

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-NINTH YEAR

1787th MEETING: 29 JULY 1974

NEW YORK

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1787)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The situation in Cyprus:	
(a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);	
(b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335);	
(c) Letter dated 20 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11348);	
(d) Letter dated 28 July 1974 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11389)	1

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SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 29 July 1974, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Javier PÉREZ de CUÉLLAR (Peru).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1787)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
 - (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
 - (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335);
 - (c) Letter dated 20 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11348);
 - (d) Letter dated 28 July 1974 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11389)

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

- (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
- (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335);
- (c) Letter dated 20 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11348);

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

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings [1779th-1781st meetings], I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, India and Mauritius to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Mr. Olcay (Turkey) and Mr. Carayannis (Greece) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I propose to invite the representatives of Yugoslavia, Romania, India and Mauritius to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to come to the Council table when it is their turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kikić (Yugoslavia), Mr. Datcu (Romania), Mr. Jaipal (India) and Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution sponsored by the Soviet Union which has been circulated [S/11391].

4. I call on the Secretary-General.

5. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have been in constant touch with my Special Representative and the Force Commander in Cyprus, and with my representative in Geneva, Mr. Guyer. In Cyprus the situation continues to be tense but is today relatively quiet. I shall continue to keep the Council informed through regular reports of any changes in the situation.

6. The negotiations in Geneva called for in Security Council resolution 353 (1974) continued all day yesterday and all night. Mr. Guyer has been following these negotiations for the purposes of paragraph 5

of the resolution and has kept me in touch with them. As members of the Council know, these negotiations have been very intensive. It is my understanding that, in spite of the strenuous efforts that have been made, fundamental differences persist between the positions of Greece and Turkey. At last report the discussions in Geneva were suspended until early tomorrow morning Geneva time.

7. I should add that as an observer Mr. Guyer has attended the plenary meetings at the Palais des Nations in Geneva, but not the closed negotiations which have been taking place there. It is therefore not possible for me to give the members of the Council more details of the negotiations for the time being.

8. Early on the morning of 29 July I was informed by the Force Commander, General Prem Chand, that the Turkish Corps Commander in Cyprus had informed him that all the personnel of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), including police and civilians, should be evacuated from the area controlled by the Turkish forces. I therefore contacted Mr. Ecevit, the Prime Minister of Turkey, by telephone this morning and asked him to use best efforts to ensure that all aspects of this matter be discussed between the UNFICYP Force Commander and the Turkish Corps Commander so that an agreed solution could be reached. I underlined in this connexion the humanitarian task of UNFICYP in relation to all the people of Cyprus. The Prime Minister assured me that he would respond to my request and follow up on this matter.

9. At about noon today General Prem Chand informed me that arrangements had been made for a discussion of this question with the Commander of the Turkish forces in Cyprus in the course of the next day or so. I hope very much that in the course of these discussions a satisfactory arrangement will be found.

10. As I have previously informed the members of the Council, the present situation was not envisaged when the UNFICYP mandate was established in 1964, and the elements of UNFICYP which are now stationed within the area controlled by the Turkish forces find themselves in a position which is not covered by that mandate. On the other hand, I believe that UNFICYP has been playing, and can continue to play, a most useful humanitarian role in all parts of Cyprus in assisting those elements of the civilian population, Turkish and Greek Cypriot alike, who have been afflicted by the recent hostilities.

11. I wish to say here that since the beginning of the hostilities the units of UNFICYP all over the island have made a continuous effort to bring assistance and protection to those sections of the civilian population that were in danger or serious need. This has applied particularly to isolated Turkish Cypriot communities all over the island and to Greek Cypriots

in the fighting area in the Kyrenia district. In this connexion my Special Representative and the Force Commander have continued their efforts to negotiate with the competent authorities reciprocal measures to relieve the hardships of civilians of both communities afflicted by the war. I am confident that a way can be found for UNFICYP to continue to perform its role with the full agreement of all the parties concerned.

12. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): As the members of the Council already know, the USSR delegation has submitted a draft resolution [S/11391]. This draft fully reflects the position of the Soviet Union on the situation in Cyprus, as set forth in the statement of the USSR Government of 28 July [S/11390], which I read out at yesterday's meeting.

13. I should like to recall that in its statement at yesterday's meeting the Soviet delegation set forth in detail its views on the measures that the Council must take immediately to ensure implementation of resolution 353 (1974). It is those views of the Soviet delegation which constitute the basis of the draft resolution before the Council.

14. Almost another 24 hours have elapsed since yesterday's meeting of the Council; however, it must be said once again that during this period as well, nothing has been done to implement resolution 353 (1974). Not a single one of its provisions has been carried out. This means that, just as was the case yesterday, there continues to exist on Cyprus an explosive and tense situation which constitutes a direct threat to international peace and security. This confirms once again the urgent need to take measures to ensure the implementation of resolution 353 (1974), thereby not only putting an end to violations of the cease-fire and the foreign military intervention but also guaranteeing a political settlement in Cyprus on the basis of respect for its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity as a non-aligned State and the restoration of the constitutional Government of the Republic of Cyprus, headed by President Makarios, and of all the institutions of that Government.

15. I should like to make a few comments on the draft resolution submitted by the USSR delegation. First of all, I should like to point out that this draft, which reflects, as has already been noted, the position of principle of the Soviet Union on questions relating to the implementation of resolution 353 (1974), also reflects and takes into account the views and wishes expressed by the parties concerned, by the members of the Security Council and by a number of non-aligned countries in the course of broad consultations held with them by our delegation on the question of a possible draft resolution of the Council. We have taken those wishes into account and reflected them in the draft resolution submitted to the Council.

16. The preamble of the draft resolution stresses that the situation with regard to the implementation of resolution 353 (1974), which defines the basis of a political settlement in Cyprus, continues to be unsatisfactory. The Soviet delegation therefore proposes that in the circumstances the Security Council should demand of all the States concerned that they undertake urgent and effective measures for the practical implementation of all the provisions of resolution 353 (1974). This idea is expressed in operative paragraph 1 of the draft.

17. The immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces and military personnel which are present in Cyprus in violation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that State is a key and cardinal condition for the restoration of peace and tranquility on the island. It is essential to put an end to the flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Cypriot people and to eliminate any possibility for the consolidation of the military occupation of the island in an attempt to tear that State to pieces. This idea—that of the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces and military personnel—is reflected in operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. We agree with the views expressed by a number of representatives that the draft resolution should once again contain an appeal for an immediate cease-fire, since the agreement in that respect, reached in accordance with resolution 353 (1974) on 22 July, continues to be violated. This demand too is included in the same paragraph of the draft resolution.

18. A proposal has been made that measures should be taken to put an end to all acts of violence against the Republic of Cyprus arising from the presence there of foreign forces and military personnel and from non-observance of the cease-fire. A provision to that effect is also included in operative paragraph 2.

19. The Council must insist on an immediate cessation of firing and of all acts of violence against the Republic of Cyprus, as well as on the speediest withdrawal of all foreign forces and military personnel from the island.

20. Cyprus is a non-aligned State. In many government statements by non-aligned countries concerning the events in Cyprus and in statements by the representatives of those countries in the Security Council, stress has been laid on the particular concern felt at the fact that what is involved is the fate of a non-aligned country—an active participant in the non-aligned movement. Therefore, the draft resolution makes a point of stressing that the Council should take measures to eliminate all actions that are in violation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus precisely as a non-aligned State.

21. We have stressed that in a situation where the Security Council has a special and growing respon-

sibility for the implementation of the key provisions of resolution 353 (1974), the Council should be aware of what is taking place in Cyprus and of how its resolution is being implemented. To that end, it is proposed that there be sent immediately to Cyprus a special mission composed of a number of members of the Council to be appointed by the President of the Council after consultation with its members and with the Secretary-General, who has taken an active part in the Council's work on this question and who can of course give substantial assistance to the work of such a mission on the spot.

