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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
EIGHT HUNDRED AND SIXTY-EIGHTH MEETINGHeld at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 9 June 1989, at 4 p.m.President: Mr. PICKERING

(United States of America)

Members: Algeria
 Brazil
 Canada
 China
 Colombia
 Ethiopia
 Finland
 France
 Malaysia
 Nepal
 Senegal
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
 United Kingdom of Great Britain and
 Northern Ireland
 Yugoslavia

Mr. DJOUDI
 Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA
 Mr. FORTIER
 Mr. LI Luyue
 Mr. PEÑALOSA
 Mr. HAGOSS
 Mr. TORNUDD
 Mr. BLANC
 Mr. HASMY
 Mr. RANA
 Mrs. DIALLO
 Mr. BELONOGOV
 Mr. BIRCH
 Mr. PEJIC

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The meeting was called to order at 4.25 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted

THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS

REPORT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN CYPRUS
(S/20663 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mavrommatis (Cyprus), Mr. Zepos (Greece) and Mr. Aksin (Turkey) took places at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to recall that in the course of the Council's consultations, members of the Council agreed that an invitation should be extended to Mr. Ozer Koray in accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that the Council decides to invite Mr. Koray in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the appropriate moment I shall invite Mr. Koray to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

(The President)

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 1 December 1988 to 31 May 1989, document S/20663 and Add.1. Members of the Council also have before them a draft resolution contained in document S/20679, which has been prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/20650, letter dated 22 May 1989 from the representatives of Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/20666, letter dated 1 June 1989 from the Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council on behalf of the countries contributing troops to the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

(The President)

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution (S/20679) to the vote now. There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Algeria, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Malaysia, Nepal, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yugoslavia

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 634 (1989).

I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the members of the Council following consultations of the Council:

"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 note that 25 years have elapsed since the establishment of UNFICYP. 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, 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 co-operation to the efforts of the Special Representative in Cyprus towards achieving a negotiated, just and lasting settlement.

(The President)

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

"The members 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 co-operate with the Secretary-General in order to achieve substantial progress in the direction of an overall settlement."

The first speaker on my list is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): Permit me on a personal note, Mr. President, to say how gratified I am that after an absence of about eight years I appear again to present the case of my country before this most important principal organ of the United Nations and, at the same time, to refer to my sadness that unfortunately during those eight years no substantial progress has been made and a return to normal conditions in my country has not been achieved.

I should very much like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. We are pleased, indeed, to see as President of the Council the Permanent Representative of the United States, a country with which Cyprus has always maintained close and cordial relations.

I wish also to extend congratulations to your predecessor, Sir Crispin Tickell of the United Kingdom.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

At the same time, Mr. President, may I commend you and the other members of the Security Council for the resolution just adopted unanimously renewing the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for a further period of six months. We welcome this decision and pledge our full co-operation with the United Nations Force in Cyprus. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to convey the deep appreciation of my Government to all officers and men of UNFICYP and to all the countries which contribute to the important work of the Force.

Our gratitude and thanks are also expressed to General Gunther Greindl, who recently relinquished his position as Force Commander of UNFICYP after eight years of distinguished service to the cause of peace in Cyprus. Again on a personal note, I can attest from having been abroad at the same time as General Greindl, both of us working in quest of a solution to the Cyprus problem, that he combined the skills of a Force Commander with the ability of a diplomat.

At the same time, I should like to extend a warm welcome to General Clive Milner, the new Force Commander, and to wish him every success in the fulfilment of his important task.

The latest phase of the intercommunal talks began at the initiative of the Secretary-General almost a year ago, when, on 22 July 1988, it was announced that both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot sides had accepted his proposal for a high-level meeting "to negotiate a settlement of all aspects of the Cyprus problem".

What the Government of Cyprus is seeking is a viable solution able to withstand the pressures, difficulties, stresses and strains of the future.

The future that is being shaped in a continuously improving international environment is based almost exclusively on the values and norms, the rights and freedoms inherent in a democratic society. But in order to achieve viability in a democratic legality, the following are sine qua non:

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

First, the withdrawal of the Turkish armed forces, an end to the occupation of my country, and the demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus.

Secondly, there should be a balanced system of international guarantees ensuring the territorial integrity and security of Cyprus. It should, further, exclude any unilateral action contrary to international law and the United Nations Charter, which forbid the threat or use of force. The Helsinki Final Act and the Declaration on Friendly Relations, to quote just two documents, are also categorical in prohibiting the threat or use of force by one State against another.

