

Europe

17. The situation in Cyprus

Decisions of 9 June 1989 (2868th meeting): resolution 634 (1989) and statement by the President

On 31 May 1989, pursuant to resolution 625 (1988), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period from 1 December 1988 to 31 May 1989.¹ The report covered developments with regard to the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and the Secretary-General's mission of good offices pursuant to resolution 186 (1964) and subsequent Council resolutions concerning Cyprus. The Secretary-General emphasized that UNFICYP continued to play an indispensable role in Cyprus and was in a unique position to help preserve the conditions on the ground that were vital for his good offices. He noted in particular the success of UNFICYP in working out agreements with both sides in Cyprus for the unmanning of positions in three of the areas in Nicosia where troops of both sides were in dangerous proximity. He hoped that that first step would soon be followed by further measures to reduce confrontation along the Green Line in Nicosia. In the light of that assessment, he recommended that the Council extend the Force's mandate for a further period of six months.² He added that, in accordance with the established practice, he had undertaken consultations on that matter with the parties concerned. Reiterating his deep concern about the serious financial situation of UNFICYP, he hoped that the Council would in due course reform the financing of the Force so that the United Nations share of the costs was paid for from assessed, instead of voluntary, contributions.

¹ S/20663.

² On 8 June 1989, the Secretary-General informed the Council that the Government of Cyprus as well as the Governments of Greece and the United Kingdom had indicated their concurrence with the proposed extension of the UNFICYP mandate (S/20663/Add.1). He added that the Government of Turkey had indicated that it concurred with and supported the position of the Turkish Cypriot side, which was that draft resolution S/20679 was unacceptable as a basis for extending the mandate of UNFICYP, and that its stand would be expounded at the next meeting of the Security Council.

With regard to his mission of good offices, the Secretary-General stated that the two rounds of direct talks in which the leaders of the two sides in Cyprus had been engaged since August 1988 had progressed to the point where the contours of an overall agreement were discernible. The two leaders had agreed to develop, on a non-committal basis, a wide range of options for each of the issues making up the Cyprus problem. They had also agreed to devote a third round of talks, from May to June 1989, to the preparation of a draft outline of an overall agreement in which the solutions to be achieved for each of the elements of the outline would be described. Those discussions were in progress and he intended to report to Council on the results after meeting with the two leaders during the last week of June 1989.

At its 2868th meeting, on 9 June 1989, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda, under the item entitled "The situation in Cyprus". The Council invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. As agreed during its prior consultations, the Council also extended an invitation to Mr. Özer Koray under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

The President (United States) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.³ He also drew their attention to two letters relating to the item on the agenda: a letter dated 22 May 1989 from the representatives of Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom addressed to the Secretary-General,⁴ expressing grave concern about the growing deficit in the UNFICYP Special Account; and a letter dated 1 June 1989 from the representative of Austria addressed to the President of the Council,⁵ expressing a similar concern on behalf of the troop-contributing countries.

³ S/20679.

⁴ S/20650.

⁵ S/20666.

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 634 (1989), which reads:

The Security Council,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus of 31 May 1989 and 8 June 1989,

Taking note also of the recommendation by the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peacekeeping 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 June 1989,

Reaffirming the provisions of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and other relevant resolutions,

1. *Extends once more* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force established under resolution 186 (1964) for a further period ending on 15 December 1989;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices, to keep the Security Council informed of the progress made and to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution by 30 November 1989;

3. *Calls upon* all the parties concerned to continue to cooperate with the Force on the basis of the present mandate.

After the vote, the President of the Council stated that he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council following consultations among the members of the Council:⁶

The members of the Security Council welcome and reaffirm their support for the direct talks launched in August 1988 under the auspices of the Secretary-General in the context of his mission of good offices in Cyprus. They express appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their untiring efforts to achieve progress.

The members of the Council note that 25 years have elapsed since the establishment of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. They regret that, in that time, it has not been possible to achieve a negotiated settlement of all aspects of the Cyprus problem.

The members of the Council, taking into account the importance of the current stage of the talks, urge both parties to redouble their efforts, be flexible and lend the fullest support and cooperation to the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus towards achieving a negotiated, just and lasting settlement.

⁶ S/20682.

The members of the Council also warmly welcome the unmanning of military positions which has recently taken place, and urge the two parties to consider further steps in cooperation with United Nations authorities aimed at reducing tension, avoiding incidents and creating a climate of goodwill, as well as maintaining an atmosphere conducive to a settlement.

The members of the Council take note of the Secretary-General's intention to meet with the two parties at the end of June, and share the Secretary-General's hope that the meeting will bear positive results. They appeal to the parties concerned to cooperate with the Secretary-General in order to achieve substantial progress in the direction of an overall settlement.

The representative of Cyprus welcomed the decision of the Council to extend the mandate of UNFICYP and pledged his Government's full cooperation with it. He observed that his Government had responded positively to the Secretary-General's initiative for high-level negotiations to settle "all aspects of the Cyprus problem" and had accepted the methodology and the agreed basis for the negotiations. He stressed that his Government was seeking a viable solution to the problem based on the following essential points: withdrawal of the Turkish armed forces; establishment of a balanced system of international guarantees ensuring the territorial integrity and security of Cyprus; return of the "settlers implanted by Turkey in the occupied areas of Cyprus"; full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; functionality of a future federal constitution; and the conformity of any future solution with the resolutions of the United Nations on Cyprus. The proposals put forward by the President of Cyprus in January 1989 were, he said, consistent with those principles.⁷

The representative of Greece stated that his Government had concurred in the extension of the stationing of UNFICYP in Cyprus for another six months and supported the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General, as well as the ongoing intercommunal talks. Greece supported the proposal of the Secretary-General that the method of financing UNFICYP should be changed from voluntary to assessed contributions, as was the case with all other United Nations peacekeeping operations. He shared the view of the eight troop-contributing countries, in their letter of 1 June 1989 to the President of the Security Council,⁸ that the Council and its permanent members,

⁷ S/PV.2868, pp. 7-13.

⁸ S/20666, annex.

in particular, had a special responsibility to ensure the proper financing of the United Nations share of the cost of UNFICYP. He expressed support for the comprehensive scheme of proposals presented by the President of Cyprus in January 1989, stating that they were based on the rules of democracy, respect for human rights and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Stressing that the external aspect of the Cyprus problem was of particular concern to his own country, he noted that a serious security problem had been created in the Eastern Mediterranean by the continuing presence of Turkish troops in Cyprus. He supported, in that regard, the proposal of the President of Cyprus for the full demilitarization of the Republic.⁹

Mr. Koray stated that the ongoing comprehensive talks, for the establishment of a federation between the two States in the island, constituted the longest phase of talks ever held in Cyprus between the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot peoples. The talks had provided the two sides with an opportunity to discuss all aspects of a bizonal federal republic based on equal political status and participation of the two peoples. He recalled that the Turkish Cypriot side had emphasized the security aspect of a final settlement, with indispensable Turkish guarantees, as well as the political equality of the two sides in the federation. The kind of solution envisaged by the Greek Cypriot side could not, he stated, be accepted so long as it did not recognize such basic concepts as equality, bizonality and power-sharing. Various developments in southern Cyprus had also marred the prospects of an early settlement in Cyprus. In short, the Greek Cypriot administration was, he claimed, trying to undermine the existence of the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus”, for instance by its declared intention to apply, unilaterally, for membership in the European Community. He affirmed, however, that the Turkish Cypriot side would continue to play a constructive role in the negotiations and to address the basic issues and principles central to a feasible and desirable federal solution. On the question of the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, he reiterated that the resolution just adopted was unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot side for the reasons that had been outlined in previous Security Council debates on the matter: any resolution that referred to the Greek Cypriot administration as the “Government of Cyprus” was unacceptable because it ignored the existing realities in Cyprus and negated the

principle of equality between the two sides. He stated, however, that the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” nevertheless accepted the presence of UNFICYP on its territory on the same basis as that stated in December 1988: namely, “that the principle, the scope and the modalities and procedures of cooperation between the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and UNFICYP shall be based only on decisions to be taken solely by the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus”. He also reiterated the support of the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” for the Secretary-General’s mission of good offices and the current efforts under his auspices to find a negotiated settlement in Cyprus.¹⁰

The representative of Turkey similarly stressed that the basis of a lasting settlement in Cyprus was the establishment of a bicomunal, bizonal, federal State, based on the political equality of the two peoples. He praised the friendly and constructive atmosphere of the negotiations between the two sides, but cautioned that certain recent developments could have an adverse effect on the negotiations. He mentioned, in particular, the growing military build-up in southern Cyprus, the violent demonstrations organized with the encouragement of the Greek Cypriot authorities in or near the buffer zone and the declared intention of the Greek Cypriots to apply for full membership in the European Community. With regard to the resolution just adopted by the Council, his Government could not agree to an extension of the UNFICYP mandate on the basis as therein set out. His Government fully supported the position of the Turkish Cypriot side as expressed by Mr. Koray on the modalities governing the presence of UNFICYP in northern Cyprus.¹¹

**Decisions of 14 December 1989 (2898th
meeting): resolution 646 (1989) and statement
by the President**

On 7 December 1989, pursuant to resolution 634 (1989), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period from 1 June to 4 December 1989.¹² The report covered developments with regard to UNFICYP and the Secretary-General’s mission of good offices. The Secretary-General reported that Greek Cypriot

⁹ S/PV.2868, pp. 14-18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-26.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-31.

¹² S/21010.

demonstrators had on four occasions entered the United Nations buffer zone. During one such demonstration, in July, Turkish Cypriot police and security forces had apprehended a number of demonstrators, which had prompted further demonstrations. Those events had created considerable tension on the island and had underlined the importance for all concerned to respect the role and functions of UNFICYP. In that regard, the Secretary-General was pleased that the Government of Cyprus had in the recent past cooperated with UNFICYP in protecting the integrity of the buffer zone. Observing that the presence of the Force remained indispensable, he recommended that the Council extend its mandate for a further six months. In accordance with established practice, he had undertaken consultations on this matter with the parties concerned, and would report to the Council on them as soon as possible.¹³ He once again drew the attention of the Council to the worsening financial crisis facing UNFICYP, reiterating his view that the best way to finance the Force on a more equitable basis would be for the United Nations share of its costs to be financed from assessed contributions. He expressed the hope that in due course the members of the Council would accept that overdue reform.

With regard to his mission of good offices, the Secretary-General reported that, although it had not yielded concrete results, he remained of the view that a basis for effective negotiations existed, provided that both leaders manifested the necessary goodwill and recognized that a viable solution had to satisfy the interests of both communities. The discussions since the previous year had brought out all the ideas that needed to be covered in an agreement, and had produced ideas that should facilitate the negotiating process. He hoped that, after further discussions with his Special Representative, a way would be found for both parties to resume their negotiations, and to

¹³ On 13 December 1989, the Secretary-General informed the Council that the Government of Cyprus, as well as the Governments of Greece and the United Kingdom, had concurred with the proposed extension of the UNFICYP mandate (S/21010/Add.1). He added that the Government of Turkey had indicated that it concurred with and supported the position of the Turkish Cypriot side, which was that draft resolution S/21020 was unacceptable as a basis for extending the stationing of UNFICYP, and that its stand would be expounded at the next meeting of the Security Council.

proceed expeditiously to complete their work on an outline, as agreed on 29 June. Underlining the close relationship between the negotiations and the overall atmosphere, the Secretary-General urged the two leaders to make a determined effort to promote reconciliation. He observed that the adoption of goodwill measures, including an extension of the unarming arrangements, could prove useful in that regard.

At its 2898th meeting, on 14 December 1989, the Council included the Secretary-General's report in its agenda and considered the item at the same meeting. The Council invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. As agreed during its prior consultations, the Council also invited Mr. Özer Koray to participate in the meeting under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

The President (Colombia) drew the attention of the members to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁴ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 646 (1989), which reads:

The Security Council,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus of 7 and 13 December 1989,

Taking note also of the recommendation by the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peacekeeping 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 1989,

Reaffirming the provisions of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and other relevant resolutions,

1. *Extends once more* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force established under resolution 186 (1964) for a further period ending on 15 June 1990;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices, to keep the Security Council informed of the progress made and to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution by 31 May 1990;

3. *Calls upon* all the parties concerned to continue to cooperate with the Force on the basis of the present mandate.

¹⁴ S/21020.

