMOZ), contained in documents S/1994/89 and Addenda 1 and 2.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/188, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker is the representative of Mozambique, on whom I now call.

Mr. AFONSO (Mozambique): First of all, Sir, I wish to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are confident that, with your well-known experience and excellent leadership qualities, you will guide our deliberations to a successful conclusion. I also wish to pay special tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Karel Kovanda of the Czech Republic, for the excellent job he did during his presidency last month.

I also wish to seize this occasion to welcome most sincerely the new members of the Council: Argentina, the Czech Republic, Nigeria, Oman and Rwanda. I pledge to them my delegation's full support and cooperation, and I look forward to working very closely with them in the months ahead.

Let me also avail myself of this opportunity to express my delegation's deepest gratitude for the excellent performance by the delegations of Cape Verde, Hungary, Japan, Morocco and Venezuela during their mandate and for their intensive work on the Council over the past two years.

I would like to reiterate my Government's deepest respect for our Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and for his continued efforts in the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security.

My delegation is happy to participate in this meeting of the Security Council, which was convened to consider the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), as requested by resolution 882 (1993). On behalf of my Government, I would like to make a few comments regarding some issues identified in the Secretary-General's report, to which we attach great importance.

First of all, I wish to address the issue of the disengagement of ONUMOZ's military contingent from Mozambique. It is our belief

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

that the reduction of the military component should be undertaken in connection with developments in the demobilization of troops and in the training and coming into operation of the Mozambican Defence Force, the new army. In December 1992 my Government agreed with resolution 797 (1992), which requested the Secretary-General to seek economies through "phased deployment" and to report regularly in that regard. We recognize that since then significant and encouraging progress has been made in the implementation of major aspects of the General Peace Agreement.

Throughout this process, my Government has always been sensitive to the burden placed on the international community in assisting the Mozambican people to bring to an end the externally financed war which has ravaged our country for more than 16 years. We are conscious of the fact that the financial resources of our Organization are limited, if not already stretched beyond capacity. We therefore understand, and have accepted, the draft resolution before us today, particularly its operative paragraphs 2, 3, 4 and 19. I assure the Council and the Secretary-General that my Government will fully cooperate in the implementation of the Council's decisions.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

With regard to problems relating to the assembly and demobilization of troops, my Government has had the opportunity to explain time and again that the logistical and organizational difficulties we currently confront in no way affect the political will and good faith of the Mozambican Government to honour fully its obligations under the General Peace Agreement. As indicated in the relevant report (S/1994/89), during the initial period, Government troops, fully equipped, proceeded to the assembly areas in much larger numbers than the RENAMO forces and this continues to be the case. The organizational and logistical problems faced by my Government have led to a slowing down of the pace of the cantonment of Government troops, but the number of our assembled troops remains far larger than that of RENAMO's. According to the figures released by the ONUMOZ technical unit for demobilization, as of 21 February 1994 - two days ago - 26,768 Government troops had been checked into the assembly areas, as against 10,628 RENAMO combatants.

I would like to underline that the organizational and logistical problems faced by the Government in the assembly areas are similar to those faced in RENAMO's assembly areas, which are under the full responsibility of ONUMOZ. I wish in this respect to note that a tripartite mission - made up of representatives of the Government and RENAMO, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General himself, and representatives of the participants in the Monitoring and Supervisory Commission, namely France, Italy, Portugal, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) - visited 10 assembly areas in different parts of the country from 25 January to 5 February 1994 in order to take an in-depth look at the problems faced in those areas.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

The tripartite mission noted in that regard that the problems related to logistical support and the provision of food and adequate conditions were common to the Government and ONUMOZ. The mission noted furthermore that RENAMO areas, which, as I have said, are fully under ONUMOZ responsibility, were in no better shape than those of Government troops. In a number of cases, the mission recognized that those areas were in fact in even worse condition than those of Government forces. It also noted that with regard, for instance, to accommodations, RENAMO tents in the assembly areas were much more poorly equipped than those of Government forces. In the event of rain, they are confronted with the problem of water leakage. Complaints about a lack of clothing and blankets were also made by RENAMO combatants.

In terms of food supplies, both Government and RENAMO assembly areas were confronted with serious shortages. Generally, the assembled personnel had only one meal daily. Supplies of fresh products were deficient in Government assembly areas and almost nonexistent in RENAMO areas. The supply of fresh water, particularly in RENAMO areas, constituted another problem yet to be solved.

