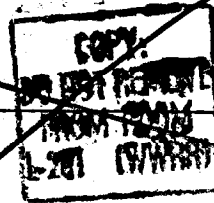




Security Council



PROVISIONAL

UN LIBRARY

S/PV.2898

14 December 1989

DEC 18 1989

ENGLISH

~~UN/DA COLLECTION~~

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
EIGHT HUNDRED AND NINETY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 14 December 1989, at 4 p.m.

President: Mr. PEÑALOSA

(Colombia)

Members:

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

Mr. BENDJAMA
Mr. DUARTE
Mr. FORTIER
Mr. LI Luye
Mr. TADESSE
Mr. TORNUDD
Mr. BLANC
Mr. HASMY
Mr. RANA
Mr. BA
Mr. BELONGOV
Mr. HUM
Mr. WATSON
Mr. JERKIC

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 6.40 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/21010 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): 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 (interpretation from Spanish): 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 an 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 President)

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

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 1 June to 4 December 1989, document S/21010 and Add.1. Members of the Council also have before them a draft resolution contained in document S/21020, which has been prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear an objection, I shall put the draft resolution (S/21020) 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 (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 646 (1989).

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

Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): Permit me at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on the assumption of your duties as President of the Security Council for the month of December. We are particularly pleased to see the presidency of the Security Council in the capable hands of the Permanent Representative of Colombia, a country with which Cyprus has always maintained close and cordial relations.

I should also like to extend congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Li Luye, the Permanent Representative of China, on the skilful manner in which he conducted the Council's work in November.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

Furthermore, I wish to commend and thank you, Mr. President, as well as the other members of the Security Council for having just adopted unanimously the resolution renewing for another period of six months the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and that of the Secretary-General's good offices mission. We welcome this decision and pledge the full co-operation of the Government of Cyprus with all officers and men of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus and to all the countries which contribute to its important work.

I also express our gratitude to General Clive Milner, the Force Commander, for the valuable services already rendered by him to the cause of peace in Cyprus since assuming his duties there earlier this year.

Our sincere thanks are more than due to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his perseverance and dedication, in the face of difficult obstacles, in pursuing his mission of good offices. It is noteworthy that the ninth summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries called for the removal of those obstacles. Thanks also go to his colleagues, Mr. Oscar Camilion, Mr. Marrack Goulding, Mr. Giandomenico Picco and Mr. Gustave Feissel.

I deem it appropriate to begin the substantive part of my statement with a reference to the most recent developments, those of the last fortnight, which have included the formal meetings of President Vassiliou and Mr. Denktash with the Secretary-General and the two separate lunches, hosted by the Secretary-General, in which President Vassiliou and Mr. Denktash respectively participated, together with the Presidents of the Council for November and December, the co-ordinators of the non-aligned caucus for November and December, and the permanent members of the Security Council. The Ambassador of Greece also took part in the lunch in honour of President Vassiliou.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

The aforesaid two lunches were singular in their importance, not only because it is imperative, as my Government has been advocating for quite some time now, to extend the current involvement of the Security Council, and especially its five permanent members, beyond the present almost ritualistic renewal of the two mandates, and this was a good beginning, but also because it gave a unique opportunity to the members of the Security Council, without the constraints of the rules of procedure and practice so necessary when formal decisions are taken, to know a lot more about Cyprus and why its problem remains unresolved and an occupation continues despite mandatory decisions of this principal organ, the Security Council, for more than 15 years.

Thus you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Security Council had the opportunity to compare positions, adherence to the peremptory norms of international law and human rights instruments, to observe the presence or absence of political volition and pragmatism or rhetoric, adherence to dialogue or naked negation.

Finally, you must have all stepped into the elevator on the 38th floor after the second lunch wondering whether both sides really, or at least equally, want a solution and, having realized the difficulties of the Secretary-General's task, probably resolved that you must move the soonest in the right direction to strengthen his hand.

The Secretary-General's two meetings with President Vassiliou in October and November last were business-like and quite successful, both agreeing that a meeting should be held in the near future during which President Vassiliou and Mr. Denktash, with the active participation and under the auspices of the Secretary-General, would discuss and agree on a framework for the solution of the Cyprus problem. The only prerequisite agreed to was that the talks would be

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

substantive and that all ideas, ending with those of the Secretary-General, as embodied in the document of 25 July 1989, would be discussed.

Unfortunately, the two parallel meetings with Mr. Denktash on 11 October and 4 December, as is evident from the brief communiqués issued by the United Nations immediately thereafter, but more so from the Secretary-General's report (S/21010) - to which you, Mr. President, have just referred - were not, to say the least, helpful.

Mr. Denktash during the first meeting apparently produced certain papers entirely out of order, totally inconsistent with the agreed basis and procedure for the talks, and, what is worse, set conditions which are in flagrant disregard of, and make a mockery of, the Council's own resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984). No doubt that is why the Secretary-General decided not to transmit these de facto and de jure non-existent documents to the Greek Cypriot side.

One should be reminded that the above tactic has been used in the past, always with the same intent, namely, as soon as a ray of optimism appears to throw a spanner into the works and wreck everything.

The second meeting, which was called in the hope of repairing the damage done during the first, was also unsuccessful in the sense, as we understand it, that the unacceptable conditions which cannot be discussed and are tantamount, inter alia, to the recognition of the unilateral declaration of independence and the right to separate self-determination and dismemberment of the Republic of Cyprus, are still there and, if anything, their priority of discussion was demanded.