The representative of Cyprus welcomed the Council's decision to renew the mandate of UNFICYP and that of the Secretary-General's good offices mission. Among the most recent developments, he underlined the importance of two separate lunches, hosted by the Secretary-General, in which the President of Cyprus and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, respectively, had participated, together with the Presidents of the Council for November and December, the coordinators of the non-aligned caucus for November and December, and the permanent members of the Security Council. He thought that type of gathering was important for two reasons: it extended the involvement of the Security Council, and especially its five permanent members, beyond the renewal of the two mandates; and it provided a unique, informal, opportunity to the members of the Security Council to know a lot more about Cyprus and why its problem had remained unresolved for more than 15 years. He regretted, on the other hand, the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks, which he attributed to the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community. He stated that, during parallel meetings with the Secretary-General, the Turkish Cypriot side had demanded the withdrawal of the ideas presented by the Secretary-General to the parties, rejected the agreed negotiating procedure and challenged the role of the Secretary-General. Many other unacceptable conditions, moreover, had been laid down that were tantamount to institutionalizing a system of segregation and separation of the Cypriot people based on ethnic origin. He called on the Security Council to strengthen the role of the Secretary-General and assist him in overcoming the obstacles that had arisen. Concluding, he expressed the hope that, despite all the setbacks, and with the active assistance of the Council, a meaningful and results-orientated dialogue could commence on the Cyprus problem.¹⁵

The representative of Greece stated that his Government considered the presence of UNFICYP in Cyprus as indispensable and therefore concurred in the extension of its mandate. He, too, regretted that no concrete results had been achieved during the last mandate period; he maintained that the Turkish Cypriot side had frustrated progress when their leader had, under various pretexts, suspended his attendance at the talks carried out under the auspices of the Secretary-

General. He emphasized that Greece was convinced that it would be inconceivable for claims or proposals presented during the intercommunal talks to depart from the basic rules of international law or from the resolutions of the United Nations and other international or regional bodies that had authoritatively pronounced themselves on the issue. Among the latter, he referred to recent pronouncements of the European Council of Heads of State or Government of the States members of the European Community, underlining that the Cyprus problem had always been, and remained, a European problem too. He added that Greece failed to see that a solution to the problem could be reached unless there was an assurance that the Turkish occupying forces and Turkish settlers would withdraw from Cyprus, that the fundamental freedoms of movement and establishment and the right to property would be respected, and that the people of Cyprus in their entirety would enjoy the fruits of cooperation and unity without external interference or intervention. In conclusion, he recommended that, in accordance with paragraph 5 of resolution 550 (1984), the area of Varosha should be transferred to the administration of the United Nations in order to alleviate the continuing plight of some of the refugees and enable them to regain their homes.¹⁶

Mr. Koray recalled that Mr. Denktash, in an effort to secure a resumption of the stalled talks, had presented substantive proposals to the Secretary-General on how the negotiations could be meaningfully pursued. They were designed, he said, to define the basis of a new pattern of relationship between the two peoples through a "joint declaration", and to prepare, through direct talks, the main features of an outline for a comprehensive settlement. He stressed that the success of the forthcoming negotiations would depend on the acceptance by the Greek Cypriot side of certain guidelines and principles, such as those contained in the "joint declaration" proposal, which he read out.¹⁷ With regard to the extension of the UNFICYP mandate, he reiterated that the resolution that had just been adopted was unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot side, for reasons outlined in previous Security Council debates on the matter. His government was, nevertheless, favourably disposed to accept the presence of UNFICYP on the territory of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" on the same basis as

¹⁵ S/PV.2898, pp. 3-13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-18.

¹⁷ See S/PV.2898, pp. 21-22.

stated in June 1989: namely, “that the principle, the scope and the modalities and procedures of cooperation between the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and UNFICYP shall be based only on decisions taken solely by the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus”.¹⁸

The representative of Turkey reiterated that his Government could not agree to an extension of the UNFICYP mandate on the basis of the resolution that had just been adopted, which contained a number of unacceptable elements. It supported the position outlined by the representative of the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” on the modalities governing the presence of UNFICYP in northern Cyprus. He also reiterated that his Government fully supported the Secretary-General’s mission of good offices, and continued to believe that the only way to achieve a just and lasting solution that could lead to a federation of the two Cypriot States was through direct negotiations conducted on a footing of complete equality. All outside attempts to impose a settlement were condemned to fail.¹⁹

In a further statement, the representative of Greece suggested that the President of the Council might wish to place before the members of the Council a procedural proposal: namely, that, in the light of Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984), and bearing in mind rules 27, 29, 37 and 39 of the Council’s provisional rules of procedure, precedence should be given to representatives of Member States who wished to address the Council over persons entitled to address the Council under rule 39.²⁰

The representative of Turkey took issue with the attempt by the representative of Greece to cast doubt on the Turkish Cypriot State. He maintained that the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” had all the attributes of a State, including population, territory and sovereignty.²¹

The representative of Cyprus questioned that assertion, in the light of the mandatory decisions of the Security Council on the matter.²²

At the same meeting, the President of the Council stated that he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council following consultations among the members of the Council:²³

The members of the Security Council take note of the Secretary-General’s report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus and express their full support for his continuing efforts in pursuing the initiative launched in August 1988.

The members of the Council recall the statement made on their behalf by the President of the Council on 9 June 1989 in which they expressed their regret that, in the more than 25 years since the establishment of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus, it had not been possible to achieve a negotiated settlement of all aspects of the Cyprus problem.

The members of the Council note the Secretary-General’s assessment that a basis for effective negotiations exists provided both leaders manifest the necessary goodwill and recognize that a viable solution must satisfy the legitimate interests of both communities.

The members of the Council share the Secretary-General’s disappointment that it has not been possible to achieve concrete results to date in developing an agreed outline of an overall agreement. In this regard, they share the Secretary-General’s hope that direct and meaningful talks can be resumed early next year.

The members of the Council urge both leaders to proceed as suggested by the Secretary-General during their most recent meetings and, as agreed in June, to cooperate with him and his Special Representative in completing work on an outline. They also urge the two parties to make a further determined effort to promote reconciliation. They share the Secretary-General’s view that the adoption of goodwill measures could prove useful in this regard.

The members of the Council are concerned about the difficulties encountered by the Force during the last mandate period. They call on all parties to cooperate with the Force and to take effective measures to ensure that the integrity of the buffer zone is safeguarded.

The members of the Council also note the continuing financial difficulties facing the Force as indicated by the Secretary-General. They take note of his appeal for greater financial contributions to the Force, which would help it continue its important peacekeeping role in Cyprus and would reduce its financial difficulties.

The members of the Council request the Secretary-General to report back to the Council by 1 March 1990 on what progress has been made in resuming intensive talks and developing an agreed outline of an overall agreement.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 19-33.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 34-39.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 40; see also chapter I, case 10.

²¹ S/PV.2898, p. 41.

²² Ibid., p. 42.

²³ S/21026.

**Decision of 22 February 1990: statement by
the President**

On 22 February 1990, following consultations among the members of the Council, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:²⁴

The members of the Council recall the statement made on their behalf by the President on 14 December 1989. They express their appreciation to the Secretary-General for his briefing on the current situation about his mission of good offices concerning Cyprus and give their full support to his efforts to assist the two communities to reach a just and lasting solution.

The members of the Council stress the importance they attach to an early negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem.

The members of the Council are pleased that the leaders of the two sides in Cyprus have accepted the Secretary-General's invitation to meet with him for an extended session beginning on 26 February 1990 to complete the work on an outline of an overall agreement, as agreed in June 1989.

The members of the Council call upon the leaders of the two sides to demonstrate the necessary goodwill and flexibility and to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General so that the talks will result in a major step towards the resolution of the Cyprus problem.

The members of the Council request the Secretary-General to report to the Council at the conclusion of the forthcoming meeting to inform them of the results achieved and of his assessment of the situation at that time.

**Decision of 12 March 1990 (2909th meeting):
resolution 649 (1990)**

On 8 March 1990, pursuant to the presidential statement of 22 February 1990, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report on his mission of good offices concerning Cyprus.²⁵ He reported on the joint and separate meetings that he and his Special Representative had held with the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus from 26 February to 2 March 1990. He annexed the text of his opening and closing statements made during the talks.

In concluding, the Secretary-General regretted that it had not proved possible to advance in drafting an outline of an overall agreement. However, he remained of the view that a basis for effective negotiations existed, provided that both leaders were prepared to take into account each other's concerns,

and that both were willing to proceed within the framework of the 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements. He recalled that, in those agreements, the leaders of the two communities had pledged to establish a bicomunal and bizonal Federal Republic of Cyprus that would safeguard its independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment and exclude union in whole or in part with any other country as well as any form of partition or secession. He added that, as he had repeatedly indicated to the parties, the solution that was being sought was one that must be decided upon by, and must be acceptable to, both communities.

He stressed that the two leaders must agree to pursue seriously the current effort to reach a solution providing for a political settlement and the establishment of a mutually acceptable constitutional arrangement, and to cooperate on an equal footing with him to complete, as the next step, an outline of an overall agreement, as they had agreed to do in June 1989.

At its 2909th meeting, on 12 March 1990, the Council included the Secretary-General's report in its agenda. The President (Democratic Yemen) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.²⁶ The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 649 (1990), which reads:

The Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 8 March 1990 on the recent meeting between the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus and on his assessment of the current situation,

Recalling its relevant resolutions on Cyprus,

Recalling the statement of the President of the Security Council of 22 February 1990 calling upon the leaders of the two communities to demonstrate the necessary goodwill and flexibility and to cooperate with the Secretary-General so that the talks will result in a major step forward towards the resolution of the Cyprus problem,

Expressing its regret that, in the more than twenty-five years since the establishment of United Nations Force in Cyprus, it has not been possible to achieve a negotiated settlement of all aspects of the Cyprus problem,

²⁴ S/21160.

²⁵ S/21183.

²⁶ S/21184.

Concerned that, at the recent meeting in New York, it was not possible to achieve results in arriving at an agreed outline of an overall agreement,

1. *Reaffirms* in particular its resolution 367 (1975) of 12 March 1975 as well as its support for the 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements between the leaders of the two communities in which they pledged themselves to establish a bicommunal Federal Republic of Cyprus that will safeguard its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment, and exclude union in whole or in part with any other country and any form of partition or secession;

2. *Expresses its full support* for the current effort of the Secretary-General in carrying out his mission of good offices concerning Cyprus;

3. *Calls upon* the leaders of the two communities to pursue their efforts to reach freely a mutually acceptable solution providing for the establishment of a federation that will be bicommunal as regards the constitutional aspects and bizonal as regards the territorial aspects, in line with the present resolution and their 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements, and to cooperate, on an equal footing, with the Secretary-General in completing, in the first instance and on an urgent basis, an outline of an overall agreement, as agreed in June 1989;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to pursue his mission of good offices in order to achieve the earliest possible progress and, towards this end, to assist the two communities by making suggestions to facilitate the discussions;

5. *Calls* on the parties concerned to refrain from any action that could aggravate the situation;

6. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the situation and the current effort;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to inform the Council in his report due by 31 May 1990, of the progress made in resuming the intensive talks and in developing an agreed outline of an overall agreement in line with the present resolution.

**Decisions of 15 June 1990 (2928th meeting):
resolution 657 (1990) and statement by the
President**

On 31 May 1990, pursuant to resolution 646 (1989), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period from 1 December 1989 to 31 May 1990.²⁷ The report covered developments with regard to UNFICYP and the Secretary-General's mission of good offices pursuant to resolution 646 (1989). He observed that the Force continued to perform its functions of supervising the ceasefire, maintaining calm and

promoting peaceful civilian activity in the area between the ceasefire lines, adding that, in carrying out its function, the Force had the cooperation of both sides. In the light of the prevailing circumstances, he had concluded that the continued presence of the Force in Cyprus remained indispensable to achieve the objectives set by the Council. He therefore recommended to the Council that it extend the mandate of UNFICYP for a further six-month period. In accordance with established practice, he had undertaken consultations on the matter with the parties concerned, and would report to the Council as soon as they had been completed.²⁸ He underlined that the Force was facing a chronic and ever-deepening financial crisis, which imposed an inordinately heavy burden on the countries contributing troops to the Force, and suggested that the United Nations part of the cost of the Force be financed from assessed contributions.

With regard to his mission of good offices, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that the contacts aimed at resuming the intensive talks between the two parties had not yet been concluded. He intended to submit a further report as soon as that had happened.