22. The Soviet delegation would like to take this opportunity to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his actions and for his tireless efforts to bring about conditions conducive to the implementation of the Council resolutions on the Cyprus question. As we have already said, the purpose of sending a Council mission to Cyprus would be to verify on the spot the implementation of resolution 353 (1974) and to submit a report on the matter to the Council.

23. The question which arises is whom the Security Council mission should contact in Cyprus. For us the matter is clear. In the view of the Soviet delegation, there can be only one reply to that question: the mission must of course enter into contact with the legal head of Government of the Republic of Cyprus, President Makarios, or any person designated or named by him as his representative in Cyprus.

24. As has already been stated by the USSR delegation, the Council mission can and must ascertain the reasons why the aforementioned basic resolution has not yet been implemented, so that the Council can, if necessary, take the appropriate practical steps or measures. This is the essence of operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution.

25. Individual members of the Council have urged that the Council should await the outcome of the tripartite talks on Cyprus being held in Geneva and not take any action which, they claim, might jeopardize those talks. However, that approach would not only doom the Council to inactivity in such a complex situation and deprive it of its responsibility for ensuring peace and security in Cyprus; it would also essentially sanction the arbitrary determination of the future of the Cypriot people behind their backs, to the detriment of their fundamental and vital interests. The statement by the Soviet Government says clearly that the Cypriot people—both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots—must be guaranteed their inalienable right to settle their own problems and to decide the fate of their common homeland, the sovereign Republic of Cyprus, in conditions of peace and tranquility. This, of course, presupposes participation by the representatives of the lawful Government of Cyprus in all international discussions of the Cyprus problem, including the Geneva negotiations between

the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey. The Soviet Union continues to be firmly in favour of this.

26. It was this that the Soviet delegation was seeking when resolution 353 (1974) was being drafted and agreed upon, no matter how much that may be denied by certain members of the Council and no matter how much they may try to cast doubt upon it. We continue to proceed from the assumption that any decisions of international conferences which have been held without the participation of the lawful representatives of the Government of Cyprus, headed by President Makarios, and which are not in conformity with the interests of the Cypriot people can lead to further aggravation of the situation on the island and to fresh conflicts. The Soviet delegation therefore considers it necessary to support the views expressed on that score by many non-aligned countries, both members and non-members of the Council, concerning the imperative need for participation by the representatives of the constitutional Government of the Republic of Cyprus in the Geneva negotiations. It is precisely for that reason that the draft resolution includes operative paragraph 4, which reflects the firm opinion of the Council on this matter in accordance with the relevant provisions of resolution 353 (1974). We are convinced that this paragraph will meet with the understanding and support of the members of the Council and that its implementation will substantially help to restore Cyprus to the status of a sovereign State that it enjoyed before the aggression by the Greek militarists which precipitated the present crisis.

27. The Soviet delegation considers that the implementation of the above-mentioned provisions will be a sure guarantee of the implementation of resolution 353 (1974) in its entirety. The decisions adopted by the Security Council, and particularly decisions of such importance, cannot be allowed to remain a dead letter. The Council has a heavy responsibility and, therefore, all members of the Council must make every effort to ensure that the Council fully discharges the mission entrusted to it. If, however, it so happens that resolution 353 (1974) is not implemented through someone's fault and the Council is obliged to note the absence of progress in its implementation, then the Council will have to consider this question once again and take such measures as will really ensure the application of all the provisions of resolution 353 (1974). This question is the subject of operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution.

28. We proceed from the assumption that all States which—not just in words but in fact—are anxious for the preservation of Cyprus as an independent, non-aligned State are duty bound to take all necessary steps to achieve the paramount task of ensuring the complete and immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 353 (1974).

29. The Soviet delegation would like to express the hope that the draft resolution which it has submitted today will be carefully examined by all members of the Council and that its provisions and the resolution as a whole will win broad support.