More than 100 hours of direct talks between President Vassiliou and Mr. Denktash, under the auspices of the Secretary-General and in the presence of his Special Representative, Mr. Camilion, as well as three joint meetings with the Secretary-General himself here in New York, produced a set of ideas which was presented to both sides in writing by the Secretary-General on 25 July 1989.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

These ideas were considered by the Secretary-General as "food for thought", and their sole purpose was to help the two sides with their discussions, leading to the preparation, ostensibly by September 1989, of an outline of a comprehensive settlement.

Mr. Denktash's reaction was to reject the agreed negotiating procedure and challenge, openly, the role of the Secretary-General. First he refused to attend the talks on the pretext of tension created by the Ayios Kassianos peaceful march and then he refused to continue the talks, on the pretext of a "decision" of his so-called Assembly, unless the Secretary-General withdrew the ideas presented to both sides on 25 July. He also laid down many inadmissible pre-conditions, some of which I mentioned earlier in this statement.

The most striking feature of the Ayios Kassianos incident is the fact that while Greek Cypriot women were peacefully demonstrating their wish to return to their ancestral homes on the fifteenth anniversary of the invasion of Cyprus, the occupation forces forcefully violated the demilitarized zone and proceeded, through the use of unjustified and brutal force, to abduct over 100 women and a few high priests from a church where the liturgy was being conducted and take them to the occupied part of Cyprus. There they had to face a mockery of a trial for their "cardinal sin" of peacefully expressing their desire to return to their homes as guaranteed by international law and as provided for by the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

The whole action of the Turkish forces was aimed at exacerbating the situation and provided an excuse for disrupting the ongoing dialogue.

It is pertinent at this point to underline that the ideas presented by the Secretary-General were not a formal proposal on a take-it-or-leave-it basis, but formed a non-binding "food for thought" document in conformity with the mandate entrusted by you, the members of the Security Council, to the Secretary-General.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

The Greek Cypriot side certainly has reservations about some of these ideas, but unlike the other side we are willing to sit at the negotiating table and discuss them in a responsible and rational manner. We are bound to do so by our duty to the Security Council, which has given the mandate for facilitating the talks, but primarily by our duty to Cyprus and its people.

It is particularly regrettable that Turkey has consistently and brazenly supported Mr. Denktash in his repeated attempts to wreck the negotiations, and in doing so Ankara has aggravated the provocation to all those, including the Security Council and the Secretary-General, that have persistently and painstakingly laboured for so long to create the atmosphere and the pre-conditions for a lasting solution to the Cyprus problem.

The notion, obstinately cultivated by Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership, that Cyprus must remain divided and perpetually militarized with foreign troops and settlers on its soil, as demonstrated by the fact that during the last few months the Turkish side has been transporting and settling Bulgarian Moslems in Cyprus, in addition to the 65,000 settlers already transplanted there from Turkey itself while its people are deprived of their basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, is preposterous and unacceptable.

At a time when barriers are being demolished almost everywhere, when foreign troops are being withdrawn from third countries, when the dismantling of apartheid is at hand, Turkey and Mr. Denktash are seeking to institutionalize a system of segregation and separation of the Cypriot people based on ethnic origin. The message given by the historic developments in Europe and elsewhere is loud and clear, and the Turkish side cannot ignore it for long. The walls of division are demolished and there is an unprecedented rush towards co-operation and unification.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

My Government not only allows but encourages free movement across the occupation line that divides Cyprus. While noting a certain limited relaxation of restrictions on the movement of certain journalists only, by the other side, we must emphasize that only complete freedom of movement as well as the implementation of all freedoms as practised by the Government of Cyprus should be the objective. Reference should also be made to the expansion of the modest Turkish Cypriot work force that at present works in the Government-controlled areas and the payment of social insurance benefits for the Turkish Cypriots.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

It is the other side that maintains the rigid division of Cyprus, and it was a prominent Turkish Cypriot leader who, on learning about the tumbling down of the infamous Berlin Wall, declared arrogantly, "The Berlin Wall may have crumbled, but the division of Cyprus is here to stay." The illegal authorities of Mr. Denktash have repeatedly refused to allow a large number of people from the Turkish Cypriot community, including representatives of interest groups, to join their Greek Cypriot compatriots and discuss matters of common interest that could promote rapprochement and mutual trust. Occasionally they may permit crossing by individuals, but this is done selectively and arbitrarily for reasons that suit the narrow interests of the illegal régime.

We support unreservedly any confidence-building measures, as long as they do not aim at direct or indirect recognition of the secessionist pseudo-State, which, as everybody will recall, was condemned by the Security Council in resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984). I remind members that the Security Council, by resolution 550 (1984), inter alia, calls for the transfer of the city of Varosha to the administration of the United Nations and considers attempts to settle any part of it by people other than its inhabitants inadmissible. As the President told the Secretary-General recently, it would indeed have been a gesture of goodwill and a confidence-building measure par excellence if the Turkish side, instead of threatening to colonize this occupied city with foreign settlers, had abided by the Security Council resolution, which, as we all know, is mandatory.

But there is also another matter in respect of which the Turkish side might demonstrate goodwill and a measure of sensitivity to prolonged human suffering. I refer to the purely humanitarian question of the missing persons in Cyprus, which has remained unresolved for 15 unendurable years. The effectiveness of the

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

Committee on Missing Persons can only improve with the support and active co-operation of the Turkish side - something that has been sadly lacking.

Our readiness to negotiate is well known to everyone by now, even if it has been put to the test time and again. In the face of persistent efforts by the Turkish side to destroy the ongoing dialogue process, the Cyprus Government has intensified its efforts towards the creation of the conditions necessary for meaningful and substantive negotiations.