At its 2928th meeting, on 15 June 1990, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda and considered the item at the same meeting. The Council invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. As agreed during its prior consultations, the Council also invited Mr. Özer Koray to participate in the meeting under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

The President (France) drew the attention of the members to a draft resolution that had been prepared in

²⁸ On 13 June 1990, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that the Government of Cyprus as well as the Governments of Greece and the United Kingdom had indicated their concurrence with the proposed extension of the UNFICYP mandate (S/21340/Add.1). He added that the Government of Turkey had indicated that it concurred with and supported the position of the Turkish Cypriot side, which was that draft resolution S/21357 was unacceptable as a basis for extending the stationing of UNFICYP, and that its stand would be expounded at the next meeting of the Security Council.

²⁷ S/21340.

the course of the Council's prior consultations.²⁹ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 657 (1990), which reads:

The Security Council,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus of 31 May and 13 June 1990,

Taking note also of the recommendation by the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peacekeeping 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 June 1990,

Reaffirming the provisions of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and other relevant resolutions,

1. *Extends once more* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force established under resolution 186 (1964) for a further period ending on 15 December 1990;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices, to keep the Security Council informed of the progress made and to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution by 30 November 1990;

3. *Calls upon* all the parties concerned to continue to cooperate with the Force on the basis of the present mandate.

The representatives of Canada, the United Kingdom and Finland underlined the vital role played by UNFICYP in helping to create the necessary conditions for a negotiated settlement to the Cyprus problem. They expressed concern, however, at the precarious state of the Force's finances, noting that it was the only United Nations peacekeeping operation financed from voluntary contributions. They fully supported the proposal made by the Secretary-General in his report that the United Nations share of the cost of UNFICYP should be financed from assessed contributions.³⁰

The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that, while his country recognized that UNFICYP had serious financial difficulties, it attributed that to the fact that the Cyprus problem had remained unresolved for an inadmissibly long time. The problems relating to financing of the Force could hardly be regarded in isolation from other

crucial aspects of the United Nations peacekeeping operation in Cyprus. He stressed that one should not lose sight of the specific nature and characteristics of that particular peacekeeping operation, as reflected in resolution 186 (1964), by which it was established. He recalled that his country had supported that resolution, taking into account the stance of Cyprus and the fact that the adoption of the resolution would not result in financial obligations being imposed on Member States not involved in the Force. The problem of financing had to be resolved, therefore, in accordance with the procedures laid down in that resolution. It was on that basis, he stated, that his country had not opposed the Secretary-General's appeal to Member States "for a voluntary financial contribution" so as "to enable UNFICYP to continue to carry out the functions for which it was established". In conclusion, he stressed that, in his Government's view, the understanding with regard to the financial procedures laid down in resolution 186 (1964) still held good and should not be undermined: the practice established by the decisions of the Council more than 25 years before had, in its view, become binding and should continue to be followed.³¹

The representative of Cyprus stressed that the Council's decisions to renew the mandate of UNFICYP and that of the good offices mission of the Secretary-General were indispensable to the search for a solution to the question of Cyprus. He urged, however, that the Council not limit itself to the renewal of mandates and the occasional presidential statement. Rather, it should demand from Turkey more respect for its resolutions and the principles of the Charter, the abandonment of illegal preconditions and tangible proof of the political will to embark on a meaningful dialogue.³²

The representative of Greece considered that the present crisis had three aspects: political, institutional and financial. The deadlock in the talks was, he said, of a political nature. It concerned a substantive problem that had arisen from the insistence by the head of the Turkish Cypriot community on the notion of a separate people in Cyprus and on promoting the idea of a new entity, which the Security Council had explicitly condemned by the Council in its resolutions 367 (1975), 541 (1983) and 550 (1984). The institutional aspect of the crisis was illustrated, he stated, by the

²⁹ S/21357.

³⁰ S/PV.2928, pp. 5-7 (Canada); pp. 7-8 (United Kingdom); and pp. 8-10 (Finland).

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 13-21.

fact that the Security Council was unable to react more effectively to the continued presence in Cyprus of 35,000 Turkish occupying troops, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. He urged the Council to implement paragraph 5 of resolution 649 (1990) and call upon Turkey to refrain from any action that could aggravate the situation. With regard to the financial aspects of the crisis, he reiterated Greece's position that the Force should be financed in the same way as that employed for other United Nations peacekeeping forces: through assessed contributions.³³

Mr. Koray stated that the talks had been stalled because of the preconditions set and the intransigent attitude displayed by the Greek Cypriot leader. In an effort to break out of the impasse, the Turkish Cypriot side had made substantive proposals that would enable the two sides to move towards a federal solution and establish their relationship on a new pattern based on respect for each other's existence, integrity and political equality. An essential element of a negotiated settlement based on federation was the separate right of the two peoples to decide freely their future political status — in other words the right to self-determination. Mr. Koray stated that all those proposals were reflected in the Secretary-General's report of 8 March 1990.³⁴ In the report, the Secretary-General called for acknowledgement of the political equality of the two peoples in the federation, which was to be bicomunal as well as bizonal in nature, and explained that the objective of his mission of good offices was a new constitution for Cyprus that would regulate relations between the two sides. Subsequent to the consideration of the report, the Council adopted resolution 649 (1990) and confirmed the legal and political equality of the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. In the light of the resolution, the Greek Cypriots had no authority in law, or in fact, to represent Cyprus as a whole. Furthermore, it was important for third parties to treat the Greek Cypriot administration and the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" equally and fairly, in accordance with resolution 649 (1990). Mr. Koray accused the Greek Cypriot side of creating tension and mistrust in the island, in violation of paragraph 5 of resolution 649 (1990), by aggressive development of its military forces and a massive campaign to internationalize the Cyprus issue. Turning to the question of the extension of the UNFICYP mandate, he

added that the Turkish Cypriot side could not accept the resolution just adopted for the reasons stated in previous Council debates on the matter. Nonetheless, it accepted the presence of UNFICYP on its territory on the same basis as that stated in December 1989. He stressed that the UNFICYP mandate needed to be reappraised, because it was not compatible with the currently prevailing circumstances, which had undergone radical change.³⁵

The representative of Turkey stated that the resolution adopted by the Council was unacceptable, for the reasons outlined by Mr. Koray. The early resumption of the talks was the only practical way to reach a settlement that conformed to the guidelines restated in resolution 649 (1990). From such a settlement, a "Government of Cyprus" would eventually emerge and therefore that label should not be used to designate the Government of either one of the two existing states in the island. Commenting on the issue of the "so-called Turkish settlers", he stated that since the respective sizes of the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot populations was irrelevant to the final settlement, Turkey had no reason to attempt to alter the demographic balance in Cyprus. He expressed his Government's disappointment at the way the Greek Cypriots had been violating paragraph 5 of the resolution, which called upon the parties to refrain from action that could aggravate the situation. He accused the Greek Cypriots of continuing to wage political and economic warfare against the Turkish Cypriots, pointing to the lack of their sincerity at the negotiations to establish a federation of equals in Cyprus.³⁶

At the same meeting, the President of the Council stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:³⁷

The members of the Council recall Security Council resolution 649 (1990) of 12 March 1990 and other relevant resolutions. They express again their regret that, in the more than 25 years since the establishment of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus, it has not been possible to achieve a negotiated settlement for all aspects of the Cyprus problem. They reiterate their full support for the current effort of

³³ Ibid., pp. 22-28.

³⁴ S/21183.

³⁵ S/PV.2928, pp. 29-42.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 42-50.

³⁷ S/21361.

the Secretary-General in carrying out his mission of good offices concerning Cyprus.

The members of the Council also recall the statement made by the President on 30 May 1990 on United Nations peacekeeping operations. They reiterate their view expressed in that statement that peacekeeping operations must be launched and maintained on a sound and secure financial basis. They therefore express their concern at the chronic and ever-deepening financial crisis facing the Force, as described in the Secretary-General's report and in his letter of 31 May 1990 (S/21351) addressed to all States Members of the United Nations, and they support his appeal for financial contributions which would enable the Force to continue to carry out the functions for which it was established.

**Decision of 19 July 1990 (2930th meeting):
statement by the President**

On 12 July 1990, pursuant to resolution 649 (1990), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus,³⁸ in which he reported on the progress made in resuming the intensive talks and in developing an agreed outline of an overall agreement in line with that resolution. The Secretary-General observed that the adoption of resolution 649 (1990), which confirmed the essential elements of the solution of the Cyprus problem, and the acceptance by both sides of all aspects of that resolution, suggested that the two leaders could now proceed with the work agreed to in June 1989. He stated that it was important that the two leaders meet with him as soon as possible to agree on an outline and to launch the negotiation of an overall agreement. However, to ensure that such a meeting yielded the intended results, he proposed that separate discussions be held in Nicosia to prepare the ground. During those discussions, he would again submit to the two leaders the headings that had emerged from their talks as the basis for organizing the work of arriving at an agreed outline. Further, in line with paragraph 4 of resolution 649 (1990), he intended to make suggestions, as necessary, to assist the two sides in arriving at an agreed outline. Once an agreed outline was within reach, he would invite the two leaders to meet with him personally to complete the task and to launch negotiations on an overall agreement.

By a letter dated 18 July 1990 addressed to the President of the Security Council,³⁹ the representative of Cyprus transmitted a letter dated 17 July 1990 from

³⁸ S/21393.

³⁹ S/21399.

the Foreign Minister of Cyprus, requesting the convening of a meeting of the Council. In his letter, the Foreign Minister referred to recent developments regarding the city of Varosha and expressed his grave concern at information that indicated that the military status quo in the fenced area of Varosha would be altered in a way intended to facilitate the opening of the area to settlement by people other than its inhabitants. He stressed that that would constitute a violation of resolution 550 (1984), which could endanger the maintenance of the ceasefire and have serious repercussions on peace and security in the area. It was the position of his Government that the relevant provisions of resolution 550 (1984) should be fully implemented by transferring the area to the administration of the United Nations and allowing the rightful owners of the city to return to their homes and properties. In an annexed letter dated 18 July addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Cyprus stated that the threatened change to the status quo had just taken place, making the taking of urgent action by the Security Council, in order to restore the status quo ante, imperative.

At its 2930th meeting, held on 19 July 1990, in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included in its agenda the Secretary-General's report and the letter from the representative of Cyprus.

At the same meeting, the President of the Council (Malaysia) stated that he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council following consultations among the members of the Council:⁴⁰

The members of the Council have considered the Secretary-General's report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus. They are unanimous in giving their full support to the Secretary-General's current effort to assist the two communities to reach a just and lasting solution. They agree with his assessment of recent developments, share his concern about the lack of progress, and endorse his plan of action.

The members of the Council reaffirm resolution 649 (1990) of 12 March 1990, which was accepted by both sides, and reiterate the importance they attach to an early negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem.

The members of the Council call on the leaders of the two communities to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General on the basis of his plan of action and to arrive, on an urgent basis, at an agreed outline of an overall agreement. In line with

⁴⁰ S/21400.

resolution 649 (1990), they request the Secretary-General to make suggestions, as necessary, to assist the two communities in arriving at an agreed outline.

The members of the Council again call on the parties concerned to refrain, especially at this sensitive stage in the process, from any action or statement that could aggravate the situation. They express their concern over any action which contravenes paragraph 5 of resolution 550 (1984) of 11 May 1984 and paragraph 5 of resolution 649 (1990). They call upon both communities to concentrate their efforts on promoting mutual confidence and reconciliation.

The members of the Council request the Secretary-General to inform the Council by 31 October 1990 about the implementation of his plan of action.

Decision of 9 November 1990: statement by the President

On 7 November 1990, pursuant to the presidential statement of 19 July 1990, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a further report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus.⁴¹ He reported that the negative atmosphere had persisted, with each side objecting to actions and statements by the other, which had detracted from his effort. Since mid-October, however, his Special Representative and a Director in the Office of the Secretary-General had met several times with each leader in Nicosia to explore, in line with his plan of action, the possibility of bringing together the elements of an outline with which the two sides could agree. Subsequently, they had visited Athens and Ankara, where they had discussed his current effort with the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers. As those discussions had not yet been completed, he proposed to submit a further progress report to the Council within three months.

On 9 November 1990, following consultations among the members of the Council, the President issued the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁴²

The members of the Council have considered the Secretary-General's report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus. They reiterate their full support of the Secretary-General's current effort and reaffirm their endorsement of his plan of action to complete an outline of an overall agreement covering the critical substantive issues specified in paragraph 7 of his report to the Council of 8 March 1990.

