

Secretary-General would provide at an early date all the relevant information as to the actual and estimated expenditures. He also called for private consultations, on the initiative of the President, among the members of the Council at regular intervals to examine periodic reports on the progress of the operation.⁵⁰⁹

The representative of the USSR reaffirmed his delegation's view-point that the increase of the total expenditure for the maintenance of UNEF was not justified and that the Council which was fully responsible for United Nations peace-keeping operations, should determine the size and the cost of these operations. He called once again for maximum economy in the maintenance of UNEF and for complete freedom of movement to all UNEF contingents in the area. He expressed his appreciation of the manner in which the UNEF operation was set up and emphasized the position that in accordance with the Charter the Council should be the master and commander-in-chief of all peace-keeping operations.⁵¹⁰

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that UNEF should be maintained with the maximum efficiency and economy, but that financial considerations should never be allowed to impair the efficiency of the operation.⁵¹¹

Decision of 29 November 1974 (1809th meeting): resolution 363 (1974)

At the 1809th meeting on 29 November 1974 the Security Council included the Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force dated 27 November 1974⁵¹² in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Israel were invited, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.⁵¹³ The President of the Council drew the attention of the members to a draft resolution⁵¹⁴ which was sponsored by Austria, Indonesia, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru and the United Republic of Cameroon.⁵¹⁵

The Secretary-General introduced his report and emphasized the urgency of a negotiated settlement between the two parties involved, before the dangers of a military confrontation would increase again.⁵¹⁶

The representative of Peru introduced the draft resolution co-sponsored by his delegation and expressed the hope that the parties would be encouraged to renew peace negotiations in Geneva, in the nearest possible future, with the participation of all the parties to the conflict.⁵¹⁷

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 to none; two members did not participate in the voting.⁵¹⁸ The resolution read as follows:

The Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (S/11563),

Having noted the efforts made to establish a durable and just peace in the Middle East area and the developments in the situation in the area,

Expressing concern over the prevailing state of tension in the area,

Reaffirming that the two agreements on disengagement of forces are only a step towards the implementation of Security Council resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973,

Decides:

(a) To call upon the parties concerned to implement immediately Security Council resolution 338 (1973);

(b) To renew the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force for another period of six months;

(c) That the Secretary-General will submit at the end of this period a report on the developments in the situation and the measures taken to implement resolution 338 (1973).

Speaking in explanation of the vote, the representative of the USSR stressed that the disengagement of troops on the Israeli-Syrian sector was only a first step towards a complete settlement and that the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference which should be resumed as early as possible, was most suitable in the search for a lasting peace.⁵¹⁹

The representative of the United Republic of Cameroon also emphasized that the essential objective was the renewal of negotiations under appropriate auspices for the attainment of an acceptable peace settlement.⁵²⁰

The representative of France said that it was high time that the Geneva Peace Conference resumed its work.⁵²¹

The representative of the Byelorussian SSR reaffirmed once again the particular responsibility of the Security Council in all aspects of peace-keeping operations in the Middle East as elsewhere, and he called for the resumption of the Geneva Conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the representatives of the Arab people of Palestine.⁵²²

The President speaking as the representative of the United States stated that his Government shared the sense of urgency concerning a settlement in the Middle East and would make every effort to advance step by step towards a just and lasting peace in the area.⁵²³

THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS

Decision of 15 June 1972 (1646th meeting): resolution 315 (1972)

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, following the intervention by Peru. Adopted as resolution 363 (1974).

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, intervention by the USSR.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, intervention by the United Republic of Cameroon.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, intervention by France.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, intervention by the Byelorussian SSR.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, President's closing statement.

⁵⁰⁹ 1799th meeting, intervention by France.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, USSR, first intervention.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, intervention by the United Kingdom.

⁵¹² S/11563, *OR*, 29th yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1974*, pp. 43-47.

⁵¹³ 1809th meeting.

⁵¹⁴ S/11565, subsequently adopted without change as resolution 363 (1974).

⁵¹⁵ 1809th meeting, President's opening statement.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, statement by the Secretary-General.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, intervention by Peru.

On 26 May 1972 the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report⁵²⁴ covering the developments from 1 December 1971 to 26 May 1972. After noting that all parties concerned had agreed to reactivate the intercommunal talks he hoped that the talks would be conducted in the spirit of the Charter and the Council's resolutions. As for the financial situation, the Secretary-General pledged to continue his efforts to put the current financing of the peace-keeping operation on a sound basis and to liquidate the deficit. In view of the present tension, he recommended extension of the UNFICYP mandate until 15 December 1972. In an addendum to his report issued on 8 June⁵²⁵ the Secretary-General advised the Security Council that the inaugural meeting of the talks in their new form had been held that day in Nicosia and that he had attended the meeting.

At the 1646th meeting on 15 June 1972, the Security Council adopted, without objection, the provisional agenda⁵²⁶ and invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate in the discussion.⁵²⁷ The Council considered the Secretary-General's report at its 1646th and 1647th meetings held on 15 June 1972.

At the outset of the 1646th meeting, the Secretary-General made a statement concerning his recent trip to Cyprus. He stated that after seeing the situation in Cyprus at first hand he had a better grasp of the situation and although he had no illusions about the difficulties of the problem, he was encouraged by the fact that those difficulties were fully recognized and that there prevailed a general desire and determination to continue the search for a solution.

The President (Yugoslavia) then stated that, as a result of prior consultations, an agreement had been reached on the text of a draft resolution⁵²⁸ which he then put to the vote. The said draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention.⁵²⁹ The text read as follows:

The Security Council,

Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 26 May 1972⁵³⁰ that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island,

Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 15 June 1972,

Noting also from the report the conditions prevailing in the island,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966) of 16 March, 222 (1966) of 16 June and 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966, 238 (1967) of 19 June and 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967, 247 (1968) of 18 March, 254 (1968) of 18 June and 261 (1968) of 10 December 1968, 266 (1969) of 10 June and 274 (1969) of 11

⁵²⁴ S/10664, OR, 27th yr., Supplement for April-June 1972, pp. 73-82.

⁵²⁵ S/10664/Add.1, *ibid.*, p. 83.

⁵²⁶ 1646th meeting, preceding para. 3.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 3.

⁵²⁸ S/10699, adopted without change as resolution 315 (1972).

⁵²⁹ 1646th meeting, para. 21.

⁵³⁰ S/10664, OR, 27th., Supplement for April-June 1972.

December 1969, 281 (1970) of 9 June and 291 (1970) of 10 December 1970, 293 (1971) of 26 May and 305 (1971) of 13 December 1971, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964 and at the 1383rd meeting on 25 November 1967;

2. *Urges* the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue and accelerate determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council, by availing themselves in a constructive manner of the present auspicious climate and opportunities;

3. *Extends* once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period ending 15 December 1972, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force.

After the vote, the representative of Cyprus expressed deep appreciation for the Secretary-General's active interest in the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem and welcomed the resumption of the intercommunal talks. He asserted, however, that parallel to the talks there should be a genuine effort by all concerned to encourage a climate of conciliation and confidence through normal contact between the two communities.

The representative of Turkey welcomed the Secretary-General's recent trip to Cyprus, Greece and Turkey and reiterated his country's determination to promote a peaceful, just and permanent solution to the Cyprus question. He hoped all concerned parties would reciprocate this spirit and sincerely participate in the search for a just and peaceful settlement of the conflict.

The representative of Greece welcomed the Secretary-General's initiative in securing the resumption of the intercommunal talks and expressed his country's deep appreciation for his active interest in the question. He expressed his firm conviction that the Secretary-General's efforts in regard to Cyprus would be crowned with success.

The representative of the United Kingdom congratulated the Secretary-General on his efforts in regard to the Cyprus question and the resumption of the intercommunal talks. He stressed the importance of making substantive progress in the talks and his country's close and continuing interest in a successful solution to the problem.

The representative of the United States welcomed the resumption of the intercommunal talks and praised the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on Cyprus. However, he expressed some concern at the lack of significant progress towards normalization and deconfrontation. He hoped the resumption of the intercommunal talks would enable the return to normalization.

The representative of France welcoming the resumption of the intercommunal talks, praised the Secretary-General's role in bringing this about and stressed that the Security Council, with its responsibility for maintaining peace and security, should impress upon the parties the importance it attaches to the continuation of the talks. He urged the parties to take a more pragmatic approach designed to seek a provisional solution instead of undertaking an immediate examination of all the juridical problems involved.

The representative of China expressed regret that the problem had remained unsettled for so long. He considered that dissension between the two communities had been caused by imperialist incitement and that the whole problem was an issue left over by former colonial rule.

Consequently, it could be settled only by the elimination of imperialist meddling and by consultations among the parties concerned on an equal footing. As to the question of UNFICYP, China had its principled stand and had therefore abstained on the voting.

The representative of the USSR while noting with satisfaction the resumption of the intercommunal talks expressed the hope that the hostility between the Greeks and the Turks in Cyprus would be eliminated. He asserted that the prolonged stay of the United Nations Force on the island was not a normal situation under current international conditions and accordingly called upon the Council to study the possibility of settling the Cyprus problem in order to achieve the withdrawal of UNFICYP. On that understanding, his delegation had not opposed the resolution of extending its presence, since once again the decision was based on the provisions of Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and preserved the existing functions of the Force and its system of financing on a voluntary basis.⁵³¹

Decision of 12 December 1972 (1683rd meeting): resolution 324 (1972)

On 1 December 1972, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report⁵³² on the United Nations operation in Cyprus concerning developments from 27 May to 1 December 1972. Reporting on the state of the intercommunal talks, the Secretary-General said that the reactivation of the talks had been the most important development during the period under review and a certain measure of agreement had been reached. The talks were the best instrument for achieving a lasting solution based on the concept of an independent, sovereign and unitary State with adequate preparation by the two communities. To make such a solution possible, however, two conditions would have to be met. First, both sides would have to be ready to make mutual concessions, and, second, the situation must remain quiet, with intercommunal tension kept to a minimum while the talks were pursued. In view of those considerations, the Secretary-General recommended that the mandate of UNFICYP be extended until 15 June 1973.