It is imperative that the international community, and the Security Council in particular, strengthen the role of the Secretary-General, assisting him to overcome the obstacles that have arisen. Only a few days ago, at the conclusion of the summit meeting in Strasbourg, the European Economic Community expressed its deep concern, by approving a statement on Cyprus expressing its disquiet at the tragic division of Cyprus and its regret at the lack of progress despite the Secretary-General's efforts, and reiterating its appeal to all parties to co-operate with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Cyprus so as to overcome the obstacles to the pursuit of dialogue. It asked them not to miss the opportunity for a just and lasting settlement that would safeguard the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

The Greek-Cypriot side continues, as always, to adhere to the basis and procedure of the negotiations, and we hope that the efforts of the Secretary-General will bear fruit and that the Turkish side will agree to come back to the negotiating table for substantive talks.

Before closing, I should like to share some thoughts and sentiments on the issue. When, every six months, the subject of the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) comes before this body it

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

is always our earnest hope that it will be for the last time, that a solution will be found to the Cyprus problem and that all its people will at long last be vindicated.

Appearing before the Security Council today, I have to admit that such thoughts are once again in my mind. It is my hope that, despite all the setbacks, the winds of change now sweeping over the world will make their presence felt in Cyprus and that, with the Security Council's active assistance and help, the Secretary-General will be able successfully to see through his mandate on Cyprus. We earnestly hope that, at long last, a meaningful and result-oriented dialogue on the Cyprus problem can commence and that, in keeping with the general mood of our times, a spirit of rapprochement, co-operation and dialogue will eventually prevail in Cyprus in the same way as it has prevailed in many other parts of the world.

President Vassiliou and the Government of Cyprus have already given ample testimony to our political will for a fruitful and constructive dialogue. An appropriate message from the Security Council in the right direction might ensure reciprocity.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): 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 now call.

Mr. ZEPOS (Greece): Please accept our warmest congratulations, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I wish to assure you of our total confidence that you will discharge with success the important duties vested in that high office. Greece maintains with Colombia the closest and most friendly relations of co-operation. We share with the Government of your country

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

all the concerns regarding well-known problems of particular gravity and wish to assure you again of our support.

I also take the opportunity to extend sincere congratulations to your predecessor in the presidency, the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China, Ambassador Li Luye, on the skilful and successful manner in which he discharged the duties of President last month.

My Government fully shares the view, expressed by the Secretary-General in his latest report, dated 7 December, that the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) remains indispensable. It therefore concurs in the extension of the Force's mandate, having taken note of the agreement to that effect by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus. We equally wish it to be on record that we welcome the reassertion by the Security Council of the importance it attaches to the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General and the request to him to continue his mission and to keep the Council informed on the progress made. We welcome any action or initiative, formal or informal, designed to keep the members of this Council closely and fully informed of developments in Cyprus.

When I was addressing the Council on a previous similar occasion, on 9 June, I concluded by expressing reservations as to whether there was sufficient reason to be optimistic about the course that intercommunal talks in Cyprus would take during the second half of this year. I deeply regret that I was confirmed in my pessimism. As the Secretary-General has pointed out, unfortunately it is not possible for him to report the achievement of any concrete results. The Permanent Representative of Cyprus has given the Council a full account of the reasons underlying this regrettable lack of progress. Following the initiative taken by the Secretary-General in August 1988, it became obvious that his sustained

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

efforts - for which we are deeply grateful to him - in which he was assisted by his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Oscar Camilion, could lead, through a new approach to the problem, to successive steps towards an outline which, in a non-binding manner, would reflect the position taken by each side. Regrettably, this evolution of progress was frustrated when the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, under various pretexts, suspended his attendance at the talks carried out under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

The initiative undertaken by the Secretary-General in August 1988 was obviously based on the purposes and principles of the United Nations and on what is prescribed in Security Council resolutions. The modalities agreed on for pursuing the talks specifically refer to the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979, which set out in sufficiently clear lines the framework of an overall solution to be agreed upon. We are further convinced that it would be inconceivable for claims or proposals presented during the intercommunal talks to depart from basic rules of international law or from the resolutions of the United Nations and other international bodies that have authoritatively pronounced themselves on this issue.

Among the latter, I feel I am entitled to refer to the European Council of Heads of State or Government of the 12 States members of the European Community, which has met twice in recent weeks to consider developments of extraordinary importance in Europe. The leaders of the 12 European nations had the opportunity to evaluate the significance of the new changes now under way which seem gradually to be sweeping away the barriers which have divided Europe. Their evaluation has a broader political significance as those developments certainly affect other developments that are more closely examined in the framework of the United Nations. The Cyprus problem has always been, and remains, a European problem too. I wish to draw attention to the reference made to it by the European leaders in their statement regarding overall developments on the continent, on the occasion of their most recent meeting, held on 8 December:

"The European Council expressed its deep disquiet that the tragic division of Cyprus, a country belonging to the European family, remains unchanged despite the renewed efforts over 15 months by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. It also reiterated its appeal to all parties to

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

co-operate with Mr. Perez de Cuellar and his representative on the spot so as to overcome the obstacles to the pursuit of dialogue. It asked them not to miss this opportunity for a just and lasting settlement that will safeguard the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations".

Today, in 1989, we recognize in the problem of Cyprus a 50-year-old common traumatic experience: that which living generations have experienced in Europe as a result of foreign military occupation, devastation, division and disrespect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. We fail to see what hope we can entertain for a solution of this problem unless we have an assurance that the Turkish occupying forces and Turkish settlers will withdraw from Cyprus, that the fundamental freedoms of movement, establishment and the right to property will be respected and that the people of Cyprus in their entirety will enjoy the fruits of co-operation and unity without external interference or intervention.

Regrettably, from the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot sides we have recently heard only claims to partition and division, as indicated, inter alia, by a statement to the press made by Mr. Denktash on 4 December.