⁴¹ S/21932.

⁴² S/21934.

The members of the Council affirm their resolution 649 (1990) of 12 March 1990.

The members of the Council stress the urgent need to arrive at a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem and express their regret that an outline of an overall agreement has not yet been completed. They call for renewed political will and commitment by all parties to facilitate a process of negotiations.

The members of the Council request the parties concerned to extend to the Secretary-General during the coming period their full cooperation and to refrain from taking any action or making any public statement that could further complicate his efforts.

The members of the Council request the Secretary-General to report to the Council by 15 February 1991 on the outcome of his effort to arrive at an agreed outline of an overall agreement and to provide the Council with his assessment of the situation at that time. They will examine closely the Secretary-General's report and assessment, particularly as they relate to resolution of the substantive issues in the outline.

Decision of 14 December 1990 (2969th meeting): resolution 680 (1990)

On 7 December 1990, pursuant to resolution 657 (1990), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus,⁴³ covering developments from 1 June to 30 November 1990.⁴² The Secretary-General reported that the continued presence of UNFICYP in the island remained indispensable to achieve the objectives set by the Council. He noted that the number of ceasefire violations had slightly increased and the transfer by the Government of Turkey of the responsibility for the security of Varosha to the Turkish Cypriot forces had caused an increase in political tensions. He recommended to the Council that it extend the mandate of UNFICYP for a further six-month period⁴⁴ and drew attention to the Force's ever-deepening financial crisis.

The Secretary-General informed the Council that, in November 1990, he had dispatched a Secretariat

⁴³ S/21981.

⁴⁴ The Secretary-General subsequently informed the Security Council that the Governments of Cyprus, Greece and the United Kingdom had indicated their concurrence with the proposed extension of the UNFICYP mandate, while the Government of Turkey indicated that it concurred with and supported the position of the Turkish Cypriot side, which was that draft resolution S/22000 was unacceptable as the basis for such an extension, and that its stand would be expounded at the forthcoming meeting of the Security Council (S/21981/Add.1).

review team to Cyprus to examine the operations and organization of UNFICYP, in particular the continued relevance of the functions entrusted to the Force by the Council in resolution 164 (1964) and subsequent resolutions and to examine the possibility of reducing the Force's strength. The team had concluded that the current functions of UNFICYP remained valid, its deployment along the buffer zone was necessary, and that the Force's presence on the line had been stretched as far as it could be and that no further reductions in that deployment were possible without impairing its ability to implement its current functions. The cost-cutting measures implemented by UNFICYP over the past 10 years had reached their limit; any further cuts could impair the effectiveness of the Force. The team had considered the possibility of converting UNFICYP wholly or in part to an observer mission, but concluded that the prevailing situation on the ground did not make that a viable option. Owing to the lack of agreement between UNFICYP and the two sides regarding the complete delineation of the ceasefire lines and the lack of agreement on the use and control of the buffer zone, the Force had to retain both reactive and preventive capabilities. The team had concluded that a reduction of the number of infantry battalions from four to three, while retaining the current level of personnel on the line, was feasible. The team noted that UNFICYP was the only United Nations peacekeeping operation that was not financed from assessed contributions but that, in accordance with resolution 186 (1964), the costs of the Force were met by the Governments providing the contingents and the voluntary contributions received for this purpose by the United Nations. This arrangement for financing a peacekeeping force had proved most unsatisfactory and particularly unfair to the troop-contributing countries, which had had to shoulder a disproportionate share of the cost. In addition, the continuous shortfall in voluntary contributions had caused the United Nations to be 10 years in arrears in paying the troop contributors the sums due for additional expenses, for which the United Nations was responsible. It concluded that continued reliance on voluntary contributions would jeopardize the future of UNFICYP, and that the recommended organizational changes to the Force could be implemented only if the method of its financing was changed to assessed contributions. The Secretary-General considered the team's findings and recommendations to be sound and indicated that he

intended to discuss their implementation with the troop-contributing Governments.⁴⁵

At its 2969th meeting, on 14 December 1990, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda and considered the item at the same meeting. The Council invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. As agreed during its prior consultations, the Council also invited Mr. Özer Koray to participate in the meeting under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

The President (Yemen) drew the attention of the members to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁴⁶ He also drew the attention of the members to a letter dated 12 December 1990 from the representatives of Australia, Austria, Denmark, Ireland and Sweden addressed to the Secretary-General,⁴⁷ expressing grave concern at the continuing massive shortfall in the voluntary contributions required to provide UNFICYP with adequate funding, and urging the members of the Council to support a draft resolution⁴⁸ that would, in their view, solve the problem.

The Council then commenced the voting procedure on the draft resolution before it. Speaking before the vote, the representative of Canada recalled his country's participation in UNFICYP since its inception in 1964 and reiterated its continuing commitment. He observed, however, that the financing of UNFICYP through a system of voluntary contributions had resulted in the troop-contributing countries, including Canada, bearing an inordinate share of the costs of the Force in the absence of sufficient funds. After two years of negotiation and discussion, Canada and some other members of the Council had circulated a draft resolution that would put the financing of UNFICYP on a more sound and secure basis through assessed contributions. At the request of a few members of the Council, Canada had asked for the voting on that draft to be postponed until the following week to allow time for further consultations. Since the financial crisis of UNFICYP had not been

⁴⁵ For details, see the report of the Secretariat review team on UNFICYP (S/21982).

⁴⁶ S/22000.

⁴⁷ S/21996.

⁴⁸ S/21988.

dealt with before the meeting scheduled to renew the mandate, Canada would abstain from the vote on the renewal.

The Council then voted on the draft resolution, which was adopted by 14 votes in favour, none against and 1 abstention (Canada) as resolution 680 (1990), which reads:

The Security Council,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus of 7 and 14 December 1990,

Taking note also of the recommendation by the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peacekeeping 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 1990,

Reaffirming the provisions of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and other relevant resolutions,

1. *Extends once more* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force established under resolution 186 (1964) for a further period ending on 15 June 1991;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices to keep the Security Council informed of the progress made and to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution by 31 May 1991;

3. *Calls upon* all the parties concerned to continue to cooperate with the Force on the basis of the present mandate.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of Cyprus welcomed the resolution and reiterated his country's pledge of full cooperation with the Secretary-General and with UNFICYP. He expressed his sympathy with the Canadian initiative and stated that the Government of Cyprus had always been preoccupied with the chronic financial problem of UNFICYP. He stressed that any possible reduction of the Force must not reduce its effectiveness. He described the recent visits by the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Turkey to the occupied part of Cyprus as new and serious provocations, constituting blatant violations of Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984). This also showed the other side's serious disregard for the appeals of the Secretary-General and the Council, who had called upon the parties to refrain from actions aggravating the situation. Recent statements by the Turkish Cypriot leadership showed a return to the discredited thesis of "two peoples" and their "separate rights to self-

determination". The Cyprus question was an international problem of invasion and occupation and the same considerations and principles that were applicable on Kuwait were equally applicable to Cyprus.⁴⁹

The representative of Greece welcomed the renewal of the UNFICYP mandate and expressed the hope that the following week the Council would be able to adopt a resolution to resolve the chronic financial crisis facing UNFICYP by changing its methods of financing from voluntary to assessed contributions. He also expressed his Government's concern that the reduction proposed by the Secretariat review team of infantry battalions from four to three should in no way reduce the effectiveness of the Force. Sixteen years after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the relevant United Nations resolutions had yet to be implemented. He accused Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot side of undermining the agreed basis of the intercommunal negotiations, jeopardizing the efforts of the Secretary-General and further aggravating the already grave situation in Cyprus. It was, therefore, indispensable that the Council assume a more active role in the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem and contribute more effectively to the Secretary-General's ongoing efforts.⁵⁰

Mr. Koray regretted that the high-level meetings in New York in February and March 1990 had failed to produce a favourable outcome, owing to the rejection by the Greek Cypriot leader of the guiding principles of equality, bizonality and true partnership based on friendly relations and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and integrity. He outlined three issues that had continued to threaten the situation in Cyprus: the unilateral Greek Cypriot application for membership in the European Community; the economic and other restrictions imposed on northern Cyprus; and the rearmament efforts of the Greek Cypriot side. He rejected the Greek Cypriot attempts to draw parallels between the situations in Kuwait and Cyprus and claims over the territory of Varosha as untenable and provocative. On the question of the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, he reiterated that the resolution, which had been just adopted, was unacceptable since it ignored the existing realities in Cyprus; nevertheless, the Government of the "Turkish Republic of Northern

⁴⁹ S/PV.2969, pp. 8-15.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20.

Cyprus” accepted the presence of UNFICYP on its territory.⁵¹

The representative of Turkey stated that his Government, for reasons well known to the Council, could not accept the resolution that had just been adopted. Turkey supported the political equality of the Turkish Cypriot people and their right to determine their own future. The Greek Cypriot unilateral application for membership in the European Community and rearmament effort were incompatible with the efforts to create an atmosphere of trust and good will in Cyprus, and violated paragraph 5 of resolution 649 (1990) by aggravating the already tense situation on the island. He criticized the Greek Cypriot’s precondition for resuming the negotiations, namely that the Turkish Cypriots renounce some of their basic rights, including their right to self-determination.⁵²

**Decision of 21 December 1990 (2971st meeting):
resolution 682 (1990)**

At its 2971st meeting, on 21 December 1990, the Council resumed its consideration of the item and included in its agenda the Secretary-General’s report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus,⁵³ a letter dated 12 December 1990 from the representatives of Australia, Austria, Denmark, Ireland and Sweden,⁵⁴ and the report of the Secretariat review team on the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus.⁵⁵

The President (Yemen) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution,⁵⁶ to which he made oral amendments before it was put to the vote. It was adopted unanimously as resolution 682 (1990), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 establishing the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus for an initial period of three months,

Recalling also its subsequent resolutions extending the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force, most recently its resolution 680 (1990) of 14 December 1990,

Reaffirming the statement of the President of the Council of 30 May 1990, in which the members emphasized that United Nations peacekeeping operations must be launched and maintained on a sound and secure financial basis,

Concerned about the chronic and ever-deepening financial crisis facing the Force, as described in the report of the Secretary-General and as expressed in the statement of the President of the Council of 15 June 1990,

1. *Decides* to examine the problem of the costs and financing of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus in all its aspects, bearing in mind the financial crisis facing the Force and the report of the Secretariat Review Team of 7 December 1990, and to report by 1 June 1991 on alternative arrangements for meeting the costs of the Force for which the United Nations is responsible, in order to place the Force on a sound and secure financial basis;

2. *Also decides* to consider, not later than early June 1991, comprehensively and favourably the results of the examination mentioned in paragraph 1 above, with a view to putting into effect an alternative method of financing the Force, which could, *inter alia*, include the use of assessed contributions, simultaneously with the extension of the mandate on or before 15 June 1991.

The representative of Canada noted that all the UNFICYP troop contributors and the Secretariat review team had endorsed the Secretary-General’s call that assessed contributions should be used to meet the costs for which the United Nations was responsible. He recalled that together with the other troop-contributing countries, Canada had continued its efforts to convince certain permanent members of the Council — members with a special responsibility for peace and security — that the time had come to solve the financial crisis of UNFICYP. A draft resolution, which would have committed the Council to replacing voluntary contributions with assessed contributions, effective from the next mandate renewal in June 1991, had been prepared and circulated among the Council members.⁵⁷ In the face of the reluctance of certain permanent members to commit themselves to sharing in the cost of the Force, the draft resolution had twice been revised, resulting in the resolution that the Council had adopted.⁵⁸

The representative of Finland stated that his country, as a troop contributor, had consistently supported the Secretary-General’s efforts to bring about a change in the present system of financing and had cooperated with other troop-contributing countries

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-34.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 34-40.

⁵³ S/21981 and Add.1.

⁵⁴ S/21996.

⁵⁵ S/21982.

⁵⁶ S/21988/Rev.2.

⁵⁷ S/21988.

