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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 29 January 1993, at 8 p.m.

President: Mr. HATANO

(Japan)

Members:

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

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Mr. JESUS
Mr. CHEN Jian
Mr. OLHAYE
Mr. MERIMEE
Mr. ERDOS
Mr. SNOUSSI
Mr. O'BRIEN
Mr. MARKER
Mr. VORONTSOV
Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO

Sir David HANNAY
Mr. GREY
Mr. ARRIA

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The meeting was called to order at 8.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN GEORGIA

- (a) NOTE VERBALE DATED 25 DECEMBER 1992 FROM THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF GEORGIA ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (S/25026)
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE SITUATION IN ABKHAZIA, REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA (S/25188)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Georgia 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. Kausadze (Georgia) took a place 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 and also in response to the request contained in a note verbale dated 25 December 1992 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, which is contained in document S/25188. Members of the Council also have before them document S/25026, which contains the text of a note verbale dated 25 December 1992 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is Mr. Kausadze, Envoy of the Head of State of the Republic of Georgia, on whom I now call.

Mr. KAUSADZE (Georgia) (interpretation from Russian): The question to be taken up today by the Security Council is of vital importance for Georgia. To say that Georgia is in danger is to say nothing. It is difficult to find words to describe all that is happening in Georgia. It is a real tragedy - a nation is being destroyed. I am referring to the Abkhazians and the Georgians, children of a single people who for countless centuries have shared the same land, the same Government and the same history.

Therefore, I should like to express to the members of the Council my deepest thanks for their interest in Georgia and for their sensitivity towards it during these very troubled times.

A United Nations fact-finding mission was sent, under the leadership of the Director of the Europe Division of the Department of Political Affairs, Mr. Feissel, to Georgia in mid-September 1992. The delegation went to

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

Abkhazia and met with the representatives of local authorities in Sukhumi and with the representatives of the Gudauta group, headed by Mr. Ardzinba. On 12 October last year, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, Mr. Blanca was sent there. That delegation also held meetings in Sukhumi and Gudauta.

The situation in Abkhazia was faithfully reflected in the Secretary-General's letter to the President of the Security Council dated 10 November 1992. Georgia has constantly been visited by United Nations observers and often by representatives of a delegation from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, headed by Mr. Dyarmat, who has been actively involved in seeking a peaceful settlement to the situation, especially in the Tskhenval region. The United Nations permanent representative in Georgia, Mr. Feodor Starchevich, quickly grasped the situation and has produced very positive work.

We are grateful to all these people for their participation and assistance. The people of Georgia will never forget this help and support from people of good will, nor that the Security Council is today addressing for the third time the question of Georgia, nor that Mr. Boutros-Ghali and the United Nations are deeply and sincerely concerned by the unfolding tragedy in Georgia.

I should like to transmit to the members of the Council, on behalf of Mr. Shevardnadze, our best wishes for health and happiness and your ability to accomplish the important peacemaking mission God has assigned you. Mr. Shevardnadze has sent a letter to Mr. Boutros-Ghali in which he mentions the establishment of the United Nations armed forces, whose mission will be exclusively one of peacemaking. We hope for support. Our country is just

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

beginning to build a democratic nation and hope is of great importance to us. Our desire to live in a nation where the protection of human rights is a cornerstone of State policy, is rooted in the distant past of our history and today with your help, is further substantiated.

The Communist empire collapsed and disintegrated, along with its vast military potential. Many nations are trying to return to their true identities upon its ruins. However, the restoration of these lost States is a very problematic and difficult process, because the establishment of something new always entails a break with the past, which often takes the form of a confrontation to the death between the new and the old.

We restored the independence we lost 200 years ago. We restored our State and it was a very difficult process. Exactly a year has passed since authoritarian regime was overthrown in Georgia. The Republic has embarked on a course of building a free democratic Government. The situation was extremely tense during the transition.

A particularly difficult situation developed in the western regions of the country, especially Abkhazia, where armed gangs roved the countryside, terrorizing the local population, carrying out acts of diversion, blowing up bridges, tunnels, railway tracks, and so on. It is difficult to talk about the violence and terrorism, about the kidnapping of people on the eve of the twenty-first century. But we cannot ignore its existence. I myself experienced all the horrors of this violence. Terrorists, supporters of the former government which had been driven out of Georgia, wielding automatic weapons, riddled our car with bullets and killed a passenger. I was saved by a miracle, in which I see the will of God the day of the Transfiguration.