I wish equally to underline the gravity of attempts made recently by the Turkish side to alter the demographic structure of Cyprus and to promote faits accomplis, inter alia by the settlement in the northern occupied part of the territory of the Republic of foreign nationals originating from a Muslim community in a third country. I had the opportunity in an aide mémoire dated 11 August 1989 and a note verbale dated 16 June 1989 addressed to the Secretary-General and transmitted to the members of the Security Council to draw attention to the position of my Government condemning such attempts. I should not have to emphasize

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

that the Greek Government deplores every act which, like the examples I mentioned, undermines the efforts of the Secretary-General and precludes progress towards an agreed solution. For that purpose we would welcome measures to enhance confidence between the two communities of Cyprus, and, hence, we recommend primarily that the Council should have in mind what paragraph 5 of its resolution 550 (1984) calls for, namely that 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, not to mention reviving a town that is still deserted.

I wish in conclusion to express appreciation for the delicate task and mission of the Commander of UNFICYP, Major-General Clive Milner, and of the military and civilian personnel of the Force, and for the devotion with which they discharge their important responsibilities. They should take as a reaffirmation of our appraisal of their task the fact that the existence of UNFICYP is, inter alia, a reflection of the problem created by the Turkish invasion: Demonstrations from those who long to return peacefully to their homes or to perform acts of worship in churches within the buffer zone should not be considered as unlawful acts but as human manifestations from those to whom our primary concern is directed. There can be no comparison between the case of those demonstrators and the Turkish forces, which in no way can be justified in having forced their way into the buffer zone in various circumstances described in the report of the Secretary-General.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Greece for the kind words he 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 should like 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 Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for a further period of six months. I should like also to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of December.

My congratulations go also to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of China, for the skilful manner in which he conducted the Council's work during the month of November.

As members know, my President, His Excellency Mr. Rauf Denktash, met the Secretary-General on 4 December to discuss the modalities for the resumption of the talks between the two leaders in Cyprus, which have been stalled owing to the pre-conditions put forward by the Greek Cypriot leader. It will be recalled that at their previous meeting, on 11 October, President Denktash had presented to the Secretary-General certain substantive ideas to secure the early resumption of the stalled talks.

At that meeting President Denktash explained to the Secretary-General the Turkish Cypriot position in the face of ever-increasing Greek Cypriot intransigence and opposition, and made some proposals on how the negotiations could be meaningfully pursued given all the difficulties. Those proposals are designed to enable the two leaders to define the basis of a new pattern of relationship between the two peoples through a joint declaration, and also to prepare, through substantive direct talks, the main features of an outline for a comprehensive settlement.

(Mr. Koray)

In paragraph 41 of the Secretary-General's latest report (S/21010) of 7 December 1989 reference is made to the suggestions of President Denktash, without, however, giving any details. We have been assured that the Greek Cypriot authorities are in possession of those suggestions. In paragraphs 43 and 44 of the report we see that the Secretary-General has transformed President Denktash's suggestions for a "joint declaration" into a "joint statement", and that Mr. Vassiliou has, in effect, rejected that suggestion. In order to let everybody judge for himself the grave situation created by Mr. Vassiliou's rejection, I will read out the text of the "Draft Joint Declaration" as proposed by President Denktash. It reads as follows:

"The Turkish Cypriot leader and the Greek Cypriot leader,

"Acting on behalf of their respective peoples to whom sovereignty was jointly transferred in 1960 and who had, as co-founder partners, established together the bicomunal 'Republic of Cyprus',

"Bearing in mind the experiences and the sufferings of the past and determined to ensure their non-recurrence,

"Willing to work towards the establishment of a federation that will be bicomunal as regards the constitutional aspect and bizonal as regards the territorial aspect,

"Wishing for this purpose to negotiate, within the framework of the mission of good offices of the United Nations Secretary-General, a comprehensive settlement based on the 1977 and 1978 High Level Agreements,

"Having agreed that the comprehensive settlement will be approved through separate referenda by the two peoples in accordance with their inherent right to self-determination as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations,

(Mr. Koray)

"1. Acknowledge the distinct cultural, religious and national identity of each people whose human rights, including political, economic, social and cultural rights, should be safeguarded under a comprehensive settlement;

"2. Express their conviction that:

- (a) The relationship of the two peoples should be based on mutual respect for each other's existence, integrity and political equality,
- (b) Each side should actively work to bring about such a relationship,
- (c) The two peoples should peacefully coexist and enjoy security without being confronted with the danger of the use of force or the threat of the use of force or violence of any kind,

"3. Underline the historic necessity of following a policy of friendship and co-operation with their respective motherlands and of promoting peaceful and friendly relations with all countries in conformity with the principles of non-alignment,

"4. Pledge to work towards the drafting of an outline for a comprehensive settlement as an integrated whole on the basis of which the two sides will undertake further negotiations in order to prepare a peace agreement and the subsequent arrangements for a federation by taking into account the foregoing considerations,

"5. Agree to align their positions with the peaceful aim of the current negotiating process under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General, to change accordingly all contradictory practices and to refrain from any political, military, economic, commercial and cultural action which would in essence impair the efforts for a negotiated settlement."

At this juncture it must be stressed that the success of the forthcoming meeting or meetings will depend on the acceptance by the Greek Cypriot side of

(Mr. Koray)

certain principles and guidelines, such as those embodied in our "joint declaration" proposal, which will essentially form the basis of a genuine federation between the two peoples based on equality, bizonality and power-sharing. The "joint declaration" aims at eliminating the difficulties created so far as a result of the persistent reluctance on the part of the Greek Cypriot side to address the issues realistically and in a constructive manner.

We believe that a federation can be established only between peoples who regard each other no longer as adversaries but as legitimate partners whom they can trust. As long as the Greek Cypriot side is pursuing a policy of hostility against the Turkish Cypriot side, the establishment of a new partnership State will remain a remote possibility. Our proposals are based on this simple logic: reconciliation has to precede a political association.