⁵⁸ S/PV.2971, pp. 3-10.

in order to achieve a change from voluntary to assessed contributions. He expressed the hope that this process would lead to an irreversible change in June 1991.⁵⁹

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that his delegation regretted that the Council had not been able to “go the whole way”, but believed that the resolution just adopted was a big step forward. His delegation also welcomed the fact that the Council had at last committed itself to finding a solution to the problem of the finances of UNFICYP. In view of the fact that the Council might soon have before it proposals for much larger peacekeeping operations in Western Sahara and Cambodia, it was simply not equitable or acceptable to leave the anomalous and unsatisfactory arrangements for financing UNFICYP unchanged.⁶⁰

The representative of China pointed out that the decisions governing the establishment, composition and financial arrangements for UNFICYP had been made in special circumstances existing at that time and the Force, therefore, had its own unique features. If its financial arrangements were to be altered, questions of reconsidering and changing other aspects of the Force’s arrangements as a whole might also arise. An appropriate solution could be reached only through full consultations. The representative emphasized that, although his delegation believed that consultations should continue, China was not committed to any change in the financing of UNFICYP.⁶¹

The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics reiterated that the financing arrangements for UNFICYP could not be considered apart from its other fundamental aspects. He recalled that his delegation had supported resolution 186 (1964) by which UNFICYP was established in view of the fact that the resolution would not impose financial obligations on States that did not participate in the Force. He noted that the financing of peacekeeping operations in general had become an acute problem and that the large States, the major contributors, including the Soviet Union, paid a considerable amount for peacekeeping operations around the world. He stressed that the resolution adopted by the Council did not prejudice the question of UNFICYP financing and that mandatory financing would not be automatically

applied to the Force. In conclusion, he emphasized that the problem of a settlement in Cyprus should be at the forefront of the Council’s attention.⁶²

The representative of the United States stated that his country fully supported UNFICYP and considered it to be an integral part of the Secretary-General’s efforts to facilitate a lasting and just solution to the Cyprus problem. He also believed that a solution to the problem of funding shortfalls caused by the decline in voluntary donations to UNFICYP had to be found. While the funding problem was being addressed, the Council should also review means to reduce the operating expenses of the Force without undermining its ability to perform its mission.⁶³

The representative of France stated that while peacekeeping operations were a valuable instrument — enabling the United Nations to carry out the duties entrusted to it under the Charter in regard to the maintenance of international peace and security — they should always be temporary and could not be regarded as a substitute for peace or for the quest for a negotiated political settlement. Therefore, in dealing with the financial difficulties facing UNFICYP, the Council should avoid any decision that might strengthen an already too pronounced trend towards institutionalizing the Force and making it permanent. However, his delegation was open to an in-depth review of the financing of the Force that would cover also the functioning and organizational aspects of the Force.⁶⁴

Decision of 28 March 1991: statement by the President

On 28 March 1991, following consultations among the members of the Council, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁶⁵

The members of the Security Council have considered the Secretary-General’s report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus. They are unanimous in expressing their full support of his current efforts.

The members of the Council agree with the Secretary-General’s assessment of the current situation, including the main issues that remain to be clarified before an outline of an overall settlement can be completed, and encourage him to continue his

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 9-11.
⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 11-12.
⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 13-14.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 15-17.
⁶³ Ibid., pp. 17-18.
⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 18-20.
⁶⁵ S/22415.

efforts along the lines he has proposed by making suggestions to facilitate the discussions.

The members of the Council reaffirm Council resolution 649 (1990) of 12 March 1991 and the mandate for the Secretary-General's mission of good offices as set out in resolution 367 (1975) of 12 March 1975; and recall that resolution 649 (1990) reaffirmed in particular resolution 367 (1975) as well as the Council's support for the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979 between the leaders of the two communities. This should continue to serve as the basis for the Secretary-General's effort to arrive at an agreed outline.

The members of the Council urge all concerned to act in a manner consistent with resolution 649 (1990), to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General and to continue the discussions that have taken place over the past few months in order to resolve without delay the outstanding issues.

The members of the Council welcome the Secretary-General's intention to submit a further report by early July 1991 on his effort to arrive at an agreed outline of an overall settlement. The members of the Council will decide, in the light of the situation at that time, on any further measures for proceeding that may be necessary.

**Decision of 14 June 1991 (2992nd meeting):
resolution 697 (1991)**

On 31 May 1991, pursuant to resolution 680 (1990), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the activities of the United Nations operation in Cyprus,⁶⁶ covering developments from 1 December 1990 to 31 May 1991. The Secretary-General stated that the continued presence of UNFICYP in the island remained indispensable to achieve the objectives set by the Council, and recommended that the Council extend its mandate for a further six-month period.⁶⁷ He noted that UNFICYP was facing a chronic and ever-deepening financial crisis and suggested once again that the United Nations

⁶⁶ S/22665.

⁶⁷ In an addendum dated 3 June 1991 (S/22665/Add.1), the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a map of the UNFICYP deployment on May 1991. The Secretary-General subsequently informed the Council that the Governments of Cyprus, Greece and the United Kingdom had indicated their concurrence with the proposed extension of the UNFICYP mandate, while the Government of Turkey had stated that it concurred with and supported the position of the Turkish Cypriot side, which was that draft resolution S/22700 was unacceptable as a basis for such an extension, and that its stand would be expounded at the forthcoming meeting of the Security Council (S/22665/Add.2).

share of the Force's costs should be financed from assessed contributions.

At its 2992nd meeting, on 14 June 1991, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda and considered the item at the same meeting. The Council invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. As agreed during its prior consultations, the Council also invited Mr. Osman Ertug to participate in the discussion under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

The President (Côte d'Ivoire) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁶⁸ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 697 (1991), which reads:

The Security Council,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus of 31 May and 3 and 14 June 1991,

Taking note also of the recommendation by the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peacekeeping 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 June 1991,

Reaffirming the provisions of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and other relevant resolutions,

1. *Extends once more* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force established under resolution 186 (1964) for a further period ending on 15 December 1991;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices, to keep the Security Council informed of the progress made and to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution by 30 November 1991;

3. *Calls upon* all the parties concerned to continue to cooperate with the Force on the basis of the present mandate.

The representative of Cyprus, welcoming the extension of the Force's mandate, called for a swift conclusion to the Council's deliberations on the financing of UNFICYP. Rejecting the Turkish proposal for quadrilateral talks on Cyprus, he instead supported convening a conference, presided over by the Secretary-General with the participation of the

⁶⁸ S/22700.

Governments of the permanent members of the Council, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, and of the two communities in Cyprus. He stated that communal rights were important, but they could not be a motive for the denial of individual rights and freedoms; nor could they be augmented through violations of international law, whether by military occupation, the implantation of settlers or the forcible removal of populations for the purpose of creating homogeneous areas. His delegation believed that a solution for Cyprus, achieved through a demilitarized federal republic without foreign troops and settlers, must provide for the equal security of individual citizens of both communities and of the federal state.⁶⁹

The representative of Greece stated that his Government had hoped, subsequent to the establishment of an informal group of friends of the President, that it would be possible to put into effect an alternative method of financing UNFICYP before 15 June 1990, as was anticipated in resolution 682 (1990). The Government of Greece rejected the Turkish proposal for a high-level quadrilateral meeting and proposed that Turkey should first respond to the Secretary-General's questions regarding territorial adjustments, freedom of settlement, displaced persons, and the structure and functioning of the federal executive. A conference should then be convened under the Secretary-General's chairmanship with the participation of the five permanent members of the Council and Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, as well as the two communities in Cyprus.⁷⁰

Mr. Ertug said that the Turkish Cypriot side had sought to facilitate the process of negotiations within the framework of the Secretary-General's good offices and take advantage of the opportunity created by the adoption of resolution 649 (1990), in which the Council called on the two sides to cooperate, on an equal footing, with the Secretary-General. However, by claiming that equality as expressed in resolution 649 (1990) was limited to the negotiating table, the Greek Cypriots and Greece had clearly ruled out the political equality of the Turkish Cypriots in a future federation. The Turkish Cypriots supported the proposal to hold a quadripartite meeting put forward by Turkey, in the belief that it would inject impetus into the negotiating process and facilitate the Secretary-General's mission

of good offices. Rather than adopting a positive attitude to this proposal, the Greek Cypriot side had stepped up its hostile actions against the Turkish Cypriot people. With a view to promoting mutual trust, his side had put together a package of ideas in the form of stabilization measures, which could be used to supplement an outline for an overall agreement. In connection with the Secretary-General's report, he referred to specific elements that detracted from the balance of the report and indicated that more detailed comments on the report would be conveyed to the Secretariat. Turning to the question of the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, he reiterated that resolution 697 (1991), which had been just adopted, was unacceptable since it ignored the existing realities in Cyprus and attempted to negate the principle of equality between the two sides; nevertheless, the Government of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" would accept the presence of UNFICYP on its territory on the basis of the terms stated in December 1990. He pointed out that the Force's mandate was not compatible with the radically changed conditions in Cyprus and a reappraisal had become necessary.⁷¹

The representative of Turkey pointed out that the President of his country had proposed the quadripartite summit, within the framework of the Secretary-General's good offices, in order to break the present stalemate afflicting the intercommunal talks. On the other hand, the proposal to convene an international conference attended by, among others, the Government of Cyprus and the representatives of the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots could not be taken seriously, because it would violate the equality of the two sides. Although the reference in resolution 697 (1991) to the "Government of Cyprus" was not acceptable, his Government had no objection to the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP.⁷²

The representative of Cyprus pointed out that his delegation was participating pursuant to rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council. However, by allowing participation under rule 39 of the previous speaker as a representative of the so-called illegal entity of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus", the Council had become part of a masquerade. Rejecting Mr. Ertug's interpretation of resolution 649 (1990), he emphasized that the

⁶⁹ S/PV.2992, pp. 4-11.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-19.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-30.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 30-36.

resolution clearly denied the right of self-determination of the Turkish Cypriots. As far as the equality of the two sides was concerned, he stated that it merely referred to equality in the negotiating process of the intercommunal talks.⁷³

**Decision of 14 June 1991 (2993rd meeting):
resolution 698 (1991)**

At its 2993rd meeting, on 14 June 1991, held in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included in its agenda the item entitled “The costs and financing of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus”.

The President (Côte d’Ivoire) drew the attention of the Council members to a draft resolution submitted by Austria, Belgium and the United Kingdom.⁷⁴ The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 698 (1991), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 establishing the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus for an initial period of three months,

Recalling its subsequent resolutions extending the mandate of the Force, most recently its resolution 697 (1991) of 14 June 1991,

Also recalling the report of the United Nations Secretariat review team on the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus of 7 December 1990 and the recommendations contained therein,

Further recalling its resolution 682 (1990) of 21 December 1990, by which it decided to examine the problem of the costs and financing of the Force in all its aspects, with a view to putting into effect an alternative method of financing simultaneously with the renewal of the mandate on or before 15 June 1991,

Noting with appreciation the recent consultations among Council members on the problem of the costs and financing of the Force in all its aspects, resulting in the report of the Group of Friends of the President of the Security Council of 31 May 1991,

Taking note with concern of the latest report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus, of 31 May and 3 and 14 June 1991, which once again draws attention to the chronic financing problem of the Force,

Reaffirming again the statement of the President of the Security Council of 30 May 1990, in which the members of the

Council emphasized that United Nations peacekeeping operations must be launched and maintained on a sound and secure financial basis,

Stressing the importance of an early agreement on a resolution of the Cyprus problem,

1. *Concludes* that a method of financing of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus is needed which will put the Force on a sound and secure financial basis;

2. *Also concludes* that the question of the costs of the Force needs to be studied further, with the aim of both reducing and clearly defining the costs for which the United Nations should be responsible;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to hold consultations with members of the Council, troop-contributing countries and others concerned on the question of costs, taking into account both the report of the United Nations Secretariat review team on the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus of 7 December 1990 and the report of the Group of Friends of the President of the Security Council of 31 May 1991, and to report to the Council by 1 October 1991, and undertakes to decide, in the light of this report and by the time of the next extension of the mandate of the Force on or before 15 December 1991, on measures to be taken to put the Force on to a sound and secure financial basis.

**Decision of 28 June 1991: statement by the
President**

On 28 June 1991, following consultations among the members of the Security Council, the President issued the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁷⁵

The members of the Security Council have considered the Secretary-General’s report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus. They are unanimous in reiterating their full support of his current efforts.

The members of the Council recall that they had urged all concerned to cooperate with the Secretary-General and to continue the discussions with a view to resolving without delay the outstanding issues. They regret that, despite the Secretary-General’s efforts, the necessary progress has not yet been made on these outstanding issues.

The members of the Council endorse the Secretary-General’s view that a high-level international meeting, if properly prepared and of adequate duration, could give his efforts the necessary impetus and achieve an agreed outline of an overall settlement. They agree with the Secretary-General’s judgement that before such a meeting could be held, the two sides should be within agreement range on all the issues. They urgently appeal to all concerned to spare no efforts to achieve this goal.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 37-39.