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

Following these events, there was a period of 40 days in which I, that is the deputy head of the Government at that time, was imprisoned. Of those 40 days, I spent 37 in Abkhazia. I was taken freely from one spot to another. After 40 days, on 19 August, as a result of a government operation which was mounted, I was released. In this situation, the government authorities had to take measures to disarm the gangs and restore order.

I must point out that these actions by the Government of Georgia were not supported by some local Abkhaz leaders. As a result, that part of western Georgia was transformed into a refuge and bridgehead for these groups of terrorist gangs. Local authorities were under the authority of a former deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Vladislav Ardzinba, an active member of the "Soyuz" block and carried out the process in partnership with the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, Zhirinovsky.

It is a known fact that the "Soyuz" block and the Zhirinovsky party include the most active opponents of democratic reforms and changes in Russia.

The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the former autonomous republic of Abkhazia, Mr. Ardzinba, with his sympathizers, is acting from a position of force, disregarding the primacy of the laws of Georgia and pursuing a policy contradicting these laws.

In accordance with the electoral law, Georgians represent 46 per cent of the population of Abkhazia and were represented by 26 deputies in the Supreme Soviet, whereas the Abkhazians, who represented only 1/8 per cent of the population, were represented by 28 deputies. The rest of the population, accounting for 36 per cent of Abkhazia, was allotted 11 deputies. Mr. Ardzinba and his cronies were thus able to implement a policy of apartheid. Abkhazians were given almost all the leadership positions.

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

Public opinion was aroused by the illegal ouster of the Minister of Internal Affairs for Abkhazia, who was of Georgian descent. This illegal decision was imposed by force. Mr. Ardzinba's hit men ravaged the Ministry of the Interior and injured the Minister.

The National Abkhazian Guard was established by Mr. Ardzinba on an ethnic basis. It subsequently became the core of the rebel forces.

Laws were adopted limiting the freedom of movement of non-Abkhazians. Furthermore, in violation of existing laws, Georgian passports were given to foreigners. Finally in July 1992, the constitution of Abkhazia was suspended.

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

Last year, in July, it was stated that the Constitution of Abkhazia was annulled. In his speech at the forty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze indicated in the United Nations that in Abkhazia a modernized form of apartheid and ethnic dictatorship had been established under which a minority had become able to impose its will on the majority. Mr. Ardzinba and his supporters had openly sided with the terrorist organizations, the "Confederation of Mountain Peoples", operating mainly in the north of the Caucasus. Mr. Ardzinba has also set up a special battalion which is one of the "Confederation's" armed, military-style groupings.

Meanwhile, armed gangs were running rampant in the western areas and had become a threat to the entire Republic. The railway was effectively blocked, and this was the main artery along which essential goods were delivered to Georgia. Bridges were regularly being blown up. The forces of law and order were unable to stand up to these bandits, who were armed to the teeth. The Republic of Georgia suffered enormous damage to property and infrastructure. Neighbouring Armenia found itself in dire straits, because the cessation of rail traffic had effectively established a blockade. Because the trains had been looted in Georgia, Georgia found itself in debt to Armenia in the amount of 6 billion roubles at the rate then current.

Those were the months when the opponents of the democratic reforms in Georgia itself, as well as beyond its borders, were mobilizing to undermine the preparations for the parliamentary elections. At the beginning of July 1992, I travelled around western Georgia, where meetings were being held with representatives of the local population. Near the town of Tsalendzhikh, I and my group were attacked and, as you know, I was taken prisoner by the terrorists. In addition to the Deputy Prime Minister - myself - the Minister of the Interior of Georgia was also taken prisoner by the bandits. All those

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taken prisoner then can confirm that throughout Abkhazia the terrorists were able to move about freely and openly both day and night.

In the situation that had arisen, the Council of State of Georgia decided to use Government forces to protect bridges, railways and other communication routes and installations. Vladislav Ardzinba was forewarned of this decision by the President of the Council of State, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze.