We hope that the Secretary-General will use his good judgement in approaching this issue in the light of the proposals made by the Turkish Cypriot side and urge the Greek Cypriot side to assume an accommodating stance.

We realize that the task of the Secretary-General in this regard will not be easy, for we know for a fact that the efforts of the Greek Cypriot administration have never been directed towards the achievement of a federal settlement in the island. Time has shown that the Greek Cypriot leaders do not have the political will to give up their usurped and illegal status of "the Government of Cyprus" in favour of a federal settlement. Since the coming to power of Mr. Vassiliou in February 1988 the pace of arms build-up in South Cyprus has accelerated significantly. Enormous sums have been spent by the Vassiliou administration for the purchase of sophisticated assault weapons, missiles, tanks and military vehicles from various countries. At the same time the Greek Cypriot National Guard has been reinforced by vastly increasing its manpower and by the formation of

(Mr. Koray)

militia groups along the borders. Preparations are also under way to employ women in military units. We have on many occasions during the past year drawn the attention of the Secretary-General and the world community to this dangerous trend in South Cyprus in our numerous letters on the subject. We have stated that the armament programme implemented by the Greek Cypriot administration is totally inconsistent with the spirit of the negotiations and that it is the major cause of tension and mistrust between the two peoples. On 30 November 1989 the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. Francis Maude, in reply to a question put to him in the House of Commons, after confirming that the Greek Cypriots are pursuing a substantial arms-purchasing programme for the Greek Cypriot National Guard, stated:

"We have made clear our view that such measures do nothing to help create the right climate for resuming the intercommunal talks, which have been stalled since last June."

It is surprising that no specific reference is made to those efforts of the Greek Cypriot side in the Secretary-General's latest report, when even the Greek Cypriots themselves are not making any secret of it. In view of that fact we have no alternative but to ask that our letters on the subject to the Secretary-General be circulated as Security Council and General Assembly documents.

(Mr. Koray)

Mr. George Vassiliou's attempts to pass himself off as a leader committed to an early settlement have failed. His smooth words have been contradicted by his tough deeds. So far, the course of action taken by the Greek Cypriot administration under Mr. Vassiliou has been aimed at antagonizing the Turkish Cypriots, spreading animosity among the Greek Cypriots against the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and undermining the process of negotiation. As a result of the policies pursued by Mr. Vassiliou, the two peoples have drifted farther apart during recent months.

Ever since Mr. Vassiliou's election as the Greek Cypriot leader, numerous demonstrations and border violations have taken place in Cyprus. The Greek Cypriot demonstrations and border violations on July 19 were a glaring example of Greek Cypriot defiance and arrogance towards the Turkish Cypriots. On that day, thousands of aggressive Greek Cypriot demonstrators had occupied the buffer zone in the Kafesli area chanting provocative slogans. Some of those aggressors, equipped with special cutters, hammers and gloves, then broke through UNFICYP lines and entered Turkish Cypriot territory, and were arrested by the Turkish Cypriot police and tried in Turkish Cypriot courts for illegal entry through our borders.

For the next three days, the Greek Cypriot demonstrators, together with all of the Greek Cypriot political party leaders, the Archbishop, and the Commander of the Greek Cypriot National Guard, violated the buffer zone in complete disregard of UNFICYP, which, unfortunately, was unable to contain them. Those brazen acts were in breach of the Deconfrontation Agreement which had been reached in May 1989 between the two sides.

Unfortunately, the Secretary-General's latest report not only fails to make any reference to the fact that the buffer zone remained occupied by the Greek

(Mr. Koray)

Cypriots for more than three days, but also gives misleading information with regard to the location at which the arrests took place. Also, paragraph 11 (a) also tries to put the blame on the Turkish Cypriot police by claiming that they "forced their way into the area". That is incorrect. The Turkish Cypriot police remained on their territory and never entered the buffer zone. Turkish Cypriot security forces have been patrolling that very area for years, and it should also be noted that that is one of the areas that was unmanned in conformity with the unmanning agreement referred to in paragraph 10 of the same report. How could the Turkish Cypriot side unman an area if it was not under its jurisdiction and control?

The hostile actions of the Greek Cypriots did not end with that incident. Since then, on at least three other occasions, the Greek Cypriots have staged demonstrations on our borders and have attempted to make illegal entries into our territory.

The Greek Cypriot leader, in line with his predecessors' long-standing policies of internationalization of the Cyprus issue, has not hesitated to take the issue to various international bodies with a view to extracting one-sided resolutions, contrary to the process of meaningful negotiations. The most recent examples of such unacceptable and harmful resolutions are those adopted at the non-aligned Conference in Belgrade and the Commonwealth Summit Meeting in Kuala Lumpur. On both occasions, Mr. Vassiliou boasted about his foreign policy successes and was adamant that the issue had been placed in its proper context, whereas the resolutions reflected only the views of the Greek Cypriot side and ran counter to the legitimate rights and interests of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. All along, Mr. Vassiliou has opted for and counted on the intervention of third parties while avoiding meaningful negotiations.

(Mr. Koray)

With respect to the process of negotiations itself, since May 1989 Mr. Vassiliou has evaded direct and result-oriented negotiations with the Turkish Cypriot side. The disruption in the process of negotiations has come about as a result of the efforts by the Vassiliou administration to undermine the agreed procedure for direct negotiations on the basis of equality between the two sides in Cyprus under the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General. Mr. Vassiliou put forward unacceptable pre-conditions for the resumption of the negotiations behind a smoke-screen of conciliatory statements. Obviously, he was not interested in a meaningful dialogue, but was seeking to impose his own conditions with the help of third parties for a settlement that would only satisfy his own political goals. The Turkish Cypriot side had to react to those manoeuvres. The Legislative Assembly of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus reviewed the deadlock created by the Greek Cypriot side and resolved, on 23 August 1989, that negotiations could only start without any pre-conditions and without outside interference.