⁷⁴ S/22697.

⁷⁵ S/22744.

The members of the Council further endorse the Secretary-General's intention to have his aides meet with all concerned during the months of July and August to try to work out a set of ideas that would bring the two sides within agreement range on each of the eight headings of the outline. The members of the Council request the Secretary-General to pursue these consultations urgently and to assist this process by making suggestions.

The members of the Council request the Secretary-General to provide a full report to the Council by the end of August on the substance of the ideas that were discussed and the responses of all concerned, and to provide his assessment of the situation, particularly with regard to whether the conditions are conducive to a successful outcome of a high-level international meeting.

**Decision of 11 October 1991 (3013th meeting):
resolution 716 (1991)**

On 8 October 1991, pursuant to the presidential statement of 28 June 1991, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus,⁷⁶ providing his assessment of whether the conditions were conducive to a successful outcome of a high-level international meeting.⁷⁷ The Secretary-General informed the Council of the steps taken to prepare for the high-level meeting, under his chairmanship, of Greece, Turkey and the leaders of the two communities. His representatives had held two rounds of discussions with all concerned during July and August 1991, to elaborate a set of ideas that would bring the parties within agreement range. In view of the comprehensive manner in which the ideas had been elaborated during the talks, the leaders of both the communities in Cyprus had agreed that it would be possible to omit the preparation of an outline agreement and proceed directly to an overall framework agreement. President Vassiliou's reaction to the ideas had revealed that, although differences remained to be resolved on a number of issues, the set of ideas as a whole provided the basis for working out an overall framework agreement. In the course of discussions, Mr. Denktash had stated that each side possessed sovereignty which it would retain after the establishment of a federation, including the right of secession, and sought extensive changes in the text of

⁷⁶ S/23121.

⁷⁷ The Secretary-General reminded the members of the Council that he had postponed the submission of the report, which was due in August, until the completion of the two rounds of talks between his representatives and the two parties in Cyprus and Greece and Turkey.

the ideas that was discussed. The introduction of that concept, the Secretary-General noted, would fundamentally alter the nature of a solution based on the existence of one State of Cyprus comprising two communities, provided for in the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979 and the understandings accepted by both sides and reiterated in successive resolutions of the Council. He remained confident that it would be possible to convene a high-level meeting if a set of ideas which were in keeping with the Security Council resolutions and the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979 could be finalized. He would therefore request his representatives to resume their discussions early in November with the two sides in Cyprus and Greece and Turkey.

At its 3013th meeting, on 11 October 1991, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. The President (India) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁷⁸ The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 716 (1991), which reads:

The Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 8 October 1991 on his mission of good offices in Cyprus,

Noting with satisfaction the progress made in preparing a set of ideas as the basis for arriving at an agreed overall framework agreement on Cyprus,

Noting with concern the difficulties encountered in completing this work,

Regretting that it was not possible to convene the high-level international meeting foreseen in the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 28 June 1991,

1. *Commends* the Secretary-General for his efforts during the past few months, and endorses his report and observations;

2. *Reaffirms* its previous resolutions on Cyprus;

3. *Reaffirms also* its position on the Cyprus question, expressed most recently in resolution 649 (1990) of 12 March 1990 and in line with the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979 between the parties in Cyprus, that the fundamental principles of a Cyprus settlement are the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, the exclusion of union in whole or in part with any other country and of any form of partition or secession and the establishment of a new constitutional arrangement for

⁷⁸ S/23137.

Cyprus that would ensure the well-being and security of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities in a bicomunal and bizonal federation;

4. *Reaffirms further* that its position on the solution to the Cyprus problem is based on one State of Cyprus comprising two politically equal communities as defined by the Secretary-General in the eleventh paragraph of annex I to his report of 8 March 1990;

5. *Calls upon* the parties to adhere fully to these principles and to negotiate within the framework of them without introducing concepts that are at variance with them;

6. *Reaffirms* that the Secretary-General's mission of good offices is with the two communities whose participation in the process is on an equal footing;

7. *Endorses* the Secretary-General's intention to resume discussions in early November with the two parties in Cyprus and Greece and Turkey to complete the set of ideas on an overall framework agreement;

8. *Considers* that convening a high-level international meeting chaired by the Secretary-General in which the two communities and Greece and Turkey would participate represents an effective mechanism for concluding an overall framework agreement on Cyprus;

9. *Requests* the leaders of the two communities and Greece and Turkey to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General and his representatives so that the high-level international meeting can be convened before the end of this year;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council in November 1991 whether sufficient progress has been made to convene the high-level international meeting and, should conditions not be ripe, to convey to the Council the set of ideas as they will have evolved by that time with his assessment of the situation.

Decision of 12 December 1991: statement by the President

On 15 October 1991, pursuant to resolution 698 (1991), the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report on the financing of UNFICYP⁷⁹ based on the results of his extensive consultations with members of the Council, troop-contributing countries and others concerned. Among the possible ways considered in the report to reduce the costs of the Force were the following: reduction of troops; reduction of troops with a seasonal increase; replacement of current troops by less expensive troops and change of structure; transformation of UNFICYP into an observer mission; abolition of humanitarian or economic work

⁷⁹ S/23144.

and the provision of services; examination of operational costs; and examination and rationalization of extra and extraordinary costs. The report also discussed the possibilities of increasing income. The Secretary-General could not recommend any of the options considered in the report. The Secretariat had explored the only remaining possibility — retaining the present structure and composition of the Force but asking the Government with the highest current rate of claims to reduce its request for reimbursement to the level of the other comparable contributor. The Government concerned had indicated that it was prepared to work towards a solution on this basis, but stipulated that its willingness to reduce its claims was conditional on a number of factors, among them that the Security Council decide to move to assessed contributions.

A draft resolution on the financing of UNFICYP was submitted by Austria and the United Kingdom on 10 December 1991,⁸⁰ but was not acted upon by the Council.

On 12 December 1991, following consultations among the members of the Council, the President issued the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁸¹

In the light of the discussion at the informal consultations of members of the Security Council, it was concluded that the necessary agreement did not currently exist in the Council for a decision to be adopted on a change in the financing of United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. The members of the Council agreed to keep this issue under urgent review.

Decision of 12 December 1991 (3022nd meeting): resolution 723 (1991)

On 30 November 1991, pursuant to resolution 697 (1991), the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus,⁸² covering developments from 1 June to 30 November 1991. The Secretary-General stated that the continued presence of the Force in the island remained indispensable; therefore, he recommended that the Council extend its mandate for a further six months.⁸³ Finally, he again drew attention to

⁸⁰ S/23277.

⁸¹ S/23284.

⁸² S/23263.

⁸³ The Secretary-General subsequently informed the Council that the Governments of Cyprus, Greece and the

the financial crisis facing UNFICYP and reiterated his belief that the United Nations share of its costs should be financed from assessed contributions.

At its 3022nd meeting, held on 12 December 1991 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda and considered the item at the same meeting. The Council invited the representatives of Canada, Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. As agreed during its prior consultations, the Council also invited Mr. Osman Ertug to participate in the meeting under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

The President (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁸⁴ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 723 (1991), which reads:

The Security Council,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus of 30 November and 12 December 1991,

Also taking note of the recommendation by the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peacekeeping 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 1991,

Reaffirming the provisions of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and other relevant resolutions,

1. *Extends once more* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force established under resolution 186 (1964) for a further period ending on 15 June 1992;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices, to keep the Security Council informed

United Kingdom had indicated that they concurred with the proposed extension of the UNFICYP mandate; however, the Government of Turkey concurred with and supported the position of the Turkish Cypriot side, which was that draft resolution S/23281 was unacceptable as a basis for the extension, and that its stand would be expounded at the forthcoming meeting of the Security Council (S/23263/Add.1).

⁸⁴ S/23281.

of the progress made and to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution by 31 May 1992;

3. *Calls upon* all the parties concerned to continue to cooperate with the Force on the basis of the present mandate.

Speaking after the vote, the representatives of Austria and Canada recalled that, by resolution 698 (1991), the Council had undertaken to decide, by the time of the next extension of the UNFICYP mandate on or before 15 December 1991, on measures to put the Force on a secure financial basis. By resolution 723 (1991), which had just been adopted, the Council extended the mandate of the Force without putting it on such a basis. As most of the permanent members had once again opposed the use of assessed contributions to finance UNFICYP, the Council had failed to fulfil its own undertaking as contained in resolution 698 (1991). The representatives placed on record the position of their respective Governments that the essential principle of using assessed financing for peacekeeping operations, in accordance with Article 17(2) of the Charter, ought to be maintained and that such a system of financing should be extended, at the earliest, to UNFICYP. In the light of the failure of the Council to resolve the Force's financing difficulties, Austria and Canada would have to review their continuing contribution in UNFICYP. The representative of Canada further stressed that the purpose of UNFICYP was to create the conditions conducive to the negotiation of a settlement in Cyprus; but after 27 years if a settlement continued to elude the United Nations, the Council should consider not only how to reduce the expenditure of scarce resources on a process that was stalled but also the role of the Force itself.⁸⁵

The representative of Cyprus stated that the renewal of the UNFICYP mandate was indicative of the continued interest and earnest commitment of the Council to finding a just and viable solution to the Cyprus problem. In relation to the issue of the Force's finances, he expressed the hope that the imperative need to maintain the Force at the level required for it to carry out its duties successfully would be recognized for as long as necessary. He observed that resolution 716 (1991) unequivocally rejected the Turkish side's demands for separate sovereignty and a right to self-determination and defined with precision the parameters within which a just solution must be sought. He emphasized that Council resolutions on

⁸⁵ S/PV.3022, pp. 6-8 (Austria); and pp. 9-15 (Canada).

Cyprus were directed at all parties concerned in Cyprus, not just the two communities, and that they could not be subjected to arbitrary or selective interpretation.⁸⁶

The representative of Greece stated that his Government regarded the presence and the role of UNFICYP as indispensable, and he appealed to the Council members to ensure that it was properly and justly financed. He held the Government of Turkey and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community responsible for the stalemate in the negotiating process and welcomed resolution 716 (1991) which reiterated the fundamental principles of a lasting settlement in Cyprus. He characterized the problem of Cyprus as a problem of the invasion and foreign occupation of the territory of an independent State Member of the United Nations by another Member State, which constituted a flagrant violation of the Charter and the Council's resolutions.⁸⁷

Mr. Ertug stated that the Turkish Cypriot side rejected all claims that the Cyprus question was a problem of invasion and occupation. He observed that such claims misrepresented the Cyprus issue as a question between Turkey and the Greek Cypriots and ignored the existence of the Turkish Cypriots as an equal party. The talks on Cyprus had failed to produce a final result because the Greek Cypriot side had persistently refused to accept a power-sharing formula with the Turkish Cypriots on the basis of equality. The Turkish Cypriot side believed that a direct meeting between the leaders was still the best way for making progress. Commenting on the recent report of the Secretary-General,⁸⁸ he asserted that the report contained inaccuracies which detracted from its objectivity. Although resolution 723 (1991) was not acceptable to the Turkish Cypriot side, his Government accepted the presence of UNFICYP on its territory on the basis set out at the most recent occasion when the mandate was renewed. However, the present mandate of UNFICYP needed to be reappraised because it was not compatible with the radically changed conditions and circumstances.⁸⁹

The representative of Turkey noted with concern the systematic campaign of the Greek Cypriot

leadership to undermine the very existence of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" and to internationalize the question, presumably in the hope that outsiders could impose a settlement that was contrary to the fundamental interests of one of the parties of the future federation in Cyprus. The quadripartite high-level meeting envisaged in resolution 716 (1991) could serve to facilitate a mutually acceptable resolution, provided that it was not seen as a mechanism for imposing solutions on parties that harboured serious misgivings. The representative of Turkey stated that his Government could not accept the reference to "the Government of Cyprus" in resolution 723 (1991); however, his Government had no objections to the extension of the UNFICYP mandate.⁹⁰

**Decision of 23 December 1991 (3024th meeting):
statement by the President**

On 19 December 1991, pursuant to resolution 716 (1991), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus.⁹¹ The Secretary-General informed the Council that, as a result of parliamentary elections and the subsequent change of Government in Turkey, the discussions towards the convening of a high-level international meeting to conclude an overall framework agreement had had to be postponed. However, the set of ideas that had evolved from the talks held in August 1991 represented an important step forward for arriving at an agreement on Cyprus. The framework of a settlement had become clear and would result in the establishment of a bicomunal and bizonal federation and one State comprising two politically equal communities in which sovereignty would be equally shared but indivisible. The expectations raised earlier in the year that a high-level international meeting would be held to conclude the overall framework agreement should not be lost. The Secretary-General believed that a solution was within reach if all concerned were willing to contribute to a compromise solution that safeguarded the legitimate interests and concerns of both communities.