The Security Council considered the Secretary-General's report at its 1683rd meeting held on 12 December 1972. At the same meeting, the Council adopted, without objection, the provisional agenda⁵³³ and invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate in the discussion.⁵³⁴

Subsequently, the President announced that as a result of prior consultations, agreement had been reached on the text of a draft resolution,⁵³⁵ which he then put to the

vote. He said draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none with 1 abstention. The text read as follows:

The Security Council,

Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 1 December 1972⁵³⁶ that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island,

Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 15 December 1972,

Noting also from the report the conditions prevailing in the island,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966) of 16 March, 222 (1966) of 16 June and 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966, 238 (1967) of 19 June and 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967, 247 (1968) of 18 March, 254 (1968) of 18 June and 261 (1968) of 10 December 1968, 266 (1969) of 10 June and 274 (1969) of 11 December 1969, 281 (1970) of 9 June and 291 (1970) of 10 December 1970, 293 (1971) of 26 May and 305 (1971) of 13 December 1971 and 315 (1972) of 15 June 1972, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964 and at the 1383rd meeting on 25 November 1967;

2. *Urges* the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue and accelerate determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council, by availing themselves in a constructive manner of the present auspicious climate and opportunities;

3. *Extends* once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period ending 15 June 1973, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force.

Several representatives made statements after the voting. The representative of Cyprus stated that it was necessary to avoid activities that created tension that could adversely affect the intercommunal talks. For that reason, and as noted in the Secretary-General's report it was essential to have a measure of armed deconfrontation and a return to normal conditions. He hoped that the present climate would be conducive to bringing about such deconfrontation and normalization.

The representative of Turkey stated that as long as the Turkish community in Cyprus continued to live under conditions of extreme hardship and deprivation it would be difficult to return to normal conditions or realize a genuine deconfrontation. This could only be achieved by the elimination of the underlying causes of the Cyprus problem and by the creation of a climate of mutual confidence between the two communities.

The representative of Greece expressed his deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts aimed at bringing about a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem and voiced agreement with the view expressed in the Secretary-General's report that both sides heed the objective judgements and advice of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus in order to avoid any adverse repercussions on the reactivated talks. He also agreed with the view contained in the Secretary-General's report that any increase in military capability increased the danger of

⁵³¹ For the texts of relevant statements, see: 1646th meeting: Secretary-General, paras. 6-19; China, paras. 92-95; Cyprus, paras. 23-44; Greece, paras. 71-78; Turkey, paras. 47-68; USSR, paras. 131-140; United Kingdom, paras. 98-103; 1647th meeting: France, paras. 69-78; United States, paras. 37-43.

⁵³² S/10842, *OR*, 27th yr., *Supplement for Oct.-Dec. 1972*, p. 53.

⁵³³ 1683rd meeting, preceding para. 1.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 1.

⁵³⁵ S/10847, adopted without change as resolution 324 (1972).

⁵³⁶ S/10842, *OR*, 27th yr., *Supplement for Oct.-Dec. 1972*.

escalation and stressed his Government's firm opposition to any illegal imports of arms into Cyprus.

The representative of the United Kingdom welcoming the resumption of the intercommunal talks stated that the talks provided the most promising way to approach a solution to the problem of Cyprus. He expressed deep appreciation of the Secretary-General's efforts in this regard and hoped that he would impress upon both parties that in order for the talks to succeed compromises were necessary.

The representative of the United States expressed his appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report of the United Nations operation in Cyprus and found encouragement in the assessment contained therein that the situation in the Island had remained quiet during the period under review. However, he expressed regret that little progress had been made towards a return to normal conditions and hoped that all outstanding issues would be resolved in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill.

The representative of the USSR noted with satisfaction the positive role of the efforts of the Secretary-General in the resumption of the intercommunal talks. The Soviet Union sincerely wished that those talks would be successful in the interests of all the citizens of the Republic of Cyprus. Regarding the status of the Force, he said that, in current international conditions, the eight-year stay of UNFICYP could not be described as normal. If such operations were going to last so long, then doubts would arise as to the advisability of carrying them out. Therefore, the USSR was of the opinion that UNFICYP could not be continued endlessly. His delegation had voted in favour of the extension of the stationing of the United Nations troops in Cyprus on the assumption that its renewal was effected in full accord with the provisions of the Council's resolution of 4 March 1964 and subsequent decisions of the Council on the Cyprus question, and, in particular, that the present functions of those troops and the voluntary arrangements for financing them would be maintained.⁵³⁷

Decision of 15 June 1973 (1727th meeting): resolution 334 (1973)

On 31 May 1973, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report⁵³⁸ on the United Nations operation in Cyprus concerning developments from 2 December 1972 to 31 May 1973. In his report, the Secretary-General said that the parties concerned were making a serious effort to agree through the intercommunal talks on a constitutional framework that would provide for adequate participation in government of the two communities. However, it had so far not been possible to establish a basis for such an accord. He added that the atmosphere of calm that was necessary for the promotion of such an agreement had not been maintained, especially with the Greek Cypriot community. Understandably, such developments had had an adverse impact on the talks.

Turning to the financial situation of UNFICYP, he said that it continued to be precarious, pointing out that the

⁵³⁷ For texts of relevant statements, see: 1683rd meeting: Cyprus, paras. 7-19; Greece, paras. 38-50; Turkey, paras. 23-34; USSR, paras. 141-166; United States, paras. 115-123; United Kingdom, paras. 52-56.

⁵³⁸ S/10940, OR, 28th yr., Supplement for April-June 1973, p. 58.

Governments providing contingents, as well as those that made voluntary contributions, were becoming increasingly uneasy at the delay in reaching a settlement. In that respect, the Secretary-General noted that for some time his office had been studying ways and means of reducing the United Nations commitment in terms of both finance and manpower. He intended to make recommendations in that regard in his next report to the Council, but the feasibility of any such move would depend on the progress of the talks.

The Security Council considered the Secretary-General's report at its 1727th and 1728th meetings held on 15 June 1973. At the 1727th meeting, the Council adopted without objection, the provisional agenda⁵³⁹ and invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate in the discussion.⁵⁴⁰

Subsequently, the President announced that as a result of prior consultations, agreement had been reached on the text of a draft resolution,⁵⁴¹ which he then put to the vote. The said draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none with 1 abstention as resolution 334 (1973). The text read as follows:

The Security Council,

Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 31 May 1973 (S/10940 and Corr.1) that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island,

Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 15 June 1973,

Noting also from the report the conditions prevailing in the island,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966) of 16 March, 222 (1966) of 16 June and 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966, 238 (1967) of 19 June and 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967, 247 (1968) of 18 March, 254 (1968) of 18 June and 261 (1968) of 10 December 1968, 266 (1969) of 10 June and 274 (1969) of 11 December 1969, 281 (1970) of 9 June and 291 (1970) of 10 December 1970, 293 (1971) of 26 May and 305 (1971) of 13 December 1971 and 315 (1972) of 15 June and 324 (1972) of 12 December 1972, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964 and at the 1383rd meeting on 25 November 1967;

2. *Urges* the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue and accelerate determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council by availing themselves in a constructive manner of the present auspicious climate and opportunities;

3. *Extends* once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period ending 15 December 1973, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force.

At the 1728th meeting, the President, speaking as the representative of the USSR, reaffirmed the position of his country that, in order to ensure the independence of

⁵³⁹ 1727th meeting, preceding para. 1.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, para. 1.

⁵⁴¹ S/10946, adopted without change as resolution 334 (1973).

Cyprus, all foreign troops had to be withdrawn and foreign bases situated in its territory removed. The USSR took a positive view of the Secretary-General's report, in particular, the information concerning the intercommunal talks, and it agreed that the resumption of the talks was the best way of reaching an agreed solution. It hoped that as a result of those talks it might be possible to overcome the existing difficulties and to bring those negotiations to a positive end. Regarding the extension of the mandate of the Force and the voluntary procedure for its financing, he said that the USSR had not objected to the draft resolution on the assumption that the extension of the stationing of United Nations troops in Cyprus was effected in full accord with the provisions of the Council's resolution of 4 March 1964 and subsequent decisions of the Council on the Cyprus question, the present functions of those troops and the voluntary arrangements for financing them being maintained.⁵⁴² Statements were also made by the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey, Greece, the United States, the United Kingdom, Yugoslavia, France, Australia, India, Sudan, Guinea, Peru and Chad.

Decision of 14 December 1973 (1759th meeting): resolution 343 (1973)

On 1 December 1973, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report⁵⁴³ on the United Nations operation in Cyprus concerning developments from 1 June to 1 December 1973. Assessing the events of the previous six months, the Secretary-General said that, although the intercommunal talks had proceeded since 1972 in a constructive spirit, only limited progress had been made on the basic issues. However, he continued to believe that with concessions on both sides, an agreed accommodation could be worked out within the framework of the talks. The Secretary-General also noted that the problem of military confrontation had remained unchanged. However, he had been encouraged by the helpful response received from both communities when it had become necessary to dispatch the bulk of four UNFICYP contingents to the Middle East. During the period when the Force was understrength, the two communities, acting in concert with his request, were able to maintain calm and practically no incidents had occurred. He then outlined his plan for reducing the size of the Force but stressed that the implementation of that plan was dependent upon the close co-operation of all parties concerned with UNFICYP in its role of preventing a recurrence of fighting. The Secretary-General stated that in the prevailing circumstances he considered it essential that the Force be maintained for a further limited period and recommended extension of its mandate until 15 June 1974.