There are many initial steps that have to be taken by the Greek Cypriot side before the process of reconciliation between the two peoples can start. Obviously, violent demonstrations, the military build-up, economic embargo measures and similar policies are not conducive to peace and rapprochement in the island.

The Turkish Cypriot side has done more than its fair share with respect to good-will measures, with no positive response from the other side. All of our good-will measures and proposals have either been rejected outright or have been subjected to political propaganda and exploitation by the Greek Cypriot side. A most recent good-will measure came into effect on 17 November with regard to entry formalities into the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus from the South. We had expected the Greek Cypriots to reciprocate by altering their present policy of restricting border-crossings between the North and the South. But once again, the Greek Cypriot leadership has failed to do so. Greek Cypriot journalists wishing to

(Mr. Koray)

take advantage of the new possibilities for crossing the border were discouraged - and at one point prevented - by the Greek Cypriot authorities from doing so. All in all, the Greek Cypriot restrictions for foreign nationals who wish to travel between the North and the South remain in effect.

I should further add that, instead of adopting a constructive stance vis-à-vis Turkish Cypriot measures to ease border crossings between the two States, the Greek Cypriot propaganda machine has attempted to draw a fallacious parallel between the opening of the Berlin Wall and the situation in Nicosia. It is well known that the so-called Green Line in Nicosia was drawn as a result of the Greek Cypriot armed attacks that began in December 1963. The current border in Cyprus is the outcome of the conflicting interests and aspirations of two peoples with different languages, cultures, religions, traditions and historical perceptions. For the Turkish Cypriots, the border stands for liberation and security.

The following excerpt, which is taken from the "Talking Points" delivered to the Secretary-General by President Denktash at their meeting on 4 December, and the full text of which I have already communicated to the members of the Security Council, sums up the position of the Turkish Cypriot side with regard to the developments that are taking place in Eastern Europe:

"The historic developments in Eastern Europe stem from the exercise of the right to self-determination. People everywhere want to exercise that inalienable right in freedom in order to shape their future with their own free will. But the Greek Cypriot side is misreading these developments. On our part, we are watching with close interest the profound transformation taking place in multinational federal States and the constitutional reform movements that are redefining intergovernmental relations within a

(Mr. Koray)

federation. The experience of the single German nation divided into two States and the very cautious attitude of the world as well as of the two German States themselves with regard to the possibility of a future German reunification also provide many lessons to be pondered. We have noted with interest the 10-point proposal made on the reunification stages by the Federal Republic of Germany and the reply of the German Democratic Republic. Binational Cyprus does not compare as such with the German experience, but one cannot miss the very valid point that even within a single national unit the way to reunification goes through co-operation, a relationship based on agreements, the development of confederative institutions on the way to a federation in the future and the exercise of the right to self-determination."

(Mr. Koray)

We are still waiting for the Greek Cypriot mentality to change in Cyprus. The Greek Cypriot leadership still clings to its usurped status of the so-called Government of Cyprus and conducts a world-wide campaign of propaganda against the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. At the same time, its unfounded claims of sovereignty over Northern Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriots are used as a pretext for acts of aggression, threats of violence and the ongoing economic embargo and other restrictive measures in all fields against the Turkish Cypriot people. The mentality that destroyed the bicomunal partnership State by force of arms in 1963 in the cause of enosis - or union with Greece - is still prevalent in South Cyprus. The Greek Cypriot leader has used such terms as "strategic minority" and "400-year-old guests in Cyprus" to describe the Turkish Cypriots. On a daily basis, the war-mongering Greek General in command of the Greek Cypriot National Guard utters threats of attack to "recapture the North" when the conditions are ripe. Only recently a Greek Cypriot spokesman stated that his administration would not accept the equal status or the equal participation rights of the Turkish Cypriots in any future settlement.

The aggressive and hostile policies of the Greek Cypriot administration of South Cyprus constitute a formidable impediment in the way of a federal settlement in Cyprus. In the circumstances it would be naive to assume that the Greek Cypriots would change their attitude towards the Turkish Cypriots from one day to the next. The indications are not very hopeful. If they persist in these policies, relations between the two peoples will deteriorate and the divergence of views will be further amplified.

The views of the Turkish Cypriot people on the present and future relations between the two sides were reflected in a recent poll conducted in Northern Cyprus

(Mr. Koray)

by an opinion research firm associated with Gallup. The results are clearly indicative of the deep mistrust of their southern neighbours prevailing among Turkish Cypriots and of their misgivings about the true ambitions of the Greek Cypriots. I shall now relate some of the results that emerged from this poll, which should be of some interest to all concerned: 92.5 per cent of those questioned stated that they did not trust the Greek Cypriots; 67.5 per cent said that the ultimate goal of the Greek Cypriots was enosis - union with Greece; 63.8 per cent stated that the reason for the Greek Cypriot military build-up was to attack the Turkish Cypriots when conditions were ripe. A related question was, "What would be the most appropriate solution to the Cyprus question?": 54.5 per cent said "Continuation of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus"; 21.3 per cent said "Confederation of the two States"; and 22.4 per cent said "Bicommunal, bizonal federation". Then only those who preferred a bicommunal, bizonal federation were asked, "Are you ready to live together with the Greek Cypriots under a federal roof?": 69.6 per cent of this group said no. I believe that no further comment is necessary, as the statistics speak for themselves.