At its 3024th meeting, held on 23 December 1991, in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 16-24.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 25-29.

⁸⁸ S/23263.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 30-38.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 38-43.

⁹¹ S/23300.

At the same meeting, the President of the Council (USSR) stated that he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council following consultations among the members of the Council:⁹²

The members of the Security Council have considered the report of the Secretary-General of 19 December 1991 on his mission of good offices in Cyprus (S/23300).

The members of the Council expressed their deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for his long and tireless efforts in seeking a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus question. They noted with appreciation that thanks to his efforts, progress was being made during this year towards achieving an overall framework agreement.

The members of the Council reaffirmed the Council's position as expressed in its previous resolutions, especially in resolutions 649 (1990) of 12 March 1990 and 716 (1991) of 11 October 1991.

The members of the Council were unanimous in endorsing the report and observations of the Secretary-General. They fully shared his view that a solution of the Cyprus problem is long overdue. The mere maintenance of the status quo does not constitute a solution. They called on the leaders of the two communities and of Greece and Turkey to devote their full energies to early achievement of this objective.

The members of the Council reiterated the Council's position that the convening of a high-level international meeting chaired by the Secretary-General in which the two communities and Greece and Turkey would participate represents an effective mechanism for concluding an overall framework agreement.

The members of the Council requested the leaders of the two communities and of Greece and Turkey to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in completing on an urgent basis the set of ideas on an overall framework agreement.

The members of the Council requested the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council by April 1992 whether sufficient progress has been made to convene the high-level international meeting and, should conditions not be ripe, to convey to the Council the set of ideas as they will have evolved by that time with his assessment of the situation.

**Decision of 10 April 1992 (3067th meeting):
resolution 750 (1992)**

On 3 April 1992, pursuant to the presidential statement of 23 December 1991, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus.⁹³ He informed the Council that, despite repeated efforts since the beginning of 1992, there had been no progress in reaching an overall

⁹² S/23316.

⁹³ S/23780.

agreement. In some areas there had even been regression. Summarizing the set of ideas that had emerged from the talks in August 1991, he opined that it provided the elements of a fair solution on a significant number of parts of the overall agreement. If similar progress could be made on the outstanding issues in the set of ideas, in particular territorial adjustments and displaced persons, an overall solution would be within reach. The Secretary-General concluded that the current effort could not be expected to continue indefinitely if all concerned were not willing to make their contribution to a compromise solution. Furthermore, the usefulness of the parties' endorsement of Council resolutions was undermined by the interpretation they had given them — it was essential that their views be in harmony with the Council's position. He also emphasized that the lack of progress in his mission of good offices was compounded by the financial crisis facing UNFICYP and the resulting dissatisfaction of the troop-contributing Governments. It thus seemed unlikely that UNFICYP could be maintained in its present form beyond the end of the current year. At a time of greatly increased demands on the scarce peacekeeping resources available to the Organization, a critical look had to be taken at long-lived operations such as UNFICYP and the peacemaking process it supported. If an effort to conclude an agreement based on the set of ideas did not succeed, an alternative course of action for dealing with the Cyprus question would have to be considered. He was examining alternative possibilities and would report on them to the Council in May 1992.

At its 3067th meeting, held on 10 April 1992, in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. The President (Zimbabwe) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁹⁴ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 750 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 3 April 1992 on his mission of good offices in Cyprus,

Reaffirming its previous resolutions on Cyprus,

Noting with concern that there has been no progress in completing the set of ideas for an overall framework agreement

⁹⁴ S/23797.

since the Secretary-General's report of 8 October 1991 and that in some areas there has even been regression,

Welcoming the assurances given to the Secretary-General over the past two months by the leaders of the two communities and the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey of their desire to cooperate with him and his representatives,

1. *Commends* the Secretary-General for his efforts, and expresses its appreciation for his report of 3 April 1992 on his mission of good offices in Cyprus;

2. *Reaffirms* the position, set out in resolutions 649 (1990) of 12 March 1990 and 716 (1991) of 11 October 1991, that a Cyprus settlement must be based on a State of Cyprus with a single sovereignty and international personality and a single citizenship, with its independence and territorial integrity safeguarded, and comprising two politically equal communities as defined in paragraph 11 of the Secretary-General's report in a bicomunal and bizonal federation, and that such a settlement must exclude union in whole or in part with any other country or any form of partition or secession;

3. *Calls again upon* the parties to adhere fully to these principles and to negotiate without introducing concepts that are at variance with them;

4. *Endorses* the set of ideas described in paragraphs 17 to 25 and 27 of the Secretary-General's report as an appropriate basis for reaching an overall framework agreement, subject to the work that needs to be done on the outstanding issues, in particular on territorial adjustments and displaced persons, being brought to a conclusion as an integrated package mutually agreed upon by both communities;

5. *Requests* all concerned to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General and his representatives in clarifying without delay these outstanding issues;

6. *Reaffirms* that the Secretary-General's mission of good offices is with the two communities, whose participation in the process is on an equal footing to assure the well-being and security of both communities;

7. *Decides* to remain seized of the Cyprus question on an ongoing and direct basis in support of the effort to complete the set of ideas referred to in paragraph 4 above and to conclude an overall framework agreement;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to pursue his intensive efforts to complete the set of ideas referred to in paragraph 4 above during May and June 1992, to keep the Council closely informed of his efforts and to seek the Council's direct support whenever necessary;

9. *Continues to believe* that, following the satisfactory conclusion of the Secretary-General's intensive efforts to complete the set of ideas referred to in paragraph 4 above, the convening of a high-level international meeting chaired by the Secretary-General in which the two communities and Greece and Turkey would participate represents an effective mechanism for concluding an overall framework agreement;

10. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to submit a full report to the Council on the outcome of his efforts by July 1992 at the latest and to make specific recommendations for overcoming any outstanding difficulty;

11. *Reaffirms* the important mandate entrusted to the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus and looks forward to receiving the report on the Force that the Secretary-General proposes to submit in May 1992.

**Decision of 12 June 1992 (3084th meeting):
resolution 759 (1992)**

On 31 May 1992, pursuant to resolution 723 (1991), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus,⁹⁵ covering developments from 1 December 1991 to 31 May 1992. Noting that one or more of the Force's main contingents might soon be withdrawn or reduced because of the uniquely unsatisfactory system of financing UNFICYP, the Secretary-General outlined two ways in which the Council could proceed. One option would be to accept the risk of executing the existing mandate with fewer troops; the other option would be to tailor the mandate to one that could be executed by the smaller number of troops likely to be available under the current financial arrangements. The second option would entail abandoning the function that had enabled UNFICYP to keep the peace in Cyprus, namely controlling the buffer zone. Without the presence of the Force in the buffer zone the danger of petty incidents escalating into armed conflict would greatly increase. Therefore, the better solution would be to alter the structure of the Force by reducing the number of battalions from four to three, while simultaneously increasing the number of troops deployed on the line. The Secretary-General stated that consultations with the troop contributors were necessary in order to clarify their precise intentions about continuing participation in UNFICYP, including the timing of any reduction or withdrawal of their contingents, and to explore with them the possibilities discussed in the report. In this way it would be possible to define specific proposals for submission to the Security Council at the appropriate time. The Secretary-General concluded that the continued presence of UNFICYP remained indispensable to achieve the objectives of the Council and he therefore

⁹⁵ S/24050.

recommended that it extend the mandate of the Force for a further six-month period.⁹⁶

At its 3084th meeting, held on 12 June 1992, in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. The President (Belgium) drew the attention of the Council's members to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁹⁷ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 759 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General of 31 May and 10 June 1992 on the United Nations operation in Cyprus,

Taking note also of the recommendation by the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peacekeeping 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 June 1992,

Reaffirming the provisions of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and other relevant resolutions,

1. *Extends once more* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force established under resolution 186 (1964) for a further period ending on 15 December 1992;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General, after consulting the troop-contributing Governments as envisaged in paragraph 56 of his report, to submit specific proposals to the Security Council no later than 1 September 1992 on the restructuring of the Force, such proposals to be based on the realistic options available in current circumstances;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices, to keep the Security Council informed of the progress made and to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution by 30 November 1992;

⁹⁶ The Secretary-General subsequently informed the Council that the Governments of Cyprus, Greece and the United Kingdom had indicated their concurrence with the proposed extension of the UNFICYP mandate; the Government of Turkey had indicated that it concurred with and supported the position put forward by the Turkish Cypriot side, as expressed at previous meetings of the Security Council on the extension of the mandate (S/24050/Add.1).

⁹⁷ S/24084.

4. *Calls upon* all the parties concerned to continue to cooperate with the Force on the basis of the present mandate.

**Decision of 13 July 1992 (3094th meeting):
statement by the President**

At the 3094th meeting, held on 13 July 1992, in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Cape Verde), following consultations among the members of the Council, made the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁹⁸

The Council recalls the oral report presented on 24 June 1992 on the Secretary-General's mission of good offices in Cyprus. It welcomes the separate meetings which the Secretary-General had with the leaders of the two communities from 18 to 23 June. It notes with satisfaction that the discussions focused on the issues of territorial adjustments and displaced persons and that the other six issues that make up the set of ideas on an overall framework agreement were also reviewed. The Council is unanimous in expressing its full support of the procedure adopted by the Secretary-General for implementing resolution 750 (1992) of 10 April 1992.

The Council reaffirms its endorsement of the set of ideas as an appropriate basis for reaching an overall framework agreement as mentioned in paragraph 4 of resolution 750 (1992).

The Council notes with satisfaction the acceptance by the leaders of the two communities to resume on 15 July 1992 their meetings with the Secretary-General and to remain for such reasonable duration as may be necessary to complete the work.

The Council considers that the forthcoming meetings represent a determining phase in the Secretary-General's effort and calls on both leaders to be ready to take the necessary decisions to reach agreement on each of the issues as dealt with in the set of ideas as an integrated whole on an overall framework agreement.

The Council endorses the Secretary-General's intention to invite the two leaders to a joint meeting as soon as the proximity talks reveal that the two sides are within agreement range on the set of ideas; and, subject to the successful completion of the work at the joint meeting, to convene an international high-level meeting to conclude the overall framework agreement.

The Council calls upon all concerned to fulfil their responsibilities and cooperate fully with the Secretary-General to ensure the success of these meetings.

The Council reaffirms its decision to remain seized of the Cyprus question on an ongoing and direct basis in support of the effort to complete the set of ideas and to conclude an overall framework agreement.

The Council requests that the Secretary-General provide it with an ongoing assessment of the progress being made at the

⁹⁸ S/24271.

meetings beginning on 15 July so as to enable the Council to determine, as the talks unfold, how it might best lend its full and direct support.

The Council looks forward to receiving at the conclusion of these meetings a full report from the Secretary-General as requested in paragraph 10 of resolution 750 (1992).

**Decision of 26 August 1992 (3109th meeting):
resolution 774 (1992)**

On 21 August 1992, pursuant to resolution 750 (1992), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus.⁹⁹ He reported that the strenuous effort from June to August had yielded some progress but had not achieved the expected goal. In the series of talks held with the leaders of both communities, the Secretary-General had concentrated on the two outstanding issues, territorial adjustments and displaced persons, as envisaged by the Council. On territorial adjustments, substantive discussions had taken place for the first time, but the Turkish Cypriot side needed to show the necessary willingness to foresee an adjustment more or less in line with the suggestions embodied in the set of ideas, if the delicately crafted balance in the remainder of the set of ideas was to be maintained. Concerning displaced persons, the Secretary-General welcomed the acceptance by the Turkish Cypriot side of the principle of the right to return and the right to property. The set of ideas offered reasonable arrangements that addressed the practical difficulties involved in resolving the issue of displaced persons in a manner that took into account the legitimate rights and interests of both sides. The Secretary-General concluded that the set of ideas as an integrated whole had been sufficiently developed and the two outstanding issues brought to the same level of clarity as the other elements of the set of ideas to enable the two sides to reach an overall agreement, provided the leaders manifested the necessary political will. A continuation of the status quo was not a viable option. Therefore, should no agreement emerge from the talks scheduled for October 1992, it would be necessary for the Council seriously to consider alternative courses of action for resolving the Cyprus problem.