Thirdly, the settlers implanted by Turkey in the occupied areas of Cyprus should be returned to whence they came. The importance of prohibiting artificial demographic changes was recognized even before the independence of Cyprus in 1960, when a provision against such changes was incorporated in the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus at the insistence of none other than Turkey.

Fourthly, there should be full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Cyprus is a party to nearly all the international conventions in the field of human rights - an enviable record, indeed. Particular reference should be made to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and to the European Convention on Human Rights, both of which underwrite democracy. The protection of human rights should be entrenched in both the federal and provincial constitutions, when we establish a federation, as well as basic and other laws of the future federal republic.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

Fifthly, the functionality of the future federal constitution, including deadlock resolution, is of cardinal importance. Complicated and, more often than not, undemocratic provisions lead to impasses which in turn unleash centrifugal forces. Of particular importance is the territorial aspect, which in a just and viable solution would allow a large number of Greek Cypriot refugees to return to their homes under Greek Cypriot administration, reducing the difficulties in respect of other issues.

Finally, the solution should be in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations on Cyprus.

Consistent with the above are the proposals put forward by President Vassiliou in January this year, which were approved by the leaders of the Greek Cypriot political parties. They take into account the interests and concerns of both sides and are in full accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. They are realistic and constructive, and were welcomed as such by the world community in view, inter alia, of the fact that both federalism and bicomunal participation are fundamental characteristics of the constitutional structure put forward.

We have accepted the unmanning of positions, as proposed by the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), in three of the areas in Nicosia. We have also made it clear that we consider this as a first step towards the demilitarization of the whole city within the walls and a return to normal conditions.

We responded positively, right from the outset, to the new initiative of the Secretary-General which began about a year ago. We accepted the methodology and we adhered strictly to the letter and spirit of the agreed basis for negotiations, and we shall continue to do so.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

One would expect that by now progress would have been more tangible. Unfortunately, this has not been the case, because of the attitude of both the Turkish and the Turkish Cypriot sides. I shall only refer very briefly to the latest statement by one of the Turkish Cypriot leaders, who emphasized during a news conference three short days ago, on 6 June, that his so-called government was determined not to make any concessions.

Nevertheless, despite that negative attitude, we are still hoping that between now and the high-level meeting set, as we now understand, for on or after 27 June, a necessary change of heart and attitude will permit the achievement of progress.

In paragraph 15 of the Secretary-General's report concern is expressed about the level of forces in Cyprus. In that respect there have already been repeated calls by binding Security Council resolutions for the immediate withdrawal of the Turkish troops from Cyprus, and by the Secretary-General in his report of 30 November 1987 (S/19304). It is a sad fact that since the adoption of landmark General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and its endorsement by the Security Council in resolution 365 (1974) - once again reaffirmed by the resolution adopted today - Turkish troops remain illegally in Cyprus.

Suffice it to refer, moreover, to a recent proposal by President Vassiliou, where in an interview with a Turkish paper he suggested that an independent expert verify the number, firepower and posture - whether defensive or offensive - of the military forces in the Republic of Cyprus. Certainly, that is a proposal where the Security Council, and especially its permanent members, could give valuable assistance by following up on our President's initiative.

With regard to the purely humanitarian problem of the missing persons in Cyprus, what is required is to secure quality evidence and information to enable the Committee on Missing Persons to reach conclusions which will be convincing to

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

the families concerning the fate of their loved ones. Our hope is that the Committee on Missing Persons will continue and intensify its efforts so that results may soon be achieved. The support and good will of all concerned are needed to improve the effectiveness of the Committee.

Women of Cyprus, accompanied by women from other parts of the world, carrying symbols of peace, demonstrated in a peaceful march for the inalienable right to return to their hearths and homes and for the reunification of their divided country. What Government in the world today would prevent such a peaceful demonstration from taking place, especially when it was carried out in exercise of an inalienable right and was perfectly legal, and at a time when people all over the world are pursuing those rights by similarly peaceful means and in similarly peaceful demonstrations?

I should like to seize this occasion to appeal to the other side to prevent further plunder of our cultural heritage and, in that respect, plead with them to co-operate with the appropriate organs of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Council of Europe in their investigations.