30. As I have already said, time does not wait. We call upon the Security Council to discharge the responsibility entrusted to it and to ensure the restoration of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of a non-aligned State—the Republic of Cyprus—and of its lawful Government headed by President Makarios. The Security Council has a duty under the Charter to repulse aggression, to protect the lawful rights of the people of Cyprus and to ensure peace and security in that area of the eastern Mediterranean.

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Greece.

32. Mr. CARAYANNIS (Greece): I would have no difficulty in expressing now the views of my Government on the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union, but I shall not do so out of respect for the members of the Council. We are not members of the Council, and I think it is only appropriate that we wait to hear the views of members before we express our own.

33. My reason for speaking is to say a few words in relation to the statement made by the Secretary-General at the beginning of this meeting. I found that statement to be of great importance to the Council. As a matter of fact, at the three meetings I have attended some views have been expressed around this table to the effect that the Security Council should not do anything at all while the Geneva conference is in progress.

34. I myself have said that the best thing we can do right now, while the Geneva conference is in progress, is to try and help that conference. But that does not mean that we should not do anything at all, and the statement of the Secretary-General reminds us that there is much we can do.

35. I relate the Secretary-General's statement with the difficulties we are encountering in the Geneva conference. The Secretary-General has just told us that the Turkish military authorities in the territory of Cyprus at present occupied by Turkey have asked UNFICYP to leave that territory. Some years have passed since we arranged for the UNFICYP presence in Cyprus—it was in 1964, if I am not mistaken. That operation costs a lot of money, and my country's share is much greater than its capabilities. I consider that UNFICYP's duty in Cyprus is mainly humanitarian. One of the difficulties in the Geneva conference is that Turkey insists that UNFICYP should control all the territory not occupied by Turkey but should not be present at all in the territory

occupied by Turkey. Now, I ask all members of the Council if any of them would find that equitable.

36. I am not fully familiar with the mandate that enabled the United Nations to send UNFICYP to Cyprus, but I have here Security Council resolution 186 (1964), which gave the guidelines for that mandate; I understand that the then Secretary-General drew up the mandate himself. I shall now read paragraph 5 of that resolution:

“Recommends that the function of the Force should be, in the interest of preserving international peace and security, to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions”.

I am wondering whether, on the basis of that resolution, we could not give a broader interpretation to the mandate. But, in any case, I think that when we are talking about a mainly humanitarian problem it should be possible to arrange practical means to face this problem, and I am only too grateful to the Secretary-General for his efforts to do that.

37. But I was struck by the analogy between what the Secretary-General told us and what we have to face at the Geneva conference. Turkey, for instance, does not want to agree that the free movement of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots should be controlled by UNFICYP; Turkey imposes similar conditions with regard to repatriation: it says that the repatriation of Greek Cypriot refugees who wish to go back to their homes or to their work should be controlled, but that of Turkish Cypriot refugees should not be. In both cases that means that Greeks should be controlled

but Turks should be free to move around or to be repatriated without any control at all by UNFICYP. And of course there are other difficulties—for instance, the difficulty we have in getting the concept of sovereignty on Cyprus stated in the paper which will eventually be issued in Geneva.

38. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Turkey.

39. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I shall be extremely brief. I do not understand why the problems the conference in Geneva is facing have to be discussed here. Either the problems are discussed in Geneva or they are discussed here. Certainly they should not be discussed in both places because that can only be counter-productive.

40. With regard to what has been said about various interpretations of the mandate of UNFICYP, I believe that the Secretary-General's remarks at the beginning of this meeting, to the effect that this question will be discussed between General Prem Chand and the local commander of the Turkish force, should be sufficient for the time being. It is obvious that the mandate of UNFICYP is open to several interpretations. I have already dealt with that matter—although only briefly—on a few occasions. In any case, I think it is clear that the mandate lends itself not only to a variety of interpretations but also to a variety of contradictory interpretations. Therefore, I would merely wish to state for the record that I should prefer this whole debate to be held where it properly should be held.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.

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