The Security Council considered the Secretary-General's report at its 1759th meeting held on 14 December 1973. At the same meeting, the Council adopted, without objection, the provisional agenda⁵⁴⁴ and invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate in the discussion.⁵⁴⁵

Subsequently, the President announced that as a result of prior consultations, agreement had been reached on the text of a draft resolution,⁵⁴⁶ which he then put to the vote. The said draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none with 1 abstention. The text read as follows:

The Security Council,

Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 1 December 1973 (S/11137) that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island,

Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 15 December 1973,

Noting also from the report the conditions prevailing in the island,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966) of 16 March, 222 (1966) of 16 June and 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966, 238 (1967) of 19 June and 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967, 247 (1968) of 18 March, 254 (1968) of 18 June and 261 (1968) of 10 December 1968, 266 (1969) of 10 June and 274 (1969) of 11 December 1969, 281 (1970) of 9 June and 291 (1970) of 10 December 1970, 293 (1971) of 26 May and 305 (1971) of 13 December 1971 and 315 (1972) of 15 June and 324 (1972) of 12 December 1972 and 334 (1973) of 15 June 1973, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964 and at the 1383rd meeting on 25 November 1967;

2. *Urges* the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue and accelerate determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council by availing themselves in a constructive manner of the present auspicious climate and opportunities;

3. *Extends* once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period ending 15 June 1974, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force.

In a statement after the voting, the representative of the USSR reaffirmed the position of his Government that in order to insure the sovereignty of Cyprus all foreign troops and military bases had to be withdrawn from its territory. Regarding the Secretary-General's proposal for the reduction of UNFICYP, he said that the USSR supported the idea in principle but stressed that the agreement of the Government of Cyprus would be an essential condition for undertaking such measures. He then pointed out that his delegation has cast its vote in favour of the resolutions on the assumption that the extension of the mandate would be carried out in compliance with resolution 186 (1964) and the subsequent decisions of the Council.⁵⁴⁷ The representatives of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, the United States, the United Kingdom and France among others, also supported the extension of UNFICYP's mandate.

Decision of 29 May 1974 (1771st meeting): resolution 349 (1974)

On 22 May 1974, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report⁵⁴⁸ on the United Nations operation in Cyprus concerning developments from

⁵⁴² 1728th meeting, paras. 50-58.

⁵⁴³ S/11137, *OR*, 28th yr., *Supplement for Oct.-Dec. 1973*, p. 240.

⁵⁴⁴ 1759th meeting, preceding President's opening statement.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, President's opening statement.

⁵⁴⁶ S/11154 adopted without change as resolution 343 (1973).

⁵⁴⁷ 1759th meeting, intervention by the USSR.

⁵⁴⁸ S/11294, *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for April-June 1974*, p. 131.

2 December 1973 to 22 May 1974. In his report, the Secretary-General expressed concern at the interruption of the intercommunal talks on 2 April 1974, as he considered the talks to be the best means for carrying out the search for an agreed settlement. He stated that after the interruption of the talks he had taken steps which had led to an agreement between the parties to resume the talks at the beginning of June on the same basis as that on which they had been conducted until 2 April 1974. However, he underlined that the road ahead would not be an easy one since the relations between the two communities were still marred by mutual fear and distrust. As regards the reduction of UNFICYP, he stated that the total strength of the Force had been reduced to 2,341 and the reduction had somewhat alleviated UNFICYP's financial situation. Although some Member States, including the largest financial contributor, favoured further reduction of the Force he felt that it would be premature at that stage to make further reductions and noted that the parties concerned had expressed reservations about even the current reductions. In view of the prevailing situation, the Secretary-General recommended, with the concurrence of the Governments concerned, that the Council extend the mandate of UNFICYP until 15 December 1974.

The Security Council considered the Secretary-General's report at its 1771st and 1772nd meetings held on 29 May 1974. At the 1771st meeting, the Council adopted without objection, the provisional agenda⁵⁴⁹ and invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate in the discussion.⁵⁵⁰

Subsequently, the President announced that as a result of prior consultations, agreement had been reached on the text of a draft resolution⁵⁵¹ which he then put to the vote. The said draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none with 1 abstention. The text read as follows:

The Security Council,

Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 22 May 1974 (S/11294) that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island,

Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 15 June 1974,

Noting also from the report the conditions prevailing in the island,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966) of 16 March, 222 (1966) of 16 June and 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966, 238 (1967) of 19 June and 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967, 247 (1968) of 18 March, 254 (1968) of 18 June and 261 (1968) of 10 December 1968, 266 (1969) of 10 June and 274 (1969) of 11 December 1969, 281 (1970) of 9 June and 291 (1970) of 10 December 1970, 293 (1971) of 26 May and 305 (1971) of 13 December 1971, 315 (1972) of 15 June and 324 (1972) of 12 December 1972 and 334 (1973) of 15 June and 343 (1973) of 14 December 1973, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964 and at the 1383rd meeting on 25 November 1967;

2. *Urges* the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue and accelerate determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council by availing themselves in a constructive manner of the present auspicious climate and opportunities;

3. *Extends* once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period ending 15 December 1974 in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force.

In a statement after the voting the representative of the USSR reiterated his Government's position opposing attempts to settle the Cyprus problem by means of external intervention and favouring the elimination of foreign bases. In connexion with the reduction of UNFICYP, he said that the USSR found the Secretary-General's position justified regarding the need for careful weighing of the consequences of further reductions. He reaffirmed that his delegation have voted in favour of the resolution on the understanding that the extension of the mandate of the Force was in full compliance with the provisions of resolution 186 (1964) of the Security Council.⁵⁵² The representatives of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, France, the United Kingdom and the United States, among others, also made statements supporting the extension of UNFICYP's mandate.

Decision of 20 July 1974 (1781st meeting): resolution 353 (1974)

On 16 July the Secretary-General addressed a letter⁵⁵³ to the President of the Security Council requesting him to convene the Council in order that he might report on the information he had received through his Special Representative in Cyprus and the Commander of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

In a letter also dated 16 July 1974⁵⁵⁴ addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Cyprus requested an urgent meeting of the Council on the critical situation in Cyprus arising as a consequence of outside intervention, with grave and threatening implications for the Republic of Cyprus and for international peace and security in the area.

At the 1779th meeting on 16 July 1974, the Security Council adopted, without objection, the provisional agenda⁵⁵⁵ and invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate in the discussion.⁵⁵⁶

At the outset of the discussion, the Secretary-General, reporting to the Council on the information he had received, beginning early on the morning of 15 July, from his Special Representative in Cyprus and the Commander of UNFICYP, confirmed that a coup was being staged in Cyprus by the National Guard against President Makarios. He described the efforts undertaken by his Special Representative and by the Commander of UNFICYP to prevent the spread of violence. He recalled in that connexion that the mandate of UNFICYP had been conceived in the

⁵⁵² 1771st meeting, intervention by the USSR.

⁵⁵³ S/11334, *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for July-Sept. 1974*, p. 22.

⁵⁵⁴ S/11335, *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for July-Sept. 1974*, p. 22.

⁵⁵⁵ 1779th meeting, President's opening statement.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁹ 1771st meeting, preceding President's opening statement.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, President's opening statement.

⁵⁵¹ S/11301 adopted without change as resolution 349 (1974).

context of the conflict between the two communities in Cyprus, and he pointed out that the recent events related to rivalries within one community. In contacts with the Secretary-General's Special Representative and the Force Commander at Paphos, Archbishop Makarios had requested that a Security Council meeting be held as soon as possible. UNFICYP had been authorized to extend protection to Archbishop Makarios on a humanitarian basis, but in the meantime he had left the island. The Secretary-General concluded by expressing the deepest concern that the latest events in Cyprus carried a serious threat to international peace and security in a much wider framework.

The representative of Cyprus stated that a coup had been organized in Cyprus by a large number of officers who came from Greece to train and command the Cypriot National Guard, which had been created in consequence of troubles in 1963 and 1964. They were supposed to be acting on instructions of the Government of Cyprus for the National Guard. In reality they were entirely directed and instructed from Athens. It emerged that for some time the batch of 650 officers had been engaging in subversive propaganda. The Government did not take the matter very seriously. But a time arrived when the situation appeared to become more dangerous than permissible. That occasioned a letter of 2 July from Archbishop Makarios to President Gizikis of Greece, asking that all the 650 officers be recalled from Cyprus for reasons stated in the letter. A reply in respect of that matter was being awaited when, suddenly the grave events described by the Secretary-General had erupted. UNFICYP had as part of its mandate the duty to prevent fighting and to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions. The Council was meeting not to take new steps by sending a peace-keeping force to Cyprus, but to reinforce its efforts and to extend them to deal with the new situation. It would be contrary to Charter principles for UNFICYP to remain inoperative. There must be a resolution for the cessation of fighting and bloodshed through a cease-fire, and for the protection of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus from outside military intervention.

The representative of Turkey stated that a *coup d'état* seemed to have been mounted in Athens and was carried out through the support of the Greek armed forces in Cyprus, with complicity of the worst elements in the island which had vowed to annex Cyprus to Greece, and which had never concealed their violently anti-Turkish sentiments. The Greek intervention was in flagrant violation of the rights conferred upon Greece by treaties and agreements to which it subscribed jointly with Turkey and the United Kingdom. That intervention was fostered, and the coup carried out, by Greek troops whose presence, in numbers vastly greater than had been provided for in the international agreements, had always been a source of grave concern to the Turkish Cypriots and an element of imbalance in Greek-Turkish relations. The United Nations should ensure that the balance of forces, so deeply disturbed to the detriment of the Turkish community, be re-established to the extent possible, and to that end, all necessary measures should be taken under effective control to prohibit any illicit entry of armaments, troops or munitions. Turkey proclaimed its devotion to a peaceful solution to the problems of the island. Yet it wished to leave no doubt with regard to its intention to safeguard its

legitimate rights and interests, enshrined in international agreements, as well as those of the Turkish community in Cyprus.