In conclusion, I wish to express sincere thanks to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his perseverance in the cause of peace, as well as to his colleagues Mr. Oscar Camilion, Mr. Marrack Goulding, Mr. Gustave Feissel and Mr. Giandomenico Picco.

We assure the Council that for our part we shall continue to exert every possible effort in our firm commitment to seek a just and lasting solution that will ensure the withdrawal of the troops and the settlers, the reunification of our country, the restoration of basic rights and freedoms to all Cypriots and the functionality of the State in accordance with democratic principles.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cyprus for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Greece, on whom I call.

Mr. ZEPOS (Greece): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the first time since your recent appointment as Head of the United States Mission to the United Nations, and to reiterate my best wishes for your success. The vast experience you have gained during a most distinguished career which has brought you into close proximity with some of the most crucial regional and international problems ensures that you will discharge your present duties in a manner most beneficial to carrying out the high responsibilities with which the Security Council is vested.

I take this opportunity also to extend sincere and warm congratulations to your predecessor in the Chair, the representative of the United Kingdom, on the skill and leadership he displayed in the exercise of his duties last month.

The Greek Government has concurred in the extension of the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations forces there - the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) - for another six months, as decided by the Security Council, having taken note of the agreement to that effect of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, exercising its exclusive and sovereign right with respect to this matter. My Government also considers that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island there should be a renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP, which continues to play - and we are in agreement on this with the Secretary-General - an indispensable role. Greece supports the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General and appreciates highly his personal efforts and those of his Special Representative, Mr. Oscar Camilion, in connection with the ongoing intercommunal talks in Cyprus.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

In just over a month, on 20 July, 15 years will have elapsed since Turkey invaded Cyprus; it continues to occupy part of its territory. Cyprus remains tragically divided, and the refugees are still waiting to regain their homes and property, of which they were deprived by force of arms. The root causes of the perpetuation of the Cyprus problem are still there and should not be lost from sight.

It would be misleading if we were to consider that UNFICYP was conceived in the context of the confrontation between the two Cypriot communities. Let us recall that in March 1964, 25 years ago, a threat of the imminent invasion of Cyprus by Turkey was averted at the last moment. UNFICYP, in accordance with its modified functions, continues to supervise cease-fire lines of the National Guard and of the Turkish forces which invaded and still occupy part of the territory of the Republic, as well as of the Turkish Cypriot forces.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

The Secretary-General's latest report (S/20663) covers developments from 1 December 1988 to 31 May 1989. The predominant developments, at least in the political field, during that period are the ongoing intercommunal talks. The Secretary-General considers that UNFICYP's role is vital to his efforts, which we have every reason to support. The Peace-keeping Force is performing a wide range of tasks, and there have been cases in which it has faced difficult or delicate situations. This gives me the opportunity to express, on behalf of my Government, sincere appreciation to the commanding officers and men of the Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. We express our gratitude to General Günther Greindl, who has relinquished his position as Force Commander, and extend congratulations to his successor, General Clive Milner, and best wishes for success in his difficult task.

We wish further to express our deepest appreciation to the Governments of the troop-contributing countries for their continuing commitment to the cause of peace in Cyprus and for having undertaken a heavy financial burden, without which the functioning of UNFICYP would be at risk. We are deeply concerned at the extent of the deficit accumulated with regard to the UNFICYP special account. The Greek Government has from the outset supported the proposal by the Secretary-General that the method of financing of UNFICYP should be changed from voluntary to assessed contributions, as is the case with all other United Nations peace-keeping operations. We share the view expressed by the eight troop-contributing countries in their letter of 1 June (S/20666, annex) addressed to the President of the Security Council that the Council - its permanent members in particular - has a special responsibility to ensure proper financing for the United Nations share of the cost of UNFICYP. I recall that the Greek Government has pledged to maintain the level of its total contribution at the present voluntary amount of \$800,000 per annum if a new system brings its assessed contribution to a lower level.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted a number of substantive resolutions on Cyprus, which have been regularly reconfirmed. Regrettably, however, they have been disregarded by Turkey, which bears the responsibility for creating the tragic state of affairs in the island and which also disagrees with the extension of UNFICYP's mandate. Our unequivocal support for the ongoing intercommunal talks, which should aim at an agreed, just and viable solution, as well as our support for the Secretary-General's efforts should not make us oblivious to the gravity of the problem. If it is being perpetuated we should not blame those who peacefully remind us of its existence. The demonstration last March, in which not only Greek-Cypriot women but many from foreign countries, including your own, Mr. President, participated, was a manifestation which should be respected and understood.

