18. The situation in Georgia

Initial proceedings

Decision of 10 September 1992: statement by the President

By a letter dated 8 September 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹ the representative of the Russian Federation transmitted the text of the agreement on the situation in Abkhazia signed in Moscow, on 3 September 1992, by the Presidents of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Georgia, and agreed to by the leaders of Abkhazia (the "Moscow Agreement"). The Agreement, inter alia, ensured the territorial integrity of Georgia, provided for a ceasefire effective as from 5 September and established a Monitoring and Inspection Commission composed of representatives of Georgia, including Abkhazia, and the Russian Federation to ensure compliance with the Agreement. The Agreement also contained an appeal by the parties to the United Nations and to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to promote respect for the principles of settlement it set out, particularly by sending fact-finding missions and observers to the area.

On 10 September 1992, following consultations held on the same day among the members of the Security Council, the President of the Council (Ecuador) made the following statement to the media on behalf of the Council:²

The members of the Council, having heard the information provided by the Secretary-General and having considered the Final document of the Moscow meeting between the President of the Russian Federation and the Chairman of the State Council of the Republic of Georgia, held on 3 September 1992, express their satisfaction with the efforts of the participants of the meeting aimed at achieving an immediate ceasefire, overcoming the crisis situation and creating conditions for a comprehensive political settlement in Abkhazia, which had become an area of armed conflict.

The members of the Council, stressing the urgent necessity for a political settlement of the conflict by peaceful means, through negotiations, reaffirm the inadmissibility of any encroachment upon the principle of territorial integrity and upon Georgia's internationally recognized borders, and the necessity of respecting the rights of all people of all ethnic groups in the region. They welcome the resumption of the normal functioning of the legitimate authorities in Abkhazia.

In this connection the members of the Council welcome the principles of the settlement contained in the abovementioned final document and commend the concrete measures aimed at a settlement in Abkhazia envisaged in it. They call upon all the parties to the conflict and all others concerned to observe strictly the agreements achieved in Moscow.

The members of the Council take note of the intention of the Secretary-General to send a goodwill mission and request him to inform the Security Council periodically of the developments there.

Decision of 8 October 1992 (3121st meeting): statement by the President

By a letter dated 6 October 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,³ the First Deputy Foreign Minister of Georgia requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the grave and deteriorating situation in Georgia as a result of the armed conflict in Abkhazia, which threatened regional and international peace and security, and asked the Council to take appropriate action to restore peace and stability in the region.

By a letter dated 7 October 1992 addressed to the Secretary-General,⁴ the First Deputy Foreign Minister of Georgia transmitted his statement of the same date addressed to the Security Council. He described the escalation of armed conflict in Abkhazia and its implications for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia. He stated that it was unacceptable that, under "the guise of self-determination", the actual splintering of the territory of a democratic State Member of the United Nations was taking place, at the instigation of the Abkhaz leaders who represented a small fraction of the total population of Abkhazia. He emphasized that Georgia followed all the norms of international law, especially those pertaining to the protection of human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities. The First Deputy Foreign Minister contended that Russian armed forces had not complied with their obligations under the Moscow Agreement

¹ S/24523.

² S/24542; recorded as a Security Council decision in *Resolutions and Decisions of the Council, 1992*, p. 107.

³ S/24619.

⁴ S/24632.

and denounced a conspiracy between Abkhaz separatists, nationalistic terrorists from the so-called confederation of Caucasian nations and reactionary forces from within the state structures of the Russian Federation. The central Government of the Russian Federation had been unable to curb this "direct aggression" against Georgia. The conflict was not simply a local border skirmish: it might attain regional dimensions. Indeed, by the sheer magnitude of the violation of human rights, it had already become a global issue. Georgia looked to the United Nations to find a way to bring an end to the "military aggression" and to launch peace talks in the region, in compliance with the Moscow Agreement, which it considered should serve as a basis for a just and equitable settlement of the conflict. Georgia requested the Security Council to authorize the Secretary-General to send his personal representative to the region. It also asked the Council to send either a small United Nations peacekeeping force or 10 to 15 military observers who would work under the Secretary-General's personal envoy. Moreover, Georgia intended to launch a formal complaint with the International Court of Justice to investigate the cases of atrocities and numerous violations of the Vienna and Hague Conventions.

By a letter dated 7 October 1992, the Secretary-General transmitted to the Security Council a summary of the report of the mission of good offices to Georgia, which had been conducted from 12 to 20 September 1992.⁵ In his covering letter, the Secretary-General noted that the situation in Abkhazia had, since the mission, deteriorated considerably. Fierce fighting had broken out again, threatening peace and security in the region. In view of the serious deterioration in the conflict, he intended, in response to the request of the Government of Georgia,⁶ to send a further United Nations mission to the region, headed by an Under-Secretary-General. He proposed that the mission inform the parties of the international community's grave concern over the fighting; that it stress the urgency of prompt and full implementation of the Moscow Agreement; and that it explore ways in which the United Nations could support implementation of the Agreement, including through the deployment of civilian and/or military observers. The mission would include several observers who would remain in Georgia in order to provide an initial United Nations presence.