As far as medical care was concerned, existing problems were similar in both Government and RENAMO assembly areas. Although each camp had a medical staff, some of the assembly areas had insufficient supplies of medicines. Diseases confronting one side were common to the other.

The tripartite mission also verified that another problem in the assembly areas was related to the inability of ONUMOZ military observers to register more than 50 combatants daily out of the thousands arriving in the assembly areas each day. This could

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

explain why, out of the combined total of 37,396 combatants who had checked into assembly areas as of 21 February 1994, more than 3,000 had yet to be duly registered by ONUMOZ.

Regrettably, the report of the Secretary-General under consideration today was finalized and published prior to the mission's findings and conclusions following its visit to the assembly areas. Those findings and conclusions would indeed have been helpful in providing valuable information and answers to a wide range of issues raised in the report. We therefore believe it would have been very useful had members of the Council been fully briefed and updated on these developments and on these logistical and organizational problems.

We fully agree that it is necessary to address these matters quickly and effectively. However, we would also like the members of the Council to understand that in the present circumstances these are normal problems associated with such a large operation. Assembly areas are just transit points; difficulties arising from them should not divide us in our common determination to implement fully the General Peace Agreement. There is no deliberate intention, at least on the Government side, to neglect the health and well-being of our troops and compatriots in the assembly areas.

Rather, the Council should appreciate that, despite the severe constraints, which do not permit us to do everything we would very much like to do in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, we continue to be fully committed and determined to achieve our objectives. It is for these reasons that we continue to appeal to the international community to assist us in the fulfilment of our responsibilities in order to provide the needed support for our troops in the assembly areas and training centres.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

On the issue of arms collection, we would very much like to state that this is a matter of great concern to my Government. In fact, what happened was that in the initial phase of the cantonment of troops, while Government forces were handing over all their weapons in full compliance with the terms set forth by the Cease-fire Commission, RENAMO combatants were refusing to hand over their weapons to ONUMOZ military observers. Obviously, those actions, which were widely reported by the media, were in clear contravention of RENAMO's commitments under the Rome Agreement. Subsequently, once RENAMO's refusal had been denounced and condemned, RENAMO began to hand over to ONUMOZ completely obsolete weapons unsuitable for combat, and in some cases even traditional weapons.

As I speak today, many RENAMO combatants still report to the assembly areas without their weapons. Moreover, we have not been able to obtain any information whatsoever on the whereabouts of the remaining, and most threatening, category of medium- and heavy-calibre RENAMO weapons still unaccounted for.

A careful reading of paragraphs 6 and 7 of the Secretary-General's report can better illustrate these concerns. As indicated in these paragraphs, as of 24 January 1994, 9,895 Government soldiers had checked into assembly areas and handed over 11,382 weapons, while 6,714 RENAMO combatants had checked into assembly areas and handed over only 6,200 weapons. These concerns can be further highlighted by the most recent figures released by the ONUMOZ technical unit. According to these figures, as of 21 February 1994, 26,768 Government troops who had checked into assembly areas had handed over 27,183 weapons, while 10,628 RENAMO combatants had handed over only 8,656 weapons, representing less

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than one weapon - in fact, a figure of 0.8 - for each RENAMO soldier who checked into assembly areas.

In addition to these concerns, it was also noted during the tripartite mission's visit, that, with the exception of the Chiramba assembly area, a significant portion of RENAMO personnel in the assembly areas was made up of aged people and teenagers averaging between 13 and 15 years old. In one of the assembly areas, Muchena, some 27 per cent of the assembled personnel are physically disabled and unable to perform basic military duties.

I hope that this issue will in future command the attention of this body. My Government is not talking only about numerical imbalances between the parties. The problem is much more serious than simple statistics or the proportions of numbers of troops assembled by both parties.

It is crystal clear to everyone that it was neither the old, obsolete weapons, nor the arms of small calibre, nor the aged and physically disabled people we see today in the assembly areas, that enabled RENAMO to sustain its war efforts for more than a decade of military operations.

It would therefore appear to us that the insistence on balance between the parties should be about quantitative and qualitative balance and not just arithmetical balance. My Government is assembling its soldiers - real soldiers with all their weapons. On the other hand, what we see on the other side is predominantly the cantonment of unarmed aged people, disabled people and children. In fact, this situation risks creating a situation of unilateral disarmament and demobilization of Government troops.