Although we have additional observations with regard to the report in document S/21010, it will suffice at this time to place on record our general reservations and to inform members of the Council that these matters will be taken up with the United Nations Secretariat and UNFICYP at appropriate levels in the period ahead.

Turning now to the question of the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, I should like to reiterate that the resolution that has just been adopted by the Security Council is unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot side, for the reasons outlined in previous Security Council debates on this matter. Any resolution which refers to the Greek Cypriot administration as the "Government of the Republic

(Mr. Koray)

of Cyprus" is unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot side because such resolutions ignore the existing realities in Cyprus and attempt to negate the principle of the equality of the two sides.

Notwithstanding its unavoidable rejection of the present resolution, for the reasons I have just outlined, the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is nevertheless favourably disposed to accept the presence of UNFICYP on the territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, on the same basis as that stated in June 1989. 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 taken solely by the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

I wish to reiterate my Government's support for the mission of good offices of the United Nations Secretary-General entrusted to him by the Security Council under resolution 367 (1975). We assure him once again of our full co-operation in this regard. We also commend the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and of the Force Commander in Cyprus.

I should like to conclude by making an appeal to the Greek Cypriot side. We do not have much time. This may be our last chance. Either we forge a new partnership based on the present realities or we shall miss the boat. The Greek Cypriots should realize that a prelude to a new partnership will come only through a genuine commitment, in the form of a "joint declaration", to peace and reconciliation, to a pattern of relationship based on friendship and co-operation and to the right to equality and self-determination of the two peoples in the island.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the representative of Turkey, on whom I now call.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): I wish to begin, Sir, by extending to you our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. We are confident that under your able guidance the Security Council will deal successfully with the sensitive international problems before it.

My delegation also wishes to pay a tribute to the Permanent Representative of China, Ambassador Li Luye, who skilfully presided over the Council in November.

Every six months my delegation has had the opportunity to state its position on the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). I need not go into the details of this position once again. I will merely reiterate that the resolution just adopted by the Council contains a number of elements which are not acceptable to my Government. We cannot agree to an extension of UNFICYP's mandate on this basis.

What is referred to as the "Government of Cyprus" in the resolution actually represents the Greek Cypriot community living in the southern part of the island. It exercises authority only over its own part of the island. It cannot represent the Turkish Cypriots, who, after being forcibly expelled from the bicomunal Cypriot Government by the Greek Cypriots back in 1963, established their own administration in the following year and, after regrouping in the northern part of Cyprus following the events of 1974, eventually set up the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The representative of this State, Mr. Koray, has just explained the position of his Government on the modalities governing UNFICYP's presence in his country.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

My Government fully supports this position and asks the Council to take note of the helpful stand of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which makes possible the proper functioning of UNFICYP in the island.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

We have listened to the statements from the other side of the table and noted that they contained the customary distortions and allegations. I will not reply to those allegations because they have already been replied to on many previous occasions.

I would like to draw the Council's attention to the fact that the question of Cyprus has been with us for 26 years. At the root of this question lies the Greek Cypriots' refusal to treat the Turkish Cypriots as true and equal partners. If the current negotiations are to yield positive results, the Greek Cypriots will have to bring themselves to reappraise their relationship with the Turkish Cypriots and make some fundamental changes. The present confrontational and deeply hostile attitude of the Greek Cypriots towards the Turkish Cypriots is bound to result in failure to make progress in the negotiations. It is to overcome this major obstacle to progress that President Denktash has, during the current round of negotiations which started in August 1988, submitted a great number of proposals that would bring the two communities closer to one another. It is a matter of deep regret to the Government of Turkey that those overtures have never met with any appropriate Greek Cypriot response.

In fact, the Greek Cypriots have pursued their relentless campaign of vilification and persisted in their policy of isolating the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus from all international contacts. They have violated the basic human rights of the Turkish Cypriot people by attempting to deny them the right to communicate and travel freely. They have done everything in their power to hinder the economic development of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. They have also engaged in a reckless rearmament campaign which can only alarm the Turkish Cypriots and sow the seeds of even greater distrust between the two communities. These irresponsible policies have been carried out while the Secretary-General has been trying to get the two leaders to engage in meaningful negotiations. How can

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

these policies be reconciled with a negotiating process whose objective is the creation of a federal union out of two separate States? How can these implacable policies be squared with the picture of Mr. Vassiliou as a conciliatory and flexible leader which the world has somehow been led to accept?

At this point, I would like to refer to the text of the joint declaration proposed by President Denktash, which has been quoted by the representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in his statement. Such a joint declaration would form an integral part of a draft outline of a comprehensive settlement in Cyprus. It is to prepare such an agreed outline that the two leaders will probably meet early next year.

Here I should like to quote from the Secretary-General's report. In paragraph 48 he states that "there can be no doubt that the negotiations and the overall atmosphere are closely interrelated". The Secretary-General also states that "the success of negotiations depends to a large extent on the message that the two communities convey to each other". President Denktash's joint-declaration proposal should be assessed in the light of the Secretary-General's views I have just quoted.

The purpose of this joint declaration is to clarify the relationship between the two Cypriot States and to bring about a lessening of tensions between them. Mr. Vassiliou could not even acknowledge receiving this text let alone accepting it. I am sorry to say that this hard-line, rejectionist attitude augurs ill for the future of negotiations. Let me emphasize once again that the joint declaration is designed to put an end to all hostile actions between the two Cypriot States. The time has come when Mr. Vassiliou must make a choice. Either he will abide by the spirit of the joint declaration and make it possible for meaningful negotiations to continue, or he will proceed with his present uncompromising policies which aggravate the Turkish Cypriots and frustrate the efforts of the

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

Secretary-General. The negotiation and acceptance of a joint declaration will be the acid test by which Mr. Vassiliou's true intentions will be measured by the Council.