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that earlier that day President Makarios at his own request had left Cyprus on board a British aircraft from a British sovereign-base area. President Makarios had requested that he be allowed to enter the Akrotiri base on Cyprus; Britain had agreed to that request. President Makarios was reported to be in Malta. If he were indeed on his way to New York, it would seem sensible that the Council should wait and see what it was that he had to say, what he himself would wish the Council to do, and how he saw the situation.

The representative of Greece stated that he refuted vehemently and categorically all the allegations made by some delegations. The events that took place the day before in Cyprus, which continued that day, were an internal affair of Cyprus. The Greek Government, apart from following the situation with keen and well justified interest, had no relation whatsoever with their origin or incitement. The Greek Government was convinced that the territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus, and the unitary character of the Republic, should be maintained and respected by all parties concerned.⁵⁵⁷

Decision of 19 July 1974:

Statement by the President

At the 1780th meeting on 19 July, the representatives of Yugoslavia, Romania and India were invited, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. Then the President (Peru) stated that the Secretary-General had informed the Council of two telegrams he had received from Nicosia on 17 and 18 July. The President read the telegrams to the Council: the first informed the Secretary-General that the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations, Zenon Rossides, who had been allowed to participate in the Council's debate without the right to vote, had been released from his post and duties; the second requested a 24-hour adjournment of the Council's scheduled meeting. Both telegrams were signed "Dimitriou, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Republic of Cyprus".

The President said the Council members had taken note of the information given by the Secretary-General, and were agreed that in respect of the current debate, in which Cyprus had been invited to participate, the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, who had expressed the wish to address the Council, would be received in that capacity. Mr. Rossides, having been duly accredited by the Head of State of Cyprus, was to be regarded as representing Cyprus in the debate.⁵⁵⁸

The Council then heard a statement by the President of Cyprus in which he accused Greece of having instigated the coup and appealed to the Council to act to reinstate constitutional order and democratic rights in Cyprus.⁵⁵⁹ Further statements were made by the representatives of

⁵⁵⁷ For texts of relevant statements, see: 1779th meeting intervention by: Secretary-General, Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, United Kingdom.

⁵⁵⁸ 1780th meeting, President's opening statement.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, statement by President Makarios of Cyprus.

Australia, Austria, China, Greece, India, Romania, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the USSR and Yugoslavia.

Decision of 20 July 1974 (1781st meeting): resolution 353 (1974)

On 20 July, the representative of Greece in a letter addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁵⁶⁰ requested an urgent meeting of the Council in order to take appropriate steps with regard to the explosive situation created by the aggression of Turkish armed forces against Cyprus that was then in progress.

At its 1781st meeting on 20 July, the Council decided to include the letter from the Permanent representative of Greece on its agenda.⁵⁶¹ At the same meeting the representative of Mauritius was invited, at his request, in addition to those previously invited, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.⁵⁶²

At the outset of the meeting the Secretary-General reported to the Council that in the early hours of that morning the Turkish Ambassador in Nicosia had informed the Commander of UNFICYP that Turkish troops would very shortly intervene in Cyprus. Turkish military activity had begun in the air and by sea about one hour thereafter. The Secretary-General summarized the day's developments in Cyprus, as reported by his Special Representative and the Force Commander, both as regards the military situation and the efforts of his Special Representative and of UNFICYP to prevent the fighting between Turkish forces and the Cyprus National Guard from spreading into intercommunal fighting. The Secretary-General felt that in view of the developments, which were extremely serious for the maintenance of international peace and security, an enormous responsibility had fallen to the Security Council to put a halt to the fighting, to prevent further escalation and to find a way to begin to restore peace. He appealed to the parties immediately to put a halt to the battle and to co-operate with UNFICYP in its efforts to limit the fighting and to protect the civilian population.⁵⁶³

The President then stated⁵⁶⁴ that as a result of prior consultations, an agreement had been reached on the text of a draft resolution.⁵⁶⁵ The said draft resolution was adopted unanimously and read as follows:

The Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General, at its 1779th meeting, about the recent developments in Cyprus,

Having heard the statement of the President of the Republic of Cyprus and the statements of the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey, Greece and other Member States,

Having considered at its present meeting further developments in the island,

Deeply deploring the outbreak of violence and the continuing bloodshed:

Gravely concerned about the situation which has led to a serious threat to international peace and security, and which has created a most explosive situation in the whole Eastern Mediterranean area,

⁵⁶⁰ S/11348, OR, 29th yr., Supplement for July-Sept. 1974, p. 30.

⁵⁶¹ 1781st meeting. President's opening statement.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, statement by the Secretary-General.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, following the Secretary-General's statement.

⁵⁶⁵ S/11350, adopted without change as resolution 353 (1974).

Equally concerned about the necessity to restore the constitutional structure of the Republic of Cyprus, established and guaranteed by international agreements,

Recalling its resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and its subsequent resolutions on this matter,

Conscious of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Calls upon* all States to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus;

2. *Calls upon* all parties to the present fighting as a first step to cease all firing and requests all States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any action which might further aggravate the situation;

3. *Demands* an immediate end to foreign military intervention in the Republic of Cyprus that is in contravention of the provisions of paragraph 1 above;

4. *Requests* the withdrawal without delay from the Republic of Cyprus of foreign military personnel present otherwise than under the authority of international agreements, including those whose withdrawal was requested by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, in his letter of 2 July 1974;

5. *Calls upon* Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to enter into negotiations without delay for the restoration of peace in the area and constitutional government in Cyprus and to keep the Secretary-General informed;

6. *Calls upon* all parties to co-operate fully with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus to enable it to carry out its mandate;

7. *Decides* to keep the situation under constant review and asks the Secretary-General to report as appropriate with a view to adopting further measures in order to ensure that peaceful conditions are restored as soon as possible.

Decision of 23 July 1974 (1783rd meeting): resolution 354 (1974)

At the 1782nd meeting on 22 July 1974, the Secretary-General informed the Council that the Governments of Greece and Turkey had agreed to a cease-fire, which was to take effect at 1600 hours that day in Cyprus. However, he had received reports that fighting was still going on in breach of the cease-fire. He pointed out that UNFICYP had received many requests for assistance far beyond its capacity and that its strength was not sufficient to ensure effectively the maintenance of the cease-fire. It was therefore his intention to ask the troop-contributing countries to reinforce urgently their contingents already serving with the Force. In the absence of objection, the president expressed the Council's agreement that the Secretary-General should proceed to take those measures.⁵⁶⁶ Statements were then made by the representatives of Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, the USSR, Australia, the United Kingdom, France, Austria and the United States. The representative of the USSR, in reference to the Secretary-General's statement concerning UNFICYP, reiterated his Government's position that the composition and mandate of UNFICYP must be determined by the Security Council and that the financing of the United Nations troops in Cyprus was to be on a voluntary basis.⁵⁶⁷

The Secretary-General stated that the requests for assistance received from all sides during the fighting were manifestly beyond the present capabilities of UNFICYP.

⁵⁶⁶ 1782nd meeting, following the Secretary-General's statement.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, intervention by the USSR.

That applied particularly to the role of UNFICYP in preventing the recurrence of intercommunal strife. For that reason the Council had been informed of the intention to reinforce UNFICYP.⁵⁶⁸

At the outset of the 1783rd meeting on 23 July, the Secretary-General reported to the Council on the contacts he had had with various Governments and representatives concerning the instability of the cease-fire. He reported that UNFICYP had arranged a cease-fire at the Nicosia international airport, which had been declared a United Nations-controlled area and occupied by UNFICYP troops. He further reported that upon his urgent request, Denmark, Finland, Sweden and the United Kingdom had undertaken to provide reinforcements to their contingents to a total of approximately 1,400 men and that other Governments were giving urgent and favourable consideration to his appeal.⁵⁶⁹

The President then put to the vote a draft resolution⁵⁷⁰ that had been elaborated in the course of consultations among members of the Council. The said draft resolution was adopted unanimously and read as follows:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming the provisions of its resolution 353 (1974) of 20 July 1974,

Demands that all parties to the present fighting comply immediately with the provisions of paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 353 (1974) calling for an immediate cessation of all firing in the area and requesting all States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any action which might further aggravate the situation.

Decision of 24 July 1974 (1784th meeting):

Approval of the text of draft communiqué

Decision of 31 July 1974 (1788th meeting):

Rejection of USSR draft resolution

Decision of 1 August 1974 (1789th meeting): resolution 355 (1974)

On 24 July, the Council held its 1784th meeting in private and was informed by the Secretary-General of a letter received from the Foreign Minister of Turkey assuring him that, without prejudice to the contentions of the Turkish Government as to the legality of the United Nations presence at the Lefkose (Nicosia) airport, no attempt would be made to assume possession of the airport by the threat of force.⁵⁷¹

In a further report dated 25 July,⁵⁷² the Secretary-General outlined the situation in Cyprus and the pledges of military personnel to strengthen UNFICYP, and described the efforts of the Force to prevent the recurrence of fighting and to ensure observance of the cease-fire. He recalled that the original mandate of UNFICYP set out in resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 had been approved in different circumstances but said that it was his understanding that, under resolution 353 (1974), the Force must use its best efforts to ensure that the cease-fire was

maintained. Accordingly, all United Nations personnel with UNFICYP had been engaged in efforts to restore the cease-fire, ensure its observance and prevent incidents from escalating into a recurrence of full-scale fighting.