These are matters of concern to my Government. Given the well-known experience in similar cases, these facts provide us, indeed, with fundamental and genuine reasons to worry. They raise

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

questions as to the real intentions of the other party. We hope that the Council in particular, and the international community at large, will put pressure on RENAMO to assemble all its combatants and surrender all its weapons.

My Government is determined to continue faithfully and fully to abide by the commitments we have entered into under the General Peace Agreement. Our target has been, and will always remain, the deadlines agreed to in the revised timetable.

As to the dispute between the parties over control of the proposed locations for assembly areas in Salamanga, I should like to point out that on three different occasions the Supervision and Monitoring Commission, the highest body established to oversee the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, has determined that RENAMO violated the cease-fire and should therefore withdraw its forces from Salamanga to positions held prior to the cease-fire. After several months of violation of the decisions of the Supervision and Monitoring Commission, we are now informed that RENAMO has finally decided to pull out from Salamanga, but it opposed the presence of any representative of the Government in the Cease-fire Commission to witness its withdrawal, which is against the agreed procedures in the Cease-fire Commission. Furthermore, RENAMO declared that it considers this area to be terra nullius. It has also stated that its withdrawal from Salamanga represents recognition that there are two separate administrations in Mozambique. All these are, of course, unfounded arguments.

Together with these attitudes, we have been hearing in recent days pronouncements by the RENAMO leadership already anticipating that eventual loss in the general elections could be possible only under conditions of fraud and unfair elections. This is, to say

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the least, disturbing. These threats take place at a time when all the institutional mechanisms necessary for the conduct of free and fair elections have been established and are fully operational.

As the Council will recall, the Government has done everything possible to accommodate RENAMO's concerns. As a result, RENAMO, as well as all other political parties, is fully represented in the National Elections Commission, where one of its seven representatives serves as a co-Vice-Chairman, and it is equally and adequately represented in the Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration. Moreover, the whole electoral process will be duly supervised by ONUMOZ and other international observers, with the possibility of appealing to the Electoral Tribunal, made up of two national judges and three international judges, to be proposed by the Security Council and appointed by the Secretary-General.

In view of what I have said, it does not make any sense that at this stage one should start questioning the validity of a process which is intended to be as transparent, free and fair as possible, precisely to avoid any misunderstandings between the parties. It is my Government's hope that as we come closer to the electoral process, these pronouncements, which are far from constructive, will be taken seriously by the Council.

In this respect, I have been instructed further by my Government to inform the Council that the Supreme Court of Mozambique is ready to take action on the nomination of the two Mozambican judges to the Electoral Tribunal next March. We would appreciate it if the Security Council and the Secretary-General could initiate consultations and mechanisms for the early appointment of the international judges in order to allow the establishment, as soon as possible, of the Electoral Tribunal.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

My Government is aware that this is a very delicate phase in our nation's history. We therefore believe that it is high time that the Security Council carried out a serious review of how it can best strengthen its authority among the parties, especially with regard to denouncing and acting upon systematic violations of the commitments made under the General Peace Agreement and the understandings reached thereafter.

In this connection, we believe that it is very important that the parties be educated and urged to review their respective codes of conduct in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement. My Government will continue to work closely with the Council, the Secretary-General and ONUMOZ towards the attainment of these objectives.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Mozambique for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

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

Mr. OTUYELU (Nigeria): My delegation would at the outset like to express its thanks to the Secretary-General for the very useful report on the current situation in Mozambique contained in documents S/1994/89 and Addenda 1 and 2. We wish to commend also the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Aldo Ajello, and all the personnel of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) for their tireless efforts in seeking to carry out ONUMOZ's mandate under very difficult military and political

(Mr. Otuyelu, Nigeria)

circumstances. Our thanks also go to those Member States and non-governmental organizations actively involved in the tasks of assembling and demobilizing troops, training the prospective Mozambican Defence Force, and coping with Mozambique's humanitarian needs.

My Government is delighted that Mozambique, a country with which Nigeria has close fraternal and historic ties, stands out as one of the few countries where an international peace-keeping operation shows positive indications of coming to a relatively early and smooth conclusion. In this connection, we are glad to note the statement made by the representative of Mozambique and to note that the assembly and cantonment of both Government and RENAMO troops have begun in the designated assembly areas, despite certain logistical problems.