The President of the Republic of Cyprus presented in January a comprehensive scheme of proposals reflecting his views on the manner in which a fair solution could be reached, which would also take into account the concerns of the Turkish-Cypriot community. Those proposals were praised as reflecting a spirit of fairness and realism. They are based on the rules of democracy, respect for human rights and the principles of the United Nations Charter. Inasmuch as a federal solution is sought in Cyprus, it is clear that basic freedoms - such as the freedom of movement, of establishment and the right to property - acquire a special significance if the unity of the country is to be preserved, as provided for by the relevant United Nations resolutions. Those freedoms, as well as human and fundamental rights in general, are, as has been repeatedly stated, established for the benefit of the individual. A solution which respects the unity of Cyprus and basic democratic rules cannot ignore this fundamental rule.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

The external aspect of the Cyprus problem is of particular concern to my own country. A serious security problem has been created in the Eastern Mediterranean by the continuing presence of Turkish troops in Cyprus. We support the proposal of President Vassiliou for the full demilitarization of the Republic, and we welcome an active role for the United Nations in contributing to the elimination of the causes which, as was the case of other international problems - I have in mind Afghanistan and Namibia - have resulted in unacceptable situations of external interference or intervention.

The intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General will reach an important stage in a few weeks' time. Listening to the representative of Cyprus, I tried to detect whether we can at this point nurture some optimism on the course the talks are taking or whether any substantial progress has been achieved so far. I do not think that that is the case. Therefore, I wonder whether it would not be wise to wait until the end of June before we venture to make an assessment of our own.

The primary purpose of this debate is the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP, which has just been satisfied by the decision adopted.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Greece for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is Mr. Ozer Koray, to whom the Council has extended an invitation in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KORAY: I wish to thank you, Sir, and through you the other members of the Security Council for giving me this opportunity to address the Council on the subject of the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Forces in Cyprus for a further period of six months. I should also like to congratulate you, Sir,

(Mr. Koray)

on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. My congratulations also go to our predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, for the skilful manner in which he conducted the Council's work during the month of May.

The Council convenes to debate this issue at a time when the two leaders in Cyprus, President Denktas and Mr. Vassiliou, are engaged in comprehensive talks, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, for the establishment of a federation between the two States in the island. Since August of last year the two leaders have held almost 100 hours of meetings during the arduous rounds of negotiation, the third of which is currently under way. This current course is the longest phase of talks ever held in Cyprus between the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot peoples. By virtue of this alone, the ongoing initiative has been worthwhile and helpful, as it has provided the two sides with the opportunity to discuss, extensively and frankly, all aspects of a bi-zonal federal republic based on equal political status and participation of the two peoples. The Turkish Cypriot side fervently hopes that the talks will be finalized in good faith and that a federal settlement, based on those basic principles, will emerge as the end result.

(Mr. Koray)

The three rounds of continuous negotiation have once again brought to light the divergence of views between the two sides vis-à-vis a federal solution in the island. Being the community that has suffered grievously in the recent past, the Turkish Cypriot side has 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 Greek Cypriot side, on the other hand, has made it clear that it is not interested in a genuine federation based on equal power-sharing and good-neighbourliness. We would like to think that, despite the difficulties emanating from the South and the differences between the two sides, common sense and realism will eventually prevail on the Greek Cypriot side and that hopes for a final settlement will not wither in the face of efforts to undermine the basic rights, security and equality of the Turkish Cypriot people. This may well be our last chance to establish a "Federal Republic of Cyprus".

It is no secret that the Greek Cypriot political spectrum is dominated by a solid front, a combination of political parties opposed to any settlement or reconciliation between the two sides in Cyprus. The rejectionist attitude adopted by that front towards the current process of negotiations and its negative influence through the National Council is also a well-known political fact. That may be one explanation for Mr. Vassiliou's unaccommodating stance and evasive tactics, displayed throughout the talks despite his declared aim of reaching, in his own words, a "speedy" solution. The kind of solution envisaged by Mr. Vassiliou, in the interest of satisfying his political allies, cannot be accepted by the Turkish Cypriot side so long as it does not recognize such basic concepts as equality, bi-zonality and power-sharing.