At its 3109th meeting, held on 26 August 1992, in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda.

⁹⁹ S/24472.

The President (China) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁰⁰ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 774 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 21 August 1992 on his mission of good offices in Cyprus,

Reaffirming all its previous resolutions on Cyprus,

Noting that some progress has been achieved, in particular the acceptance by both sides of the right of return and the right to property, and in a narrowing of the gap by both sides on territorial adjustments,

Expressing concern nevertheless that it has not yet been possible, for reasons explained in the above-mentioned report, to achieve the goals set out in resolution 750 (1992) of 10 April 1992,

1. *Endorses* the report of the Secretary-General of 21 August 1992 on his mission of good offices in Cyprus and commends him for his efforts;

2. *Reaffirms* its position that a Cyprus settlement must be based on a State of Cyprus with a single sovereignty and international personality and a single citizenship, with its independence and territorial integrity safeguarded, and comprising two politically equal communities as defined in paragraph 11 of the report of the Secretary-General of 3 April 1992 in a bicomunal and bizonal federation, and that such a settlement must exclude union in whole or in part with any other country or any form of partition or secession;

3. *Endorses* the set of ideas including suggested territorial adjustments reflected in the map contained in the annex to the report of the Secretary-General of 21 August 1992 as the basis for reaching an overall framework agreement;

4. *Agrees* with the Secretary-General that the set of ideas as an integrated whole has now been sufficiently developed to enable the two sides to reach an overall agreement;

5. *Calls on* the parties to manifest the necessary political will and to address in a positive manner the observations of the Secretary-General for resolving the issues covered in his report;

6. *Urges* the parties, when they resume their face-to-face talks with the Secretary-General on 26 October 1992, to pursue uninterrupted negotiations at United Nations Headquarters in New York until an overall framework agreement is reached on the basis of the entire set of ideas;

7. *Reaffirms* its position that the Secretary-General should convene, following the satisfactory conclusion of the

¹⁰⁰ S/24487.

face-to-face talks, a high-level international meeting chaired by him to conclude an overall framework agreement, in which the two communities and Greece and Turkey would participate;

8. *Requests* all concerned to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General and his representatives in preparing the ground prior to the resumption of the direct talks in October to facilitate the speedy completion of the work;

9. *Expresses the expectation* that an overall framework agreement will be concluded in 1992 and that 1993 will be the transitional period during which the measures set out in the appendix to the set of ideas will be implemented;

10. *Reaffirms* that, in line with previous resolutions of the Security Council, the present status quo is not acceptable, and, should an agreement not emerge from the talks that will reconvene in October, calls on the Secretary-General to identify the reasons for the failure and to recommend to the Council alternative courses of action to resolve the Cyprus problem;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to the Security Council, prior to the end of 1992, a full report on the talks that will resume in October.

Decision of 25 November 1992 (3140th meeting): resolution 789 (1992)

On 19 November 1992, pursuant to resolution 774 (1992), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus.¹⁰¹ The Secretary-General informed the Council that the outcome of the joint meetings held in the period from 28 October to 11 November 1992 had not met expectations. While the meetings clarified in an unprecedented manner the respective positions of the two sides, they failed to achieve the objectives set by the Council in resolution 774 (1992) and reach an overall framework agreement. The lack of political will, mentioned in his report of 12 August 1992,¹⁰² continued to block the conclusion of an agreement that was otherwise within reach.

Some of the differences between the two sides amounted to variations of the set ideas and ought, therefore, to prove amenable to harmonization. However, certain positions taken by the Turkish Cypriot side were fundamentally at variance with the set of ideas. Those positions fell broadly under the following headings: the concept of federation, displaced persons, and territorial adjustments. With regard to the concept of federation, the position of the Turkish Cypriot side was based on the premise that

there currently existed two sovereign States with equal rights and that they would remain effectively sovereign in a future federation. The Secretary-General recalled that the resolutions of the Council concerning Cyprus had from 1964 onwards sought to preserve the territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus. Concerning displaced persons, the Secretary-General stated that, although the leader of the Turkish Cypriot side had accepted the principle of the right to return and the right to property, the exceptions set out by the Turkish Cypriot side would in effect preclude the possibility that any Greek Cypriot displaced persons would be able to return. Concerning territorial adjustments, the leader of the Turkish Cypriot side refused to accept the map included in the set of ideas, even as a basis for discussion. It was essential that the Turkish Cypriot side adjusted its positions more or less in line with the suggestions in the set of ideas given their delicate balance. The Secretary-General noted that the Greek Cypriot side frequently appended provisos when it declared that it accepted the provisions of the set of ideas; those would have to be cleared up at the forthcoming meetings without deviating from the set of ideas.

In order to counteract the deep crisis of confidence existing between the two sides and enhance prospects for the success of the forthcoming meetings, the Secretary-General proposed a range of confidence-building measures to be embraced by the parties before the scheduled resumption of negotiations in March 1993. They included the reduction in the level of Turkish troops, to be reciprocated by a suspension of weapons acquisition programmes on the Greek Cypriot side; the extension of the unmanning agreement to cover all areas of the United Nations-controlled buffer zone where the parties were in close proximity to each other; the inclusion of Varosha in the UNFICYP-controlled area; the reduction of travel restrictions across the buffer zone to promote people-to-people contact; the promotion of bicomunal projects; a Cyprus-wide census under United Nations auspices; and feasibility studies on the resettlement and rehabilitation of Turkish Cypriots affected by territorial adjustments as part of the overall agreement. Finally, the Secretary-General urged the Council to keep developments under close review in order to consider any additional action that should be taken to achieve a speedy solution to the Cyprus problem.

¹⁰¹ S/24830.

¹⁰² S/24471.

At its 3140th meeting, held on 25 November 1992, in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. At the same meeting, the President (Hungary) drew the attention of the members to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁰³ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 789 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 19 November 1992 on his mission of good offices in Cyprus,

Noting with satisfaction that the leaders of the two communities discussed all the issues in the set of ideas with the result that there were areas of agreement, as noted in the above-mentioned report,

Welcoming the agreement by the two sides to meet again with the Secretary-General in early March 1993 to complete the work on an agreed set of ideas,

1. *Reaffirms* all its previous resolutions on Cyprus, including resolutions 365 (1974) of 13 December 1974, 367 (1975) of 12 March 1975, 541 (1983) of 18 November 1983, 550 (1984) of 11 May 1984 and 774 (1992) of 26 August 1992;

2. *Endorses* the report of the Secretary-General of 19 November 1992 on his mission of good offices in Cyprus and commends him for his efforts;

3. *Reaffirms also* its endorsement of the set of ideas including the territorial adjustments reflected in the map contained in the appendix to the report of the Secretary-General of 21 August 1992 as the basis for reaching an overall framework agreement;

4. *Reaffirms further* its position that the present status quo is not acceptable and that an overall agreement in line with the set of ideas should be achieved without further delay;

5. *Notes* that the recent joint meetings did not achieve their intended goal, in particular because certain positions adopted by the Turkish Cypriot side were fundamentally at variance with the set of ideas;

6. *Calls upon* the Turkish Cypriot side to adopt positions that are consistent with the set of ideas on those issues identified by the Secretary-General in his report of 19 November 1992, and for all concerned to be prepared in the next round of talks to make decisions that will speedily bring about an agreement;

7. *Recognizes* that the completion of this process in March 1993 would be greatly facilitated by the implementation

by each side of measures designed to promote mutual confidence;

8. *Urges* all concerned to commit themselves to the confidence-building measures set out below:

(a) As a first step towards the withdrawal of non-Cypriot forces envisaged in the set of ideas, the number of foreign troops in the Republic of Cyprus undergo a significant reduction and a reduction of defence spending must be effected in the Republic of Cyprus;

(b) The military authorities on each side cooperate with the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus in order to extend the unmanning agreement of 1989 to all areas of the United Nations-controlled buffer zone where the two sides are in close proximity to each other;

(c) With a view to the implementation of resolution 550 (1984), the area at present under the control of the Force be extended to include Varosha;

(d) Each side take active measures to promote people-to-people contact between the two communities by reducing restrictions to the movement of persons across the buffer zone;

(e) Restrictions imposed on foreign visitors crossing the buffer zone be reduced;

(f) Each side propose bicomunal projects, for possible financing by lending and donor Governments as well as international institutions;

(g) Both sides commit themselves to the holding of a Cyprus-wide census under the auspices of the United Nations;

(h) Both sides cooperate to enable the United Nations to undertake, in the relevant locations, feasibility studies (i) in connection with the resettlement and rehabilitation of persons who would be affected by the territorial adjustments as part of the overall agreement, and (ii) in connection with the programme of economic development that would, as part of the overall agreement, benefit those persons who would resettle in the area under Turkish Cypriot administration;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to follow up on the implementation of the above confidence-building measures and to keep the Council informed as appropriate;

10. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to maintain such preparatory contacts as he considers appropriate before the resumption of the joint meetings in March 1993, and to propose for the Council's consideration revisions in the negotiating format to make it more effective;

11. *Further requests* the Secretary-General, during the March 1993 joint meetings, to assess developments on a regular basis with the Council with a view to considering what further action may be needed by the Council;

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a full report to the Security Council after the conclusion of the joint meetings that will resume in March 1993.

¹⁰³ S/24841.

**Decision of 14 December 1992 (3148th meeting):
resolution 796 (1992)**

On 1 December 1992, pursuant to resolution 759 (1992), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus,¹⁰⁴ covering developments from 1 June to 30 November 1992. The Secretary-General concluded that the continued presence of UNFICYP on the island remained indispensable to achieve the objectives set by the Council, and recommended that its mandate be extended for another six months.¹⁰⁵

The Secretary-General reported that, in the light of a forthcoming troop reduction of 28 per cent,¹⁰⁶ the remaining UNFICYP contingents were being restructured and reorganized in order to maintain the Force's ability to implement its present mandate to the greatest extent possible. The troop-contributing Governments had informed the Secretary-General that they wished to make further reductions in their contingents during 1993. The progressive reductions in the strength of the Force had brought UNFICYP to a point at which the viability of its current operational concept was in doubt. In the future the Force would not be able to react as rapidly as in the past to ceasefire violations or incidents, nor would it be able to maintain the same level of control of the buffer zone as it had previously done. The reductions meant that greater responsibility would rest on the two sides for ensuring that conditions were maintained for a speedy overall agreement as envisaged by the Council and that there was no increase in tension in Cyprus. The efforts of UNFICYP to promote a return to normal conditions by facilitating humanitarian activities would also be affected by the troop reduction. At the same time, UNFICYP faced a potential increase in its tasks if all concerned implemented the confidence-building measures endorsed in resolution 789 (1992).

¹⁰⁴ S/24917.

¹⁰⁵ The Secretary-General subsequently informed the Security Council that the Governments of Cyprus, Greece and the United Kingdom had indicated their concurrence with the proposed extension of the UNFICYP mandate. The Government of Turkey had indicated that it concurred with and supported the position of the Turkish Cypriot side, as expressed at previous meetings of the Security Council on the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP (S/24917/Add.1).

¹⁰⁶ See the report of the Secretary-General (S/24581) submitted pursuant to paragraph 2 of resolution 759 (1992).

The Secretary-General reported that he was pursuing his consultations with the troop-contributing Governments about a restructuring of the Force and would report as soon as possible to the Council. He was also exploring the possibility of finding additional countries that could agree to contribute troops to replace those being withdrawn; however, his impression was that even if UNFICYP was radically restructured it was likely that a viable arrangement could exist only on the basis of financing by assessed contributions.

At its 3148th meeting, held on 14 December 1992, in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda.

At the same meeting, the President (India) drew the attention of the members to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁰⁷ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 796 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General of 1 and 9 December 1992 on the United Nations operation in Cyprus,

Taking note also of the recommendation by the Secretary-General that the Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peacekeeping 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 1992,

Reaffirming the provisions of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and other relevant resolutions,

1. *Extends once more* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force established under resolution 186 (1964) for a further period, ending on 15 June 1993;
2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices, to keep the Council informed of the progress made and to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution by 31 May 1993;
3. *Welcomes* the intention of the Secretary-General expressed in paragraph 46 of his report to pursue his consultations with the troop-contributing Governments about a restructuring of the Force and to report on this to the Security Council as soon as possible;
4. *Calls upon* all the parties concerned to continue to cooperate with the Force on the basis of the present mandate.

¹⁰⁷ S/24949.