In a letter dated 26 July,⁵⁷³ the representative of Cyprus requested an emergency meeting of the Council to consider the grave deterioration of the situation in Cyprus resulting from the continuing violations of the cease-fire by Turkey.

At the 1785th meeting on 27 July, the Secretary-General, reporting on recent developments, including continuing breaches of the cease-fire, recalled that the mandate of UNFICYP had been established in the context of preventing the recurrence of fighting between the communities in Cyprus. Now the question had been raised of interposing UNFICYP between the Turkish armed forces and the Cypriot National Guard. Accordingly, he had instructed his representative at the tripartite talks in Geneva under resolution 353 (1974) to discuss with the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom the best way in which UNFICYP could actively assist in limiting further hostilities and cease-fire violations. Concerning the negotiations in Geneva between the three Foreign Ministers, he reported that intensive efforts were going on to find a basis for working towards a settlement and expressed the hope that the negotiations would achieve the goals set in Security Council resolution 353 (1974).⁵⁷⁴ Thereafter, the Council heard statements by the representatives of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, India, the USSR, Austria, the United Kingdom, the United Republic of Cameroon, France, the United States and the Byelorussian SSR. The representative of Cyprus spoke in exercise of the right of reply.

In a letter dated 28 July,⁵⁷⁵ the representative of the USSR requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the implementation of Council resolution 353 (1974). The letter stated that that resolution was not being implemented and, consequently, a tense situation threatening international peace and security continued to exist in Cyprus.

At its 1786th meeting on 28 July, the Council, without objection, included the following sub-item (d) in its agenda:

(d) Letter dated 28 July 1974 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11389).

The Council heard statements by the representatives of the USSR, the United Kingdom, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus and Australia. The representatives of the United Kingdom and the USSR spoke on points of order, and the representatives of Greece, Turkey, the USSR, Cyprus and the United Kingdom spoke in exercise of the right of reply.

At the 1787th meeting on 29 July, the Council had before it a draft resolution⁵⁷⁶ sponsored by the USSR, the operative paragraphs of which would have the Security Council:

⁵⁶⁸ 1782nd meeting, second statement by the Secretary-General.

⁵⁶⁹ 1783rd meeting, statement by the Secretary-General.

⁵⁷⁰ S/11369, adopted without change as resolution 354 (1974).

⁵⁷¹ 1784th meeting, statement by the Secretary-General.

⁵⁷² S/11353/Add.7, OR, 29th yr., Supplement for July-Sept. 1974, p. 36.

⁵⁷³ S/11384, *ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵⁷⁴ 1785th meeting, statement by the Secretary-General.

⁵⁷⁵ S/11389, OR, 29th yr., Supplement for July-Sept. 1974, p. 68.

⁵⁷⁶ S/11391, OR, 29th yr., Supplement for July-Sept. 1974, p. 70.

Demand of all the States concerned that they undertake urgent and effective measures for the practical implementation of all the provisions of resolution 353 (1974);

Insist on the immediate cessation of firing and of all acts of violence against the Republic of Cyprus and on the speediest withdrawal of all foreign forces and military personnel present in Cyprus in violation of its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity as a non-aligned State;

Decide to send immediately to Cyprus a Special Mission composed of ... members of the Security Council, to be appointed by the President of the Security Council after consultations with the Council members and with the Secretary-General, for the purpose of verifying on the spot the implementation of resolution 353 (1974) and of reporting to the Council.

Consider it necessary, taking into account the relevant provisions of resolution 353 (1974), that representatives of the constitutional Government of the Republic of Cyprus participate in the Geneva negotiations; and

Decide, in the absence of progress in the implementation of its resolution 353 (1974), to consider the question of further measures to be taken by the Council to ensure the implementation of the aforementioned resolution.

At the same meeting the Secretary-General reported to the Council on developments in the Geneva negotiations called for in resolution 353 (1974). He understood that, in spite of the strenuous efforts made, fundamental differences persisted between the positions of Greece and Turkey. He also reported that he was in contact with the Prime Minister of Turkey, who had agreed to follow up on a request by the Turkish Corps Commander in Cyprus that all UNFICYP personnel, including police and civilians, should be evacuated from the area controlled by the Turkish forces. In conclusion, the Secretary-General stated that, although the prevailing situation had not been envisaged when the UNFICYP mandate was established in 1964, he believed that UNFICYP was playing and could continue to play a most useful humanitarian role in all parts of Cyprus and bring assistance and protection to elements of the civilian population afflicted by the recent hostilities.

Statements were made in the debate by the representatives of the USSR, who introduced the draft resolution (S/11391), Greece and Turkey.

Between 26 and 31 July, the Secretary-General submitted further reports on the observation of the cease-fire, the humanitarian activities of UNFICYP and the changes in the strength of the Force,⁵⁷⁷ in which he indicated that, except for certain areas in the Kyrenia district and east of Nicosia, the cease-fire had gradually stabilized. He also reported on the protection being provided by UNFICYP to Greek Cypriots in Kyrenia and Bellapais and to Turkish Cypriots in isolated areas and communities in various parts of the country. A special section to deal with humanitarian matters had been established at UNFICYP headquarters, and UNFICYP was assisting in relief work being carried out by local and international agencies. Greek and Turkish Cypriots were assisted by UNFICYP escorts, vehicles and drivers, with medical and food supplies and blankets, and by inspection visits where personnel were being held in custody.

At the 1788th meeting on 31 July, the Council had before it a copy of the Declaration⁵⁷⁸ agreed to by the

Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom. According to that Declaration, the Foreign Ministers, while recognizing the importance of setting in train measures to regularize the situation in Cyprus on a lasting basis, agreed on the need to decide first on certain immediate measures. The Ministers declared that areas controlled by opposing armed forces on 30 July should not be extended and agreed on the following measures: (a) a security zone, the size of which was to be determined by the three countries in consultation with UNFICYP, should be established at the limit of the areas occupied by Turkish armed forces on 30 July at 2200 hours Geneva time, and UNFICYP alone should enter and supervise that zone; (b) all the Turkish enclaves occupied by Greek or Greek Cypriot forces should be immediately evacuated and should continue to be protected by UNFICYP; (c) in mixed villages UNFICYP would carry out the functions of security and police; and (d) detained military personnel and civilians should be released or exchanged under ICRC supervision.

The three Ministers, reaffirming that resolution 353 (1974) of the Council should be implemented in the shortest possible time, agreed that measures should be elaborated which would lead to a phased reduction of armed forces and armaments in Cyprus. They also agreed that further talks aiming at the restoration of peace should begin on 8 August at Geneva and that the representatives of the two Cypriot communities should be invited at an early stage to participate in the talks relating to the Constitution. The three Ministers further agreed to convey the contents of the Declaration to the Secretary-General and invite him to take appropriate action in the light thereof.

At the same time the President (Peru) informed the Council that the draft resolution S/11399 sponsored by the United Kingdom had been withdrawn.⁵⁷⁹ Under that resolution the Security Council would have taken note of the tripartite Declaration agreed to in Geneva and would request the Secretary-General to take appropriate action in the light of that Declaration. The Secretary-General then made a statement in which he expressed the hope that the agreement on a cease-fire reached in Geneva would be a first step towards full implementation of resolution 353 (1974). He noted that the Declaration envisaged certain tasks for UNFICYP, in particular the determination, in consultation with UNFICYP, of the character and size of the security zone, where no forces other than those of UNFICYP would be allowed to enter. He further informed the Council that as of 31 July the strength of UNFICYP was 3,484 men and would be approximately 4,443 by 12 August. The matter of the continued presence of UNFICYP in the Turkish area of control was under discussion with the Turkish military command in Cyprus. The Secretary-General felt confident that those discussions would enable UNFICYP to continue to perform its role in all parts of the island with the full agreement of all the parties concerned.⁵⁸⁰

Following the Secretary-General's statement the President announced that as a result of consultations a draft resolution⁵⁸¹ had emerged that would request the

⁵⁷⁷ S/11353/Add. 8-12, *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for July-Sept. 1974*, pp. 37-39.

⁵⁷⁸ S/11398, *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for July-Sept. 1974*, p. 73.

⁵⁷⁹ 1788th meeting, President's opening statement.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, statement by the Secretary-General.

⁵⁸¹ S/11400, *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for July-Sept. 1974*, p. 75.

Secretary-General to take appropriate action in the light of his statement. The draft resolution, however, was not adopted owing to the negative vote of a permanent member.⁵⁸²

At the 1789th meeting on 1 August 1974, the President (USSR) stated that, in the course of consultations with the members of the Council, agreement had been reached on the text of a draft resolution.⁵⁸³ The said draft resolution was adopted by 12 votes to none with 2 abstentions. One member (China) did not participate in the vote. The text read as follows:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, 353 (1974) of 20 July and 354 (1974) of 23 July 1974,

Noting that all States have declared their respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus,

Taking note of the Secretary-General's statement made at the 1788th meeting of the Security Council,

Requests the Secretary-General to take appropriate action in the light of his statement and to present a full report to the Council, taking into account that the cease-fire will be the first step in the full implementation of Security Council resolution 353 (1974).

Decision of 14 August 1974 (1792nd meeting): resolution 357 (1974)

During the first part of August, the Secretary-General continued to submit progress reports on the status of the cease-fire, on the meetings of the military representatives of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom to work out an agreement on a demarcation line and on the humanitarian activities of UNFICYP.⁵⁸⁴

On 10 August 1974, the Secretary-General submitted an interim report⁵⁸⁵ in pursuance of Council resolution 355 (1974) in which he said that, although the cease-fire, by and large, had been observed by the parties throughout most of the island, intermittent fighting and some forward movement in the area west of Kyrenia, along the coast and on the southern slopes of the Kyrenia mountains, continued.