It will be recalled that the proposal for the implementation of deconfrontation measures in the Nicosia area, referred to in paragraph 14 of the

(Mr. Koray)

Secretary-General's report (S/20663) of 31 May 1989, was first made by the Turkish Cypriot side on 22 November 1988, together with a wide range of other proposals submitted in writing on the same day covering all aspects of a final settlement, but, as a good-will measure, subject to a separate agreement between the two sides outside the "integrated whole" concept governing the rest of the proposals. That Turkish Cypriot proposal was later expanded on 9 January 1989.

Thus, the subsequent proposals made by the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for the reciprocal pulling back of sentries in three locations in Nicosia were welcomed by the Turkish Cypriot side. The Turkish Cypriot readiness to implement those measures immediately by mutual agreement was expressed in unequivocal terms. However, the Greek Cypriot side politicized the issue and persisted with its negative attitude even after the two sides had accepted the text of the agreement that emerged as a result of intensive consultations by UNFICYP. The implementation of the agreed measures was delayed owing to pre-conditions put forward by the Greek Cypriot side. After almost two months, the Greek Cypriot side finally agreed to its implementation and the agreement went into effect on 17 May.

Other developments in Southern Cyprus have also marred the prospects of an early settlement in Cyprus. The hostile policies against the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, the ongoing armament efforts in South Cyprus, the border violations, the shooting incidents and the economic embargo imposed by the Greek Cypriot administration, to name but a few, are all obstacles to a peaceful solution on the island. In line with those policies, the Greek Cypriot administration is trying to undermine the existence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in an effort to extend its illegal authority over the whole island through every possible means.

(Mr. Koray)

The declared intention of the Greek Cypriot administration to apply for membership in the European Community should also be evaluated in that context. At a time when the two sides are engaged in an effort to unite under a federal roof, a unilateral application for Community membership, without the consent of the Turkish Cypriot side, will deal a blow, for obvious legal and political reasons, to the delicate negotiations that are being conducted on the basis of equality between the two sides. The Greek Cypriot administration cannot represent the Republic of Cyprus, which was destroyed 26 years ago by a conspiracy and armed aggression perpetrated by the Greek Cypriot side. Nor does the Greek Cypriot administration have any jurisdiction over Northern Cyprus. That being the case, the Greek Cypriot side cannot make an application for the whole of Cyprus that would, under the circumstances, discriminate against the Turkish Cypriots and be used as a political weapon to undermine the sovereignty of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Such a unilateral move, I emphasize, will have repercussions that must already be known to and well understood by all sides.

In spite of the bitter experiences of the past, I should like to stress once again that the Turkish Cypriot people continues to hope that, eventually, common sense and good-will will prevail in Southern Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriot side will continue, as it has done to this day, to play a constructive role in the process of negotiations. It will also continue to address the basic issues and principles central to a feasible and desirable federal solution, in the hope that the Greek Cypriot side will take note of and learn to respect the legitimate rights and concerns of the Turkish Cypriot people.

With those thoughts in mind, I do not wish to engage in acrimonious debate in the Council during the present phase of the ongoing negotiations in Cyprus.

(Mr. Koray)

Therefore, I shall refrain from responding to the various unfounded allegations put forward by the Greek Cypriot representative.

I would, however, like to draw the Council's attention to paragraph 11 of the Secretary-General's latest report concerning the Greek Cypriot women's demonstrations which were held on 19 March and which culminated, once again, in the violation of our borders. That incident has proved beyond any doubt that assurances given by the Greek Cypriots are unreliable and insincere. Prompt action taken by the Turkish Cypriot women on the same day gave the clear message that the Turkish Cypriots, who have been enjoying all rights and freedoms under a fully democratic administration, were prepared to stand up to protect those rights as well as their right to live in security in their own State. It also demonstrated that, contrary to the false notion entertained by the Greek Cypriot leadership, they did not await liberation by their Greek Cypriot counterparts. I am certain that the community of nations is gradually but surely coming to understand the present realities in Cyprus.

Turning now to the question of the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, I would like to reiterate that the resolution which has just been adopted by the Security Council is unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot side for the reasons that were outlined in previous Security Council debates on the matter. Any resolution that refers to the Greek Cypriot administration as the "Government of the Republic of Cyprus" is unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot side because it ignores the existing realities in Cyprus and attempts to negate the principle of equality between the two sides.