Further developments have shown that by that time Mr. Ardzinba and his sympathizers already had everything prepared to begin an uprising against the Government. On 14 August 1992, at 12 noon, irregular Abkhazian armed units, under orders from Mr. Ardzinba, opened fire without warning on the Sukhumi battalion of government troops. One guardsman was killed and several were wounded. That was the beginning of the armed uprising.

How was this ethnic conflict provoked? The government troops continued to advance, overcoming the rebels' armed resistance. On 15 August, they took control of the railway station and other important military objectives in Sukhumi. At this time, the officials who had been taken prisoner were released. At about this time, Mr. Ardzinba and his accomplices left the capital, Sukhumi, and established themselves in the town of Gudaut, while the government troops, to avoid further bloodshed and civilian casualties, halted their advance. At the very outset of hostilities, it became apparent that there were large numbers of terrorist mercenaries, primarily from the northern Caucasus. It is obvious that they had been infiltrated into the area in advance, and this is proven by the fact that Ardzinba and his clique, supported by various forces, had prepared for the uprising in advance and were just looking for an excuse to begin.

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

I should say that the "Confederation of Mountain Peoples", in a public decree, called on people to use terrorist methods against Georgia. That document is worth quoting here. The decree states that:

"First, all staff officers shall ensure the transfer of volunteers into Abkhazia for armed resistance against the aggressors;

"Second, all armed units of the Confederation on encountering opposition must use any and all methods to advance into Abkhazia;

"Third, Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, is declared a disaster area. Any and all methods are to be used, including acts of terrorism.

"Fourth, Georgian nationals in the territory of the Confederation are declared to be hostages.

"Fifth, all goods bound for Georgia and their means of transport are to be detained.

"State of readiness to be reported to Confederation headquarters by 2400 hours on 22 August 1992."

The Confederation was able to carry out part of its plans successfully. Mr. Ardzinba and his supporters did not conceal the presence of mercenaries within their rebel ranks. Ardzinba called them "volunteers" in his public pronouncements, "volunteers" who were helping the Abkhazian people resist the occupiers, and said that they would be given houses and land in Abkhazia, not as payment for their work as mercenaries, but as a token of the gratitude of the Abkhazian people for their support. It should be said that these houses and this land belonged to Georgian refugees.

Meanwhile, the positions of the Government troops, which had halted their advance, were constantly under attack by the Abkhazian rebel units. Criminal gangs of marauders and murderers took advantage of the situation to increase their activities. In this situation, the President of the Council of State,

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

Mr. Shevardnadze, and the President of the Russian Federation, Mr. Yeltsin, combined their efforts to bring about a halt to the bloodshed. On 3 September 1992, Mr. Shevardnadze and Mr. Yeltsin signed the final document of their meeting in Moscow. Ardzinba and the representatives of the northern Caucasian and the Caucasian Republics of the Russian Federation signed that document, in which the President of the Russian Federation and the President of the Council of State of the Republic of Georgia reaffirmed their commitment to the universally recognized principles of the territorial integrity of States and the inviolability of their borders, respect for human rights and freedoms, and the rights of national minorities.

To put the provisions of the final document into practice, a monitoring and inspection commission was set up, which included senior officials from all parties. The Government forces, to achieve the main objective - an immediate cease-fire - agreed to the compromise proposal and fell back 8 to 10 kilometres from Sukhumi, and the surrounding areas effectively became a demilitarized zone; here, the bloodshed ceased.

The next important step was the disengagement of the opposing forces along the Bzyb river. The resort towns of Gagra and Pitsunva were declared demilitarized zones and put under the control of the observers. However, the leaders of the Gudaut grouping, in violation of the Moscow agreement, demanded and are continuing to demand to this day the complete withdrawal of the government forces.

The rebel forces, backed up by the terrorist mercenaries, have repeatedly violated the cease-fire agreement. On 1 October, they attacked the town of Gagra at a time when a regular meeting of the monitoring and inspection commission was being held in Sukhumi. I was an eyewitness to these developments. Attempts by members of the commission to restore the status quo

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

were not successful. Furthermore, the rebel irregulars launched an attack, taking advantage of the small numbers of government troops, occupied the settlements of Gantiadi and Leselidze and took control of the entire territory from the Gumista river to the Russian border.

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

More than 40,000 inhabitants, mostly Georgians, had to leave their homes and flee to Russia. Subsequently they were repatriated to Georgia.