On action taken pursuant to Council resolution 355 (1974), he reported that on 9 August military representatives of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom had signed an agreement concerning the demarcation line and submitted it to the Foreign Ministers in Geneva. He added that UNFICYP stood ready to carry out its functions pursuant to Security Council resolution 355 (1974), but full implementation of resolutions 353 (1974) and 355 (1974) was still in its first stage. For UNFICYP to carry out its task fully, a greater degree of co-operation was required with reference to the consolidation of the cease-fire, the establishment of UNFICYP-supervised security zones and the evacuation of occupied Turkish enclaves.

At the 1792nd meeting on 14 August 1974 called at the request of both Greece and Turkey, the Security Council decided, without objection, to add the following two sub-items to its agenda:

⁵⁸² 1788th meeting, preceding the Secretary-General's second statement.

⁵⁸³ S/11402, adopted without change as resolution 355 (1974).

⁵⁸⁴ S/11353/Add. 13-20, OR, 29th yr., Supplement for July-Sept. 1974, pp. 39-44.

⁵⁸⁵ S/11433, *ibid.*, p. 95.

(e) Letter dated 13 August 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11444);

(f) Letter dated 13 August 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11445).

The President (USSR) then announced⁵⁸⁶ that, during consultations, members of the Council had agreed upon the text of a draft resolution,⁵⁸⁷ which he then put to the vote. The draft resolution was adopted unanimously. It read as follows:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 353 (1974) of 20 July, 354 (1974) of 23 July, and 355 (1974) of 1 August 1974,

Deeply deploring the resumption of fighting in Cyprus, contrary to the provisions of its resolution 353 (1974),

1. *Reaffirms* its resolution 353 (1974) in all its provisions and calls upon the parties concerned to implement those provisions without delay;

2. *Demands* that all parties to the present fighting cease all firing and military action forthwith;

3. *Calls* for the resumption of negotiations without delay for the restoration of peace in the area and constitutional government in Cyprus, in accordance with resolution 353 (1974);

4. *Decides* to remain seized of the situation and on instant call to meet as necessary to consider what more effective measure may be required if the cease-fire is not respected.

Decisions of 15 August 1974 (1793rd meeting): resolutions 358 (1974) and 359 (1974)

On 14 and 15 August, the Secretary-General submitted further reports⁵⁸⁸ to the Security Council in connexion with attacks by Turkish forces in various areas in N Nicosia and elsewhere in Cyprus, which had begun at 0500 hours local time and had led to and caused casualties among the UNFICYP contingents from Canada, Finland and the United Kingdom and the death of three members of the Austrian contingent. The reports referred to damages incurred by UNFICYP posts and the efforts of the Force to arrange local cease-fires.

On 14 August, the Secretary-General circulated a message⁵⁸⁹ from the Acting President of Cyprus charging that, notwithstanding the Council's adoption of resolution 357 (1974), Turkish troops and aircraft were continuing their attacks and extending their area of control.

At the outset of the 1793rd meeting on 15 August, called at the request of Cyprus, after Algeria had been invited at its request to participate, without vote, in the discussion, the President (USSR) expressed very deep concern over the losses sustained by the Austrian, British, Canadian and Finnish contingents of UNFICYP.

The Council then heard a report by the Secretary-General in which he deeply deplored the resumption of fighting and the breakdown of negotiations. He said that in the existing situation it was impossible for UNFICYP to continue with the tasks of implementing resolution 353

⁵⁸⁶ 1792nd meeting, President's opening statement.

⁵⁸⁷ S/11446/Rev.1, adopted without change as resolution 357 (1974).

⁵⁸⁸ S/11153/Add. 21-27, OR, 29th yr., Supplement for July-Sept. 1974, pp. 44-48.

⁵⁸⁹ S/11447, OR, 29th yr., Supplement for July-Sept. 1974, p. 104.

(1974), although it was doing its utmost to assist the population, arrange local cease-fires, de-escalate the fighting and prevent the recurrence of intercommunal strife. He then referred to the difficulties encountered in the functioning of UNFICYP in the Turkish-controlled area and said that the Force could not fulfil its tasks if it was excluded from one area or another. After expressing his deepest concern and regret for the casualties suffered by UNFICYP, the Secretary-General referred to the protests that he and the Force Commander had sent to the parties concerned. The Prime Minister of Turkey had expressed his Government's profound regret in that regard. Commenting on questions of principle, the Secretary-General stressed that the essential basis for a United Nations peace-keeping operation, which was not an enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter, was acceptance and co-operation by the parties concerned, without which it could not function effectively. Under its mandate and at its current strength, UNFICYP could not interpose between the two armies. He concluded by saying that the continued fighting, in spite of the cease-fire appeals of the Security Council, called in question the very essence of the Charter and the *raison d'être* of the organization.⁵⁹⁰

The President (USSR) then put to the vote a draft resolution⁵⁹¹ elaborated during consultations among the members of the Council, which was adopted unanimously.⁵⁹² It read as follows:

The Security Council,

Deeply concerned about the continuation of violence and bloodshed in Cyprus,

Deeply deploring the non-compliance with its resolution 357 (1974) of 14 August 1974,

1. *Recalls* its resolutions 353 (1974) of 20 July 1974, 354 (1974) of 23 July 1974, 355 (1974) of 1 August 1974 and 357 (1974) of 14 August 1974;

2. *Insists* on the full implementation of the above resolutions by all parties and on the immediate and strict observance of the cease-fire.

At the 1793rd meeting, following the adoption of resolution 358 (1974), another draft resolution⁵⁹³ sponsored by Australia, Austria, France, Peru and the United Republic of Cameroon was submitted to the Council. The said draft resolution was adopted⁵⁹⁴ by the Council by 14 votes to none, with one member not participating in the vote. It read as follows:

The Security Council,

Noting with concern from the Secretary-General's report on developments in Cyprus, in particular documents S/11353/Add.24 and 25, that casualties are increasing among the personnel of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus as a direct result of the military action which is still continuing in Cyprus,

Recalling that the United Nations Force was stationed in Cyprus with the full consent of the Governments of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece,

Bearing in mind that the Secretary-General was requested by the Security Council in resolution 355 (1974) of 1 August 1974 to take

⁵⁹⁰ 1793rd meeting, statement by the Secretary-General.

⁵⁹¹ S/11448, adopted without change as resolution 358 (1974).

⁵⁹² 1793rd meeting, following the Secretary-General's statement.

⁵⁹³ S/11449/Rev.1, adopted without change as resolution 359 (1974).

⁵⁹⁴ 1793rd meeting, following the resumption of the suspended meeting.

appropriate action in the light of his statement made at the 1788th meeting of the Council in which he dealt with the role, functions and strength of the Force and related issues arising out of the most recent political developments in respect of Cyprus,

1. *Deeply deplores* the fact that members of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus have been killed and wounded;

2. *Demands* that all parties concerned fully respect the international status of the United Nations Force and refrain from any action which might endanger the lives and safety of its members;

3. *Urges* the parties concerned to demonstrate in a firm, clear and unequivocal manner their willingness to fulfil the commitments they have entered into in this regard;

4. *Demands further* that all parties co-operate with the United Nations Force in carrying out its tasks, including humanitarian functions, in all areas of Cyprus and in regard to all sections of the population of Cyprus;

5. *Emphasizes* the fundamental principle that the status and safety of the members of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, and for that matter of any United Nations peace-keeping force, must be respected by the parties under all circumstances.

Decision of 16 August 1974 (1794th meeting): resolution 360 (1974)

In further reports⁵⁹⁵ dated 16 August, the Secretary-General described the military situation in Cyprus as reported by the UNFICYP Force Commander up to 1245 hours New York time on 16 August. Beginning at dawn fighting had resumed in the area of Nicosia, and movements of forces were reported in other areas. UNFICYP casualties since the resumption of hostilities on 14 August then totalled 35 –3 Austrian soldiers who had been killed by napalm and 32 who had been wounded –9 British, 5 Canadian, 2 Danish and 16 Finnish soldiers. Later the same day, it was reported that a cease-fire had gone into effect and was holding but that in a mine incident 2 Danish soldiers had been killed and 3 wounded.

At the 1794th meeting, on 16 August 1974, the Secretary-General informed the Council that the Prime Minister of Turkey had announced the acceptance by his Government of a cease-fire as from 1200 hours New York time that day, and that reports from UNFICYP indicated that it had gone into effect. He also informed the Council of the further casualties suffered by UNFICYP.⁵⁹⁶

The President (USSR) then put to the vote a draft resolution⁵⁹⁷ submitted by France that had been twice revised. The said draft resolution was adopted⁵⁹⁸ by 11 votes to none, with 3 abstentions and with one member not participating. It read as follows:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 353 (1974) of 20 July 1974, 354 (1974) of 23 July 1974, 355 (1974) of 1 August 1974, 357 (1974) of 14 August 1974 and 358 (1974) of 15 August 1974,

Noting that all States have declared their respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus,

Gravely concerned at the deterioration of the situation in Cyprus, resulting from the further military operations, which

⁵⁹⁵ S/11353/Add. 28 and 29, *OR, 29th yr., Supplement for July-Sept. 1974*, pp. 48-49.

⁵⁹⁶ 1794th meeting, statement by the Secretary-General.

⁵⁹⁷ S/11450/Rev.2, adopted without change as resolution 360 (1974).