(Mr. Koray)

Notwithstanding its unavoidable rejection of the present resolution, for reasons I have already outlined, the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is nevertheless favourably disposed to accepting the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) on the territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, on the same basis as that stated in December 1988. Thus, our position continues to be that the principle, the scope and the modalities and procedures of co-operation between the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and UNFICYP shall be based only on decisions which shall be taken solely by the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Before concluding my statement, I wish to reiterate my Government's support for the Secretary-General's mission of good offices, entrusted to him by the Security Council under resolution 367 (1975), and the current efforts exerted under his valuable auspices to find a negotiated settlement in Cyprus. We assure him once again of our full co-operation in this regard. Similarly, we commend the efforts and invaluable contributions of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Oscar Camilion, and of Director Gustave Feissel. Under-Secretary-General Marrack Goulding's untiring efforts in respect of UNFICYP cannot go unmentioned. Finally, our congratulations go to the newly appointed Commander of UNFICYP, Major-General Clive Milner. We wish him every success in his important task in the island.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Koray for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Turkey, on whom I now call.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): As I begin this statement, I should like to extend to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. We are pleased to see as the President of the Security Council the representative of the United States, a country with which

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

Turkey has close and friendly relations. I am sure that the Security Council will greatly benefit from your diplomatic skills, wisdom and experience in dealing with sensitive international questions.

I wish, equally, to pay a tribute to Ambassador Tickell, who presided over the Council in May with great ability and distinction.

The Security Council is familiar with the views of my Government on the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), as we discuss this subject every six months in the Council. The resolution just adopted by the Council contains a number of elements which we do not accept. My Government cannot agree to an extension of UNFICYP's mandate on this basis. Mr. Koray, the representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, has just explained the position of his Government on the modalities governing UNFICYP's presence in his country. That position has the full backing of my Government.

On this occasion I should like to reiterate our total support for the good offices mission of the Secretary-General. We are thankful to him for his untiring efforts in facilitating the search for a negotiated settlement between the two sides in Cyprus. We trust his wisdom and his commitment to finding a just, negotiated solution. We have great respect also for his profound knowledge of the political realities of Cyprus.

We feel duty bound also to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Oscar Camilion, as well as to Director Gustave Feissal for their valuable contributions to the ongoing negotiating process. Finally, we congratulate Major-General Clive Milner on his recent appointment as Commander of UNFICYP and wish him success.

Whenever we speak on Cyprus, we remind representatives that this question can only be solved between the two parties in Cyprus - that is, the Turkish Cypriots

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

and the Greek Cypriots. Consequently, we are pleased to see the continuation of the dialogue between the two leaders in Cyprus which was initiated by the Secretary-General last year in August. As representatives will recall, the current round of negotiations became necessary because the Greek Cypriot side rejected the 1986 draft framework agreement proposed by the Secretary-General. It will also be recalled that the Turkish Cypriots had accepted this draft agreement in its entirety. The 1986 draft framework agreement was prepared by the Secretary-General after many months of comprehensive talks with the two parties. It covered all aspects of a lasting Cyprus settlement. It is our sincere hope that the intransigent posture of the Greek Cypriots is part of the past and that the current talks will lead to a positive outcome.

The aim of the negotiations now in progress is the establishment of a bicommunal, bizonal, federal State, based on the political equality of the two peoples in Cyprus. It is self-evident that federations are based on the union of equal peoples acting through their politically equal federated States. That will be the basis of a settlement in Cyprus. The principles of a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus have been defined in the course of previous negotiations, which have been going on since the mid-1970s within the context of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices. The Turkish Cypriots have given repeated proof of their readiness to abide by these principles.

The section dealing with good offices in the Secretary-General's report in document S/20663 gives a brief account of the current negotiations in Cyprus. This section would have been more complete if it had made some reference to the concrete proposals presented by President Denktash in the course of the negotiations, covering all the points in which the Greek Cypriot side had expressed an interest. We take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the leadership of the

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Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus for its positive and constructive attitude. By presenting comprehensive proposals covering all aspects of the Cyprus question, the Turkish Cypriot leadership has demonstrated its good will once again.