By a letter dated 8 October 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁷ the Chairman of the State Council of Georgia reported that, according to reliable sources from Abkhazia, mass executions of the Georgian civilian population, widespread torture, rape and other atrocities were being committed. He appealed to the Council to consider setting up a war crimes commission to collect evidence of possible atrocities committed in Georgia.

At its 3121st meeting, on 8 October 1992, the Council included in its agenda the letter dated 6 October 1992 from the First Deputy Foreign Minister of Georgia.⁸ Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Georgia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (France) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the above-mentioned letters of 7 October from, respectively, the First Deputy Foreign Minister of Georgia to the Secretary-General, and the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council.⁹

At the same meeting, following consultations held earlier among the members of the Security Council, the President said that he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹⁰

The Council has noted with concern the summary by the Secretary-General of 7 October 1992 of the report of the goodwill mission to Georgia regarding the situation in Georgia. It thanks the Secretary-General for the useful information contained in that document. It expresses its grave preoccupation regarding the recent deterioration of the situation in Georgia. It calls on all the parties to cease the fighting forthwith and to observe the terms of the agreement concluded on 3 September 1992 in Moscow, which affirms that the territorial integrity of Georgia shall be ensured, which provides for the establishment of a ceasefire and the commitment by the parties not to resort to the use of force, and which constitutes the basis for an overall political situation.

⁵ S/24633.

⁶ Letter dated 2 October 1992 from the Vice-Chairman of the State Council of Georgia addressed to the Secretary-General, requesting him to convene a meeting of the Security Council to consider "the situation in one of the regions of Georgia/Abkhazia" (S/24626, annex I).

⁷ S/24641.

⁸ S/24619.

⁹ S/24632 and S/24633.

¹⁰ S/24637.

The Council supports the decision of the Secretary-General to send, in response to the request of the Government of Georgia, another mission to Georgia, headed by an Under-Secretary-General, who will be accompanied by members of the Secretariat, some of whom will remain on the spot. It endorses the mandate proposed by the Secretary-General in his letter of 7 October 1992. It looks forward to the report to be submitted by the Secretary-General upon the return of his mission from Georgia and is prepared to consider the recommendations which he plans to submit to it concerning the contribution which the United Nations could make to the implementation of the agreement of 3 September 1992.

The Council notes that the current Chairman of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe intends to dispatch a mission to Georgia in the near future and underlines the need to ensure coordination between the efforts of the United Nations and those of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe aimed at restoring peace.

19. The situation relating to Nagorny-Karabakh

Initial proceedings

By a letter dated 9 May 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹ the representative of Azerbaijan transmitted a statement by the President of Azerbaijan in connection with "the grave situation in Nagorny-Karabakh as a consequence of the intensifying attacks of Armenian forces". The representative of Azerbaijan stated that the attacks had resulted in the occupation and destruction of the city of Shusha with heavy loss of life. He contended that the massive offensive, supported by the air force and tanks, was a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and a most serious threat to peace. He was accordingly bringing the "very grave situation" to the urgent attention of the Council.

The President of Azerbaijan described the bombardment of the city of Shusha - the ancient centre of Azerbaijani spiritual and cultural life - and added that Armenian forces had cut off the only road linking that city with the rest of Azerbaijan. That provocative incident had seriously jeopardized the outcome of the recent tripartite meeting at Tehran between Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Islamic Republic of Iran, at which there had been agreement that the bloodshed must be stopped. In the President's view, the matter was clear: a band of separatists and ardent nationalists from Khankendi and their protectors - not only from Armenia — was "playing with the fates of peoples, continuing to rely on force and to fan the flames of hatred and war". The separatists' new venture nullified the peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), other international organizations and a number of Heads of State who were seeking to

normalize the situation in Karabakh and on the Azerbaijani-Armenian frontier. The President warned that the destruction or capture of the sacred city would inevitably "elicit an appropriate response", and that the battle for Shusha might develop into a large-scale conflict. He appealed to CSCE, the Presidents of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan and other States of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Turkey and the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the entire international community, to restrain the aggressor.

By a letter dated 11 May 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,² the representative of Armenia transmitted a letter dated 9 May from the President of Armenia, requesting an emergency meeting of the Council to discuss the escalation of the conflict in Nagorny-Karabakh, the continuing blockade of Armenia and Nagorny-Karabakh, and the threat of potential outside intervention in the region. In his letter, the President of Armenia stated that his country was bringing the situation to the attention of the Council pursuant to Article 35 (1) of the Charter of the United Nations. While Armenia was not a party to the dispute between Nagorny-Karabakh and the Azerbaijani Republic, it had been subject to crossborder attacks from and illegal blockades by the latter. Accordingly, Armenia was specifically requesting the Security Council: (a) to dispatch peacekeeping forces to Nagorny-Karabakh; and (b) to order such other measures as it deemed necessary to compel the lifting of economic blockades, maintain and restore international peace and security, and protect human rights. Armenia also requested the Council to take measures to ensure that all States Members of the

¹ S/23894.

² S/23896.