⁵⁹⁸ 1794th meeting, following the Secretary-General's statement.

constituted a most serious threat to peace and security in the Eastern Mediterranean area,

1. *Records its formal disapproval* of the unilateral military actions undertaken against the Republic of Cyprus;

2. *Urges* the parties to comply with all the provisions of previous resolutions of the Security Council, including those concerning the withdrawal without delay from the Republic of Cyprus of foreign military personnel present otherwise than under the authority of international agreements;

3. *Urges* the parties to resume without delay, in an atmosphere of constructive co-operation, the negotiations called for in resolutions 353 (1974) whose outcome should not be impeded or prejudged by the acquisition of advantages resulting from military operations;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Council, as necessary, with a view to the possible adoption of further measures designed to promote the restoration of peaceful conditions;

5. *Decides* to remain seized of the question permanently and to meet at any time to consider measures which may be required in the light of the developing situation.

Decision of 30 August 1974 (1795th meeting): resolution 361 (1974)

In progress reports⁵⁹⁹ issued between 17 and 20 August, the Secretary-General provided information about continued firing and Turkish advances on 17 and 18 August and indicated that the Force Commander's protests of the breaches of the cease-fire had been followed up at United Nations Headquarters. On 19 and 20 August, it was reported that as of 1600 hours local time the cease-fire was holding and there was no report of firing throughout the island.

On 27 August, the Secretary-General submitted a report⁶⁰⁰ on developments in Cyprus for the period 20 to 25 August 1974. After touching briefly on his visit to Cyprus, which would be the subject of a separate report, he outlined the activities of UNFICYP in providing protection to the Turkish-inhabited areas outside the area of Turkish control, investigating alleged atrocities, rendering humanitarian assistance, such as relief convoys to Greek and Turkish Cypriot towns and villages, and negotiating for the restoration of electrical and water facilities.

On 28 August, the Secretary-General submitted a report⁶⁰¹ on his recent visit to Cyprus, Greece and Turkey. In Cyprus, he had presided over a joint meeting on 26 August of the leaders of the two Cypriot communities, Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash. He had also met with the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey during his visits to Athens and Ankara. He had found on all sides a strong desire to achieve a negotiated settlement, despite existing obstacles to such a course. His conversations had centred in particular on the future of the negotiations, the possible basis of a settlement in Cyprus, humanitarian questions, including refugees and the re-opening of the Nicosia airport, and the future role of UNFICYP.

With regard to UNFICYP, the Secretary-General felt that, because the situation in Cyprus was not the one in

which its original mandate had been established, its functions would soon have to be redefined. In the meantime, it was his intention to ensure that the Force played a useful role in Cyprus, in full co-operation with all the parties. Inasmuch as the situation in Cyprus remained a matter of deep concern as far as international peace and security were concerned, it was vital to make real progress towards peace and to avoid a recurrence of fighting. He believed that the Council could play a most important role in ensuring that result.

At the 1795th meeting on 30 August, called at the request of Cyprus, the Council included the following sub-item (g) in its agenda:

(g) Letter dated 27 August 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11471).

After statements by the representatives of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, Austria and the President (USSR), speaking as the representative of the USSR, the Council unanimously adopted⁶⁰² a draft resolution⁶⁰³ sponsored by Austria, France and the United Kingdom. It read as follows:

The Security Council,

Conscious of its special responsibilities under the United Nations Charter,

Recalling its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, 353 (1974) of 20 July 1974, 354 (1974) of 23 July 1974, 355 (1974) of 1 August 1974, 357 (1974) of 14 August 1974, 358 (1974) and 359 (1974) of 15 August 1974 and 360 (1974) of 16 August 1974,

Noting that a large number of people in Cyprus have been displaced, and are in dire need of humanitarian assistance,

Mindful of the fact that it is one of the foremost purposes of the United Nations to lend humanitarian assistance in situations such as the one currently prevailing in Cyprus,

Noting also that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has already been appointed Co-ordinator of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance for Cyprus, with the task of co-ordinating relief assistance to be provided by United Nations programmes and agencies and from other sources,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General contained in document S/11473,

1. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General for the part he has played in bringing about talks between the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus;

2. *Warmly welcomes* this development and calls upon those concerned in the talks to pursue them actively with the help of the Secretary-General and in the interests of the Cypriot people as a whole;

3. *Calls upon* all parties to do everything in their power to alleviate human suffering, to ensure the respect of fundamental human rights for every person and to refrain from all action likely to aggravate the situation;

4. *Expresses its grave concern* at the plight of the refugees and other persons displaced as a result of the situation in Cyprus and urges the parties concerned, in conjunction with the Secretary-General, to search for peaceful solutions to the problems of refugees and take appropriate measures to provide for their relief and welfare and to permit persons who wish to do so to return to their homes in safety;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit at the earliest possible opportunity a full report on the situation of the refugees and other persons referred to in paragraph 4 above and decides to keep that situation under constant review;

⁵⁹⁹ S/11353/Add. 30-33, *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for July-Sept. 1974*, pp. 49-50.

⁶⁰⁰ S/11468, *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for July-Sept. 1974*, p. 119.

⁶⁰¹ S/11473, *ibid.*, p. 125.

⁶⁰² 1795th meeting, following the intervention by the President as representative of the USSR.

⁶⁰³ S/11479, adopted without change as resolution 361 (1974).

6. *Further requests* the Secretary-General to continue to provide emergency United Nations humanitarian assistance to all parts of the population of the island in need of such assistance;

7. *Calls upon* all parties, as a demonstration of good faith, to take, both individually and in co-operation with each other, all steps which may promote comprehensive and successful negotiation;

8. *Reiterates* its call to all parties to co-operate fully with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus in carrying out its tasks;

9. *Expresses the conviction* that the speedy implementation of the provisions of the present solution will assist the achievement of a satisfactory settlement in Cyprus.

Decisions of 13 December 1974 (1810th meeting): resolutions 364 (1974) and 365 (1974)

Throughout September and the first half of October, the Secretary-General submitted progress reports every two weeks on developments in Cyprus.⁶⁰⁴ The reports dealt with the situation of UNFICYP, the location of UNFICYP posts, observance of the cease-fire, meetings between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash and the humanitarian activities of UNFICYP.

On the situation of UNFICYP, the reports noted that in the areas under National Guard control UNFICYP enjoyed virtually complete freedom of movement, but in the Turkish-controlled areas, UNFICYP freedom of movement remained restricted. One Canadian soldier had been shot and killed by the National Guard, apparently owing to mistaken identification.

With regard to observance of the cease-fire, some forward movement by Turkish forces and their subsequent withdrawal was reported. Minor violations by both sides had occurred, but relative quiet continued to prevail in Cyprus throughout the period.

The meetings of Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash covered primarily humanitarian matters, such as the release of prisoners and detainees, the tracing of missing persons and assistance to the aged and infirm. As a result of the agreements reached at those meetings, the release of several categories of prisoners had begun on 16 September.

The reports contained details about the humanitarian activities carried on by UNFICYP, the assessment of the needs of refugees undertaken by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the deliveries of UNHCR supplies to refugees by UNFICYP and activities of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who had earlier been appointed Co-ordinator of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance for Cyprus. The last report submitted during that period noted that, as a consequence of all those factors, the general state of the refugees continued to improve slowly.

On 4 September, pursuant to resolution 361 (1974), the Secretary-General submitted a report⁶⁰⁵ in which he announced that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in his capacity as Co-ordinator of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance for Cyprus, had visited the island from 22 to 27 August to study the problem at first hand.

⁶⁰⁴ S/11468/Add.1-2, *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for July-Sept. 1974*, pp. 120-124, Add.3-4, *ibid.*, *Supplement for Oct.-Dec. 1974*, pp. 15-17.

⁶⁰⁵ S/11488, *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for July-Sept. 1974*, p. 134.

Attached to the report was the High Commissioner's report, which estimated the number of refugees in the south to be 163,800 Greek Cypriots and 34,000 Turkish Cypriots. The Co-ordinator also described the assistance already provided and expressed the hope for further support from the international community. To obtain such increased support, the Secretary-General on 6 September⁶⁰⁶ appealed for voluntary contributions from all States Members of the United Nations and members of the specialized agencies and estimated that some \$22 million would be required for humanitarian assistance in Cyprus from 1 September to the end of 1974.

In a further report dated 31 October,⁶⁰⁷ the Secretary-General, referring to the progress report of his Co-ordinator, indicated that the response to his appeal had been prompt and generous, amounting to approximately \$20 million in cash. In the annex to his report, the Co-ordinator, after having outlined the magnitude of the refugee problem, gave details about the assistance that had been provided by the United Nations.

In a letter dated 20 September,⁶⁰⁸ the Secretary-General addressed a further appeal to Governments for voluntary contributions for the financing of UNFICYP, the costs of which, owing to recent events in Cyprus, had led to a substantial increase in costs to the United Nations for the period to 15 December 1974. The need for additional funds to maintain UNFICYP was urgent, he stated, and would amount to some \$13-14 million for every six-month period during which the Force remained at its existing level.

Before the mandate of UNFICYP was due to expire on 15 December, the Secretary-General, on 6 December, submitted a report of the Council covering United Nations operations in Cyprus during the period from 23 May to 5 December.⁶⁰⁹ In the report, the Secretary-General said the period under review was marked by the gravest crisis undergone by Cyprus since the establishment of UNFICYP in 1964. The *coup d'état* of 15 July was followed by military intervention by Turkey and full-scale hostilities between the National Guard on one side and the Turkish Army and Turkish Cypriot fighters on the other. The Turkish armed forces were now in occupation of about 40 per cent of Cyprus. The economy of the island was seriously disrupted and one third of its population had been uprooted. Those events confronted UNFICYP with a new situation not covered by its mandate. UNFICYP exerted its best efforts to minimize the consequences of the hostilities by arranging local cease-fires, protecting the population threatened by the events and extending humanitarian relief assistance to refugees and other persons in need. UNFICYP continued to carry out its peace-keeping and humanitarian tasks to the maximum extent possible.