The Greek Cypriot side has not responded to the concrete and comprehensive Turkish Cypriot proposals presented in the course of the talks. The Greek Cypriot position paper of 30 January 1989, which was made public, is a repetition of views and arguments which had led previous efforts to end in deadlock. The Greek Cypriot paper would appear to be more in the nature of an exercise in public relations, rather than a basis for serious negotiations. We were deeply disturbed by the fact that the Greek Cypriot paper failed to address in a substantive manner such fundamental principles as political equality, bizonality and the security concerns of the Turkish Cypriots.

I shall refrain from entering into a discussion of the substance of the Cyprus question. However, we must bear in mind that this question started in 1963 with the forcible expulsion of the Turkish Cypriots from all organs of the partnership State by the Greek Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriot community lived its darkest days during the period stretching from 1963 to 1974. It is very important, indeed essential, that the bitter lessons of the past be fully taken into account in any settlement so as to preclude a repetition of past calamities.

After 10 months of negotiations between the two sides in Cyprus, we are pleased to see that the dialogue is continuing in a friendly atmosphere. However, there have been recent developments which could have an adverse effect on the atmosphere prevailing in the talks. As underlined in paragraph 11 of the Secretary-General's report, violent demonstrations organized with the encouragement of the Greek Cypriot authorities in or near the buffer zone can only have a negative effect on the negotiations. The growing military build-up in southern

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Cyprus is another ominous development that calls for close monitoring. The pace of rearmament in the south will only increase the suspicions and mistrust that separate the two sides in Cyprus. That, in turn, will lead to serious complications in the negotiations. As I stated before the Council last December, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has absolutely no territorial claims against its southern neighbour. At this delicate phase of the negotiations, such a military build-up is both provocative and unjustifiable. Another unhelpful development has been the declared intention of the Greek Cypriots to apply for full membership of the European Community. Such an application cannot be binding on Cyprus if it is not made with the consent and equal participation of the Turkish Cypriots. Such unilateral moves on the part of the Greek Cypriots are not only against the spirit of the negotiations now in progress: they also have the effect of hardening the division of the island.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

If we are to have a settlement on the island, there must be a new approach which will help bridge the gap separating the two states. Confidence-building measures must be devised and adopted. In this spirit, the Turkish Cypriots have made a number of proposals of a confidence-building nature. Unfortunately the Greek Cypriot leadership have remained unresponsive. In this context I should like to recall that one of President Denktas's confidence-building proposals for military deconfrontation in the Nicosia area has been implemented with the assistance of UNFICYP. We hope that the Greek Cypriot leadership will be able to approach President Denktas's other proposals with a new spirit of compromise so that more such positive developments can take place between the two Cypriot states.

In Cyprus, the Government of Turkey supports the Turkish Cypriots because, since the breakdown of the partnership State back in 1963, they have been the aggrieved party. It is they who suffered economic hardship. Their human rights have been consistently violated. Many from their community have been killed or maimed. But they have gallantly resisted all attempts to eliminate them as one of elements of the Cypriot scene. For the last 15 years, this small, embattled community has been living in its own State. It has established a democratic form of government and its citizens enjoy all basic human rights. Compared to the deprivation of the past, the Turkish Cypriots are flourishing economically. They are now prepared to bury the past and establish a federation with the Greek Cypriots. Their leader has entered into negotiations in a spirit of compromise and goodwill with the full support of Turkey. We hope this historic opportunity will be seized by the other side so that the 25-year-old division of Cyprus can finally be ended.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Turkey for his kind words addressed to me.

The representative of Cyprus wishes to speak. I call upon him.

Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): First, a mere remark for Mr. Koray: I think he had ample time between my intervention and his statement under rule 39 to correct the part about acrimonious debate and unfounded allegations. Because I really do not want to engage in acrimonious debate I shall not refer to the parts of his statement about the TRNC, an entity that was declared illegal in this very Chamber, or about the Government of Cyprus.

Concerning the Common Market, I should like to remind members, and this applies also to the representative of Turkey, that the Turkish Cypriot community is fully reaping the benefits of the Customs Union - which is just short of entering into the Common Market. It is fully reaping the benefit of the Customs Union, which was negotiated by the Government of Cyprus, as is its sovereign right.

On the build-up of forces, I hope that they will consider the proposal by President Vassiliou - both Turkey and the permanent members of the Security Council.

Finally, as for the events in 1963, replies have been given here in this Chamber time and again.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers for this meeting. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.