On the political side, we are also delighted that preparations for elections seem to be continuing on schedule, although that schedule is becoming tighter; we note with satisfaction also the approval of the Electoral Law by the Mozambican National Assembly on 9 December 1993. We also note with satisfaction this morning the efforts to appoint judges to the Electoral Tribunal. In addition, despite occasional incidents, it has been possible to maintain a general cease-fire in Mozambique.

We are, however, mindful of the great difficulties that still lie ahead in implementing the Mozambican peace process fully: quite a few assembly areas have yet to be opened up and the demobilization of troops, the transfer of weapons from assembly areas to regional warehouses and the dismantling of the country's paramilitary forces still have to be carried out. Most crucial, perhaps, is the outstanding task of establishing the well-organized and efficient Mozambican Defence Force that, in my delegation's

(Mr. Otuyelu, Nigeria)

view, is critical to both the short- and the long-term survival of a post-ONUMOZ Mozambique.

In the context of moving the peace process forward and strengthening the existing peace mechanisms, the Council will note the suggestions and the appeal made by the representative of Mozambique this morning. We believe, however, that the Secretary-General's current proposals for an ONUMOZ police contingent, contained in Addendum 2 to his current report, when fully and promptly implemented will be adequate to achieve the objective of maintaining peace.

The necessity of having a United Nations police force to monitor all police activities in the country and provide technical support for the National Police Affairs Commission established under the General Peace Agreement signed in Rome in October 1992 - which provides the real basis for our ongoing peace efforts in the country - cannot be overemphasized.

The draft resolution before the Council this morning represents a significant step forward in our collective effort to bring peace to Mozambique and to increase peace in the world. My delegation will support it, and wishes to commend it to members for unanimous adoption, essentially for three reasons.

First, the draft resolution urges both sides in Mozambique to continue to do all that is necessary to facilitate the full implementation of all the commitments they have entered into, especially those relating to the assembly of troops and the formation of a national defence force.

Secondly, while appreciating the important role of donors in ensuring the supply of humanitarian and relief services, the draft resolution recognizes the unassuaged humanitarian needs encountered in the present situation in the country and the need for increased

(Mr. Otuyelu, Nigeria)

international assistance. Reports on the humanitarian situation in Mozambique attest to the fact that the largest refugee repatriation in African history is now under way in that country. The international community faces the challenge of the massive resettlement of 1.5 million refugees and about 4 million Mozambicans who were internally displaced by war and by famine, which, we hope, will be tackled with generosity and determination by the international community.

Thirdly, and finally, the draft resolution underscores the time constraints with which we are presently faced in implementing the peace process in Mozambique. My delegation is of the view that the projected election date of October 1994 is not particularly far away, and so it is more important now than ever before that all hands are called on deck and that the parties, in particular, are nudged forward towards cooperation and towards fully playing their part with faith in this process.

In this connection, time is of the essence, and no effort should be spared to ensure the smooth completion of the peace process. The statement by the representative of Mozambique heightens our optimism in this regard.

Mr. BIZIMANA (Rwanda) (interpretation from French): The delegation of Rwanda examined with keen interest the excellent report of the Secretary-General dated 28 January 1994 and its two addenda. My delegation fully endorses its recommendations, particularly the recommendation that a civilian police component of the United Nations be created as an integral component of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ).

We strongly believe that the proposed decision to create this civilian police component will help promote trust between the parties. My delegation is happy that one of its principal missions will be to oversee, along with other elements of ONUMOZ, the smooth progress of the electoral campaign and to ensure respect for the political rights of individuals, groups and political groupings, in accordance with the General Peace Agreement.

We believe that, as the Secretary-General indicates in his report, the generally favourable development of the situation in Mozambique argues for continued support by the international community for the peace process that has begun there.

My country wishes to see Mozambique living in peace and resolutely embarking upon the road to progress, and so we note with particular satisfaction that within the framework of the implementation of the General Peace Agreement the parties are continuing to cooperate fully and to comply with the timetable drawn up by common consent, particularly regarding the cantonment of troops in the assembly areas.

We are pleased to note that in general the process is moving ahead positively, though there are certain delays here and there in the implementation of certain aspects of the General Peace Agreement, in particular regarding the dismantling of the militia and paramilitary forces, which should have begun at the same time as the cantonment.