Following the treacherous attack against Gagra, Mr. Shevardnadze went to the areas of Gantiadi and Leselidze and met with people there. During a flight to one of those cities, an unidentified military helicopter shot at his helicopter. I was with him, and I can tell the Council officially that this was an assassination attempt against a Head of State, Mr. Shevardnadze, and an official statement to this effect was made on his return. Furthermore, there is a continuing investigation into the facts surrounding this affair. It became clear that the Gudauta group used the work of the commission to gain time and to achieve their goals.

On 14 January this year, more than 600 people died, 2,150 were wounded and more than 600 unaccounted for as a result of the hostilities, according to figures from the committee on human rights and international relations. The number of refugees now stands at more than 60,000. We have accurate lists of them. We have no information from the region under the control of the Gudauta group. According to eyewitness accounts, many houses were burned, especially those where Georgians lived. The civilian population was often subjected to violence and torture. Unfortunately, the exact number of casualties is unknown.

The events of the first days of October were preceded by a clear intensification of activities by the opponents of reform and democracy in Russia. Under the influence of these forces, the Russian Parliament adopted a decree on 25 September which was contrary to the provisions of the final document of the Moscow meeting, which constituted interference in Georgia's internal affairs.

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

The army units of the Russian Federation stationed in the territory of Gudauta and Eshera made a poor showing. These units for some reason are not under the orders of the high command of troops in the territory of Georgia. The facts are adduced in Mr. Boutros-Ghali's report, and I shall not dwell on them, but the Russian media presented reports which distorted the actual state of affairs in Abkhazia. Only great efforts on the part of the head of the Russian and Georgian States, Mr. Boris Yeltsin and Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, as well as the active position of democratic forces in those countries made it possible to reduce tension and continue the joint quest for a peaceful settlement.

Clearly, the actions of the Gudauta group serve well the interests of those who do not represent the Republics of the former USSR other than as provinces of the Russian Empire. In his original statement, in Stockholm, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Mr. Kozyrev, presented a bleak picture of what could be expected if those forces were to win out in Russia.

An analysis of the evolution of the conflict in Abkhazia demonstrates that even after hundreds of people were killed as a result of armed hostilities and tens of thousands were left homeless, the local inhabitants, namely Abkhazians and Georgians, did not harbour hatred towards each other. Furthermore, they often helped devastated families. They assisted each other in critical situations. Mr. Ardzinba and his accomplices were able to bring in only part of the population into their adventure. Many Abkhazians not wishing to participate in the hostilities against the Government troops left Abkhazia. The Gudauta group primarily relies on mercenary forces. On the other hand, a committee of national salvation of Abkhazia has been formed in Sukhumi by the Abkhazian population.

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

Prominent representatives of the Abkhazian intelligentsia are demanding that Ardzinba and his sympathizers cease their anti-Government actions and leave the political arena, and they have described his actions as a betrayal primarily of the interests of the Abkhazian people.

Neither is there any religious conflict between Abkhazians and Georgians. Some Abkhazians consider themselves Muslims. However, there is no active religious movement whatsoever in Abkhazia. In this part of Georgia, just as in all of Georgia, for centuries people of different faiths have lived together and continue to live together. Based on these facts, one can draw the following conclusion: the conflict in Abkhazia is neither ethnic nor religious. The conflict is a conspiracy of the Abkhazian élite nomenklatura under the leadership of Mr. Ardzinba against the authorities of the Republic of Georgia. The purpose of the conspiracy is to preserve places in the State heirarchy for themselves and members of their clan.

At the present time, in Abkhazia, in the territory controlled by Government forces, a provisional Government of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic is functioning, which has its seat in Sukhumi and enjoys the support of the Georgian population, and a committee of national salvation has been established at the initiative of the Abkhazian intelligentsia and is also functioning. Another part of the territory is controlled by the Gudauta group headed by Mr. Ardzinba.

The danger of the conflict I have just described lies in the fact that if real preventive measures are not taken, the conflict may grow into an ethnic and intranational conflict, and a conflict that cannot be settled by peaceful means. Furthermore, it may spread throughout the Caucasus in general and beyond. It is your most sacred duty, gentlemen, to prevent, together with us, yet another tragedy on earth.