The situation in Cyprus would remain unstable and potentially dangerous so long as a settlement of the basic problems was not agreed upon. The Secretary-General was convinced that such a settlement could not be achieved by

⁶⁰⁶ S/11488/Add.1., *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for July-Sept. 1974*, p. 136.

⁶⁰⁷ S/11488/Add.2., *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for Oct.-Dec. 1974*, p. 18.

⁶⁰⁸ S/11528, *ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶⁰⁹ S/11568, *OR*, 29th yr., *Supplement for Oct.-Dec. 1974*, p. 50.

violence but only through free negotiations among the parties concerned. It was to be hoped that the talks between Acting President Glafcos Clerides and Vice-President Rauf Denktash, which had begun during the Secretary-General's visit to the island in late August, would pave the way for future negotiations towards a settlement.

In those circumstances, the Secretary-General considered the continued presence of UNFICYP to be essential not only to help maintain the cease-fire, to promote the security of the civilian population and to provide humanitarian relief assistance, but also to facilitate the search for a peaceful solution. He recommended that the Council extend the stationing of UNFICYP for a further six months. The parties concerned had signified their concurrence in that recommendation.

Recalling that after the events of July he had taken urgent measures to increase the strength of UNFICYP to meet the requirements of the new situation, the Secretary-General pointed out that the deficit in the UNFICYP budget, which exceeded \$27 million, had become a serious problem. The main reasons for it was the insufficiency of voluntary contributions which had continued to come from a disappointingly limited number of Governments. To finance the costs to the Organization of maintaining the Force for six months after 15 December and to meet all costs, it would be necessary to receive contributions to the UNFICYP Special Account totalling \$41.9 million.

At the 1810th meeting on 13 December 1974, the Security Council adopted⁶¹⁰ the following agenda without objection:

The Situation in Cyprus

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operations in Cyprus (S/11568).

The representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece were invited, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The President then stated that in the course of informal consultations, members of the Council had agreed that the Council should extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Vedat A. Celik. As there was no objection, it was so decided.

The Council had before it two draft resolutions⁶¹¹ which, as the President (Australia) explained, had been prepared in the course of extensive consultations among the members of the Council.⁶¹² He then put the two draft resolutions to the vote. The first draft resolution (S/11573) was adopted by 14 votes to none, with one member not participating in the vote. It read as follows:

The Security Council,

Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 6 December 1974 (S/11568) that in existing circumstances the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed to perform the tasks it is currently undertaking if the cease-fire is to be maintained in the island and the search for a peaceful settlement facilitated,

Noting from the report the conditions prevailing in the island,

Noting also the statement by the Secretary-General contained in paragraph 81 of his report, that the parties concerned had signified their concurrence in his recommendation that the Security Council extend the stationing of the Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months,

Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to keep the Force in Cyprus beyond 15 December 1974,

Noting also the letter dated 7 November 1974 (S/11557) from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council together with the text of resolution 3212 (XXIX) entitled "Question of Cyprus" adopted unanimously by the General Assembly at its 2275th plenary meeting on 1 November 1974,

Noting further that resolution 3212 (XXIX) enunciates certain principles intended to facilitate a solution to the current problems of Cyprus by peaceful means, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966) of 16 March, 222 (1966) of 16 June and 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966, 238 (1967) of 19 June and 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967, 247 (1968) of 18 March, 254 (1968) of 18 June and 261 (1968) of 10 December 1968, 266 (1969) of 10 June and 274 (1969) of 11 December 1969, 281 (1970) of 9 June and 291 (1970) of 10 December 1970, 293 (1971) of 26 May and 305 (1971) of 13 December 1971, 315 (1972) of 15 June and 324 (1972) of 12 December 1972, 334 (1973) of 15 June and 343 (1973) of 14 December 1973 and 349 (1974) of 29 May 1974, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964 and at the 1383rd meeting on 25 November 1967;

2. *Reaffirms also* its resolutions 353 (1974) of 20 July, 354 (1974) of 23 July, 355 (1974) of 1 August, 357 (1974) of 14 August, 358 (1974) and 359 (1974) of 15 August, 360 (1974) of 16 August and 361 (1974) of 30 August 1974;

3. *Urges* the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue and accelerate determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council;

4. *Extends* once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period ending 15 June 1975, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force;

5. *Appeals again* to all parties concerned to extend their full co-operation to the United Nations Force in its continuing performance of its duties.

The second resolution was adopted by consensus.⁶¹³ It read as follows:

The Security Council,

Having received the text of resolution 3212 (XXIX) of the General Assembly on the "Question of Cyprus",

Noting with satisfaction that that resolution was adopted unanimously,

1. *Endorses* General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and urges the parties concerned to implement it as soon as possible;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution.

Following the vote, statements were made by members of the Council and by the invited representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey. The Council also heard a statement by Mr. Celik, in conformity with the decision taken at the beginning of the meeting.

⁶¹⁰ 1810th meeting, President's opening statement.

⁶¹¹ S/11573 and S/11574, both adopted without change as resolutions 364 (1974) and resolutions 365 (1974) respectively.

⁶¹² 1810th meeting, President's opening statement.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, President's statement following the vote.

The representative of the USSR stated that his delegation did not object to the extension of UNFICYP since the extension was being implemented through continuation of the existing voluntary financing of those troops.⁶¹⁴

The representative of China stated that his delegation had not participated in the vote on resolution 364 (1974) because his Government had always held different views in principle on the question of dispatching of United Nations forces.⁶¹⁵

THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA

In the course of its meetings in Addis Ababa, the Security Council considered among other issues the situation in Namibia and adopted the resolutions 309 (1972) and 310 (1972) relating to this question.⁶¹⁶

Decision of 1 August 1972 (1657th meeting): resolution 319 (1972)

On 17 July 1972, the Secretary-General submitted a report⁶¹⁷ on the implementation of Security Council resolution 309 (1972) of 4 February 1972, whereby the Council had invited him, in consultation and close co-operation with a group of the Security Council, to initiate contacts with all the parties concerned, with a view to establishing the necessary conditions to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. Following an exchange of communications with the Government of South Africa, the Secretary-General had visited South Africa and Namibia between 6 and 10 March and had held discussions with the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa. After his return to Headquarters, the Secretary-General had continued his contact with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, and in the course of those discussions the following three points regarding the terms of reference of a representative of the Secretary-General emerged: (a) the task of the representative of the Secretary-General would be to assist in achieving the aim of self-determination and independence of the people of Namibia and to study all questions relevant thereto; (b) in carrying out his task, the representative might make recommendations to the Secretary-General and, in consultation with the latter, to the South African Government, and in so doing, he should assist in overcoming any points of difference; (c) the South African Government would co-operate in the discharge of the representative's task by providing him the requisite facilities to go to South Africa and to Namibia as necessary and to meet all sections of the population of Namibia. The Secretary-General had also conveyed to the Government of South Africa his concern regarding its announced plans with respect to the eastern Caprivi and Ovamboland in further application of its homelands policy and had expressed the hope that the

Government of South Africa would not proceed with any measures that would adversely affect the outcome of the contacts initiated by him pursuant to resolution 309 (1972). The Secretary-General had also contacted other parties concerned, including individuals and groups in Namibia and Namibian leaders outside the Territory. They included representatives of South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), South West Africa National Union (SWANU) and other political groups, delegations from a number of "homelands", the Executive Committee of South West Africa and the leaders of the Ovambo workers' committee in the recent strike. In those contacts, which had taken place without the presence of South African officials, various views had been expressed which might be classified into three broad categories: (1) groups calling for a united independent Namibia; (2) groups supporting self-government for the "homelands" and opposing unitary State, with possible federal system; and (3) views of the European Executive Committee of South West Africa, which also opposed the establishment of a unitary State. The Secretary-General reported further that, in addition to the group of three designated by the Security Council for him to consult, he had met with the presiding officers of United Nations bodies concerned with the situation in Namibia, as well as the Chairman and a number of members of the Organization of African Unity. He concluded that, on the basis of his discussions to date, and especially in view of the expressed willingness of the Government of South Africa to co-operate with the representative of the Secretary-General, he believed that it would be worthwhile to continue efforts to implement the mandate of the Security Council with the assistance of a representative. Should the Security Council decide to continue his mandate, the Secretary-General would keep the Security Council informed and in any case would report to the Council not later than 30 November 1972.

At the 1656th meeting on 31 July 1972, the Security Council included⁶¹⁸ the Secretary-General's report in its agenda, and considered the item at the 1656th and 1657th meetings on 31 July and 1 August 1972. At the 1656th meeting, following a request by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, two representatives of that body were invited⁶¹⁹ to participate in the discussion.

At the 1656th meeting, the representative of Belgium said that his delegation shared the Secretary-General's concern regarding the decision of the Government of South Africa to give autonomy to Ovamboland and to eastern Caprivi. No steps must be allowed to deprive the Namibian people of their rights or to prejudice the political structure of their future State.⁶²⁰

At the same meeting, the representative of Yugoslavia stated that his Government's attitude was based on the fundamental position of the United Nations with respect to Namibia, namely: South Africa must end the occupation and withdraw its administration from Namibia; the people of Namibia must exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence; the United Nations should act to reaffirm the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia as it had a special responsibility and

⁶¹⁴ 1810th meeting, intervention by the USSR.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.* intervention by China.

⁶¹⁶ For the procedural history of the meetings in Addis Ababa see in this chapter the section under the heading "Consideration of questions relating to Africa with which the Security Council is currently seized and the implementation of the Council's relevant resolutions", especially pp. 100-101 for the Namibian question.

⁶¹⁷ S/10738, *OR*, 27th yr., *Suppl. for July-Sept. 1972*, pp. 63-72.

⁶¹⁸ 1656th meeting, following para. 1.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, para. 2.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*, paras. 25-34.