(Mr. Bizimana, Rwanda)

Since it is important to respect the agreed timetable, my delegation would encourage the parties involved to try to eliminate the delays. We invite them to redouble their efforts to accelerate this operation, which is a crucial stage that should generate a climate of mutual trust that will contribute to the smooth progress of the scheduled elections.

We welcome the fact that the signatories of the Peace Agreement continue to maintain contacts at the highest level, with a view to making progress within the framework of the Agreement. We believe that this political will manifested by the two parties requires the support of the international community.

As the Secretary-General's report points out, Mozambique is going through one of the most significant periods of its history, since what is happening today will determine the immediate future of the country.

My delegation notes that the elections will take place in October 1994, and we hope that the international community will spare no effort to provide financial assistance, by contributing generously to the special fund to be created to support electoral activities in Mozambique.

We believe that for the peace process in Mozambique to be crowned with success, the disarmament operation and the return of those displaced from their homes by war, as well as the repatriation of refugees, must be effective. In this context, we encourage the parties to conclude the cantonment of troops in accordance with the revised timetable.

We believe that in order to guarantee peace and stability special attention should be given to programmes to reintegrate demobilized soldiers within civilian society. In this connection, my country urges the international community to contribute to the

(Mr. Bizimana, Rwanda)

financing of the programme to support the reintegration of demobilized troops, to be carried out under the auspices of the United Nations.

On another front, it is encouraging to note that the return of displaced persons and refugees has accelerated. A significant number of persons displaced by the war have returned home, while 621,000 refugees have left the camps set up in neighbouring countries and returned to their native regions. It is important to point out, however, that all these encouraging events could be brought to a halt by the humanitarian problem, which is far from having been resolved. We therefore believe that the international community must increase its support for the global programme for humanitarian aid to Mozambique, the updated version of which was made available in November of last year.

My delegation is aware of the financial constraints which the peace-keeping operations have encountered. Thus, while we subscribe to the approach to the reduction of the military element proposed by the Secretary-General in his report, we believe that such an operation should take place after the completion of the entire demobilization process, and that it should be progressive and not prejudice the effective realization of the mandate of ONUMOZ.

My country attaches great importance to the decision the Security Council is about to take to strengthen peace in Mozambique and to facilitate the smooth holding of elections through the deployment of a United Nations civil police force.

My delegation, wishing to see Mozambique enjoy peace and stability once more and deal with the after-effects of the war that plagued it for a number of years, will vote in favour of the draft resolution the Council is about to adopt.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese):

With the help of the international community and through the efforts of the two Mozambican parties, a number of encouraging results have been achieved in the Mozambique peace process, among which I would like to mention in particular the many rounds of talks and the cooperation between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama, President of RENAMO, as well as the approval of the Electoral Law and the appointment of the National Elections Commission by the Mozambican National Assembly. Meanwhile, the paramilitary forces, the militia and the irregular troops in Mozambique have all started to demobilize, which undoubtedly will facilitate the general election.

The peace process in Mozambique is now at a crucial stage, and there is not much time left before the general election, which, according to the General Peace Agreement, is to be held in October this year. We sincerely hope that the two parties in Mozambique will continue to take practical and effective measures in cooperation with ONUMOZ, and to implement fully the General Peace Agreement and the relevant Security Council resolutions so as to ensure that the general election will be held on schedule.

At the same time, the international community, including the United Nations, should continue in every way possible to help the people of Mozambique to reach this goal so that Mozambique will be able to set out on the road of national reconstruction and economic recovery.

For the same purpose, the Secretary-General has recommended that more United Nations police monitors should be sent to Mozambique, which, in his view, will help achieve a smooth preparation for the general election and enhance the peace process. The Chinese delegation shares his view and will vote in favour of the draft resolution, which supports this recommendation.

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

The successful implementation of the General Peace Agreement depends, in the final analysis, on the Mozambican people themselves, and the key lies in a broadly-based national reconciliation. As long as there is political will, the existing difficulties can and should be removed.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council is preparing to adopt the draft resolution before us, which authorizes the establishment of a police component as an integral part of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ).

The Spanish delegation welcomes this step, which underscores the fact that the international community's commitment to the peace process in Mozambique continues to be solid, and reaffirms the hope that the international community has placed in the will of the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO to comply with the revised timetable in order to implement fully the General Peace Agreement which should lead to the holding of elections in October 1994.