As regards the report contained in document S/21010, we are not completely satisfied that the necessary efforts have been made to render an even-handed account of the situation in Cyprus during the last six months. While the Greek Cypriot rearmament efforts and hostile activities have been glossed over, the constructive efforts of President Denktash have not been duly reflected. Similarly, the positive steps taken by the Turkish Cypriot authorities to facilitate contacts between the two communities have not been given adequate emphasis in the report.

I will not proceed to cite in detail our numerous reservations regarding the report before us. I am sure that the representatives of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus will take these matters up with the Secretariat and the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) in due course. However, I should like to register our dissatisfaction with the general tenor of the report, which, because it is less than even-handed, is unhelpful to the negotiating process and does a disservice to the Secretary-General's good offices mission.

Having said that, I should like to reiterate that my Government fully supports the Secretary-General's mission of good offices and continues to believe that the only way to achieve a just and lasting solution that can lead to a federation of the two Cypriot States is through direct negotiations conducted on a footing of complete equality. Such a settlement must be based on the justified concerns and the legitimate aspirations of the two Cypriot peoples. All outside attempts to impose a settlement are condemned to fail.

Before concluding, I should like to express our thanks to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Oscar Camilion, for his patient

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

efforts in the island over the last six months. We would also like to express our appreciation to the Commander of UNFICYP, Major-General Milner, for the soldierly way he has carried out his duties under sometimes difficult circumstances.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Turkey for his kind words addressed to me.

I call on the representative of Cyprus.

Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): There are only two or three points I should like to raise.

First, it is really regrettable that the representative of the very State that is responsible for the drama of Cyprus comes before the Council and attempts to deny, in complete solitude, that the Government of Cyprus is the Government of the Republic of Cyprus and even proceeds to call this very Council null and void and illegal and asks us, as a government, to withdraw the unilateral declaration of independence. This is really most surprising.

Secondly, as to the "reckless rearmament campaign in Cyprus", as it was called, I should like to remind you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council that this allegation emanates from the country which has the second largest army of an alliance, the number of which exceeds by far the total population of Cyprus, the country that maintains at least almost 400 armoured vehicles and tanks on the soil of a tiny island.

Finally, a word about the joint declaration. One should read paragraph 44 of the Secretary-General's report. If "joint declaration" means that we are going to recognize either the UDI or the fait accompli that was created through the use of force and arms, either directly or indirectly, they are sadly mistaken, and it is an insult to the intelligence of the principal organ of the United Nations.

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

Mr. ZEFOS (Greece): I do not wish to engage in a substantive dialogue at this stage. I only wish, with your permission, Mr. President, to suggest that you consider placing a procedural proposal before the Council.

What I am suggesting is that you might wish to place before the members of the Council a proposal - in the light of Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984), and bearing in mind rules 27, 29, 37 and 39 of the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure - that precedence should be given to representatives of Member States who wish to address the Council over persons entitled to address the Council under rule 39.

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

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): I know it is very late, and I shall not speak at length. I would merely point out that the armed forces of Turkey are the armed forces of Turkey and they are designed to defend Turkey; they have nothing to do with what is going on in Cyprus. The reckless rearmament policies of the Greek Cypriots are a direct threat to the Turkish Cypriots; they are a direct threat to the Turkish Cypriot State.

As regards the attempts from the other side of the table to cast doubts on the Turkish Cypriot State, let me say that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has all the attributes of a State, including population, territory and sovereignty. It has all the institutions that a properly constituted State should have. Furthermore, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is a country of laws. It is democratic and pluralistic and is an open society. Its citizens enjoy all human rights and freedoms. In the recent past these citizens have fought repeatedly to preserve their freedom and dignity against the racist assaults of the Greek side. They have succeeded against all odds in creating a model State. Turkey is proud to recognize the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as an independent State - because that is what it is.

In agreeing to form a federation with the Greek Cypriots, the Turkish Cypriots have made a major concession and given proof of their conciliatory position on the question of Cyprus. It should not be forgotten in the Council - and I am sorry I have to remind it again of this, in view of what has been said from the other side - that it was the Turkish Cypriots who accepted the draft framework agreement prepared by the Secretary-General in 1986, and it was the Greek Cypriots who rejected it.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I call on the representative of Cyprus.

Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): I shall be extremely brief. I do not think I need to make any reply concerning the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus - or whatever they call it - in view of the mandatory decisions of the Council. But as regards the Turkish army, may I take it that the statement that it has nothing to do with Cyprus means that they will withdraw the 36,000 troops they have in Cyprus?

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

Mr. ZEROS (Greece): I submit again to the members of the Security Council for their consideration that, in assessing what the representative of Turkey stated just now when addressing himself to the other side of the table, they should understand that I am included in that side too.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There are no further names on the list of speakers.

Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to make this statement on behalf of the members of the Council, following the Council's consultations:

"The members of the Security Council take note of the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/21010) and express their full support for his continuing efforts in pursuing the initiative launched in August 1988.

"The members recall the statement made on their behalf by the President of the Council on 9 June 1989 (S/20682) in which they expressed their regret that, in the more than 25 years since the establishment of UNFICYP, it has not been possible to achieve a negotiated settlement of all aspects of the Cyprus problem.

(The President)

"The members 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 also 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 urge both leaders to proceed as suggested by the Secretary-General during their most recent meetings and, as agreed in June, to co-operate with him and his Special Representative in completing work on an outline. The members 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 are concerned by the difficulties encountered by UNFICYP during the last mandate period. They call on all parties to co-operate with UNFICYP and to take effective measures to ensure that the integrity of the buffer zone is safeguarded.

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

(The President)

"The members 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."

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.10 p.m.