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

Based on the facts of the situation, the president of the Parliament, the Head of Government of Georgia, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, has turned to you, members of the Security Council. He believes that you will adopt measures to bring about a settlement of the conflict in Georgia. By so doing, the Council will be protecting human rights, the territorial integrity of Georgia and its State sovereignty.

For our part, we have submitted our proposals. Thus, first of all, we have believed and continue to believe that Russia could make a substantial contribution to the settlement of the conflict. As for us, we are prepared, once again, to proceed to the implementation of the final document of the Moscow meeting of 3 September, on the condition that refugees will be returned to their permanent residences and also that the positions of the parties will be restored to the positions that existed on 1 September 1992. We are fully aware of the enormous difficulties of coping with this task. However, we believe in principle that it can be done.

Effective use might be made of United Nations observers and troops in finding a settlement to the conflict, and it seems to us to be very good idea for United Nations armed forces or observers to monitor the border between Georgia and the Russian Federation in order to prevent the infiltration of irregular armed units as well as illegal arms deliveries. It is extremely important for the railway and basic communication links to be under the control of United Nations troops or observers too. The resumption of railway traffic is of enormous, vital importance of Transcaucasia, and especially for Armenia, which is in dire straits. United Nations forces and observers could also ensure compliance with the cease-fire in the areas of armed conflict in

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

Sukhumi and around Tkvarcheli. Representatives of the Republics of the former USSR might be part of the United Nations force, and it seems to us to be very important for part of the high command to be made up of officers of other countries of the United Nations.

(Mr. Kausadze, Georgia)

The cease-fire, the restoration of law and order and the return of refugees will make it possible to prepare for elections to the Parliament of the Abkhazian autonomous republic. We for our part are prepared to consider any reasonable proposal for a settlement of the conflict. In this regard, it seems to us to be advisable for a group of military observers to be sent to the areas of conflict; the group should be endowed with certain negotiating powers and with a monitoring function to enable them to conduct a comprehensive study of the situation in Abkhazia and to make proposals, taking into account what is reported to them and the agreements it reaches with the interested parties.

The approach of the Georgian authorities to ending the armed confrontation is based on respect, without reservation, for two fundamental principles: the inviolability of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia and respect for its State sovereignty; and protection of human rights.

We should like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his support and for proposing that another mission should be sent to Georgia to study the situation in the conflict zone and develop practical measures to settle the conflict. We fully agree with the outlined programme of action which, together with what has already been mentioned, could also include a small United Nations police force. One of their functions could also be to re-establish normal conditions so that refugees can return.

We would welcome any proposal that does not run counter to our fundamental principles and that leads us towards our cherished goal: peace and prosperity for all the peoples of Georgia.

The PRESIDENT: Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

(The President)

"The Security Council notes with appreciation the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia (S/25188).

"The Council expresses its grave preoccupation regarding the further deterioration of the situation in Abkhazia and calls on all the parties immediately to cease the fighting and to observe and implement faithfully the terms of the agreement of 3 September 1992, which affirms that the territorial integrity of Georgia shall be ensured, which provides for a cease-fire and the commitment by the parties not to resort to the use of force, and which constitutes the basis for an overall political solution.

"The Council shares the observation of the Secretary-General that the restoration of a viable peace process in Abkhazia, based on the agreement of 3 September 1992, may require more active support by the international community to assist the parties to agree to a cease-fire, to the return of refugees to work out a political settlement; and in that context, the Council reiterates its support for the current efforts undertaken by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

"The Council endorses, to this end, the proposal of the Secretary-General to send a new mission to Georgia to review the situation in Abkhazia and it stresses the need to ensure effective coordination between the activities of the United Nations and those of the CSCE aiming at restoring peace. The Council believes that it is necessary to assess the overall political situation and to discuss and provide advice on practical matters such as the establishment and monitoring of an immediate cease-fire, the monitoring of the border in Abkhazia between Georgia and the Russian Federation, and the protection of the railway and communication links in Abkhazia.

(The President)

"The Council also endorses the proposal of the Secretary-General to send a fact-finding mission to Abkhazia to look into the allegation of violations of international humanitarian law by both sides.

"The Council requests the Secretary-General to report on the outcome of the mission and to propose measures to consolidate the cease-fire and for an overall political settlement."

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.