20. The situation in Cyprus

Decision of 26 March 1993: statement by the President

On 26 March 1993, following consultations among the members of the Security Council, the President (New Zealand) made the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹

The members of the Security Council have reviewed the situation related to the Secretary-General's mission of good offices in Cyprus.

The members of the Council welcomed the acceptance by the two leaders of the invitation of the Secretary-General to attend a joint meeting on 30 March 1993 to discuss the timing, modalities and preparation for the resumption of substantive direct negotiations as mandated by the Council.

The members of the Council reaffirmed their position that the status quo is not acceptable and that a mutually acceptable overall framework agreement should be achieved without delay on the basis of the set of ideas endorsed by the Council.

The members of the Council called on the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus to manifest their goodwill by cooperating fully with the Secretary-General so that the substantive direct negotiations which are due to resume shortly will result in significant progress.

The members of the Council reaffirmed their determination to remain seized of the Cyprus question on an ongoing basis and to lend their active support to the effort of the Secretary-General.

The members of the Council requested the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the outcome of the meeting of 30 March.

By a letter dated 2 April 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,² the Secretary-General informed the Council that the two leaders had met him on 30 March in New York to discuss the timing, modalities and preparations for the resumption of substantive negotiations as mandated by the Council. His spokesperson had issued a statement at the conclusion of the meeting in which both leaders had agreed to resume the joint negotiations on 24 May, at United Nations Headquarters, using the set of ideas for the purpose of reaching a mutually acceptable overall framework agreement.³ Furthermore, they had agreed that the joint negotiations would be preceded by a preparatory process in which the Secretary-General's representatives would meet them in Nicosia to clarify and address the concerns of the two leaders related to the set of ideas with a view to facilitating progress at the resumed joint negotiations. They would also discuss the implementation of confidence-building measures to foster mutual confidence conducive to the success of the negotiating process.

Decision of 11 May 1993 (3211th meeting): rejection of a draft resolution

On 30 March 1993, pursuant to resolution 796 (1992) of 14 December 1992, the Secretary-General submitted a report to the Security Council on the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and on the results of his consultations with troop-contributing Governments about restructuring the Force.⁴ The consultations had focused on two proposals. One would entrust the Force's mandate to military observers, backed up by a small infantry element. The other would restructure the Force and reduce it to the minimum number of infantry battalions required to maintain effective control on the buffer zone. While most of the troop contributors had expressed a preference for the first proposal, his representatives had supported the second proposal, contending that the current political and military situation in Cyprus and in the region did not yet justify UNFICYP being converted to an observer mission. Moreover, his military and civilian advisers unanimously had agreed that if the Force was to lose its capacity to maintain control of the buffer zone, there would be a real danger that small incidents could rapidly escalate and threaten the ceasefire on which depended not only the security of the people of Cyprus but also the maintenance of an atmosphere conducive to success in the political negotiations. In his report, the Secretary-General pointed out that the question before the Security Council was not whether the UNFICYP mandate could better be carried out by infantry or by a mixture of infantry and military observers. Neither would be practicable unless the Security Council could accept funding of the Force by assessed contributions. The question was thus whether to decide on such funding or allow UNFICYP to

¹ S/25478.

² S/25517.

³ The set of ideas had emerged from the 1991 talks and were endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 774 (1992).

⁴ S/25492.

dissolve into a token presence of a few military observers. He strongly recommended converting the Force to assessed funding.

At its 3211th meeting, on 11 May 1993, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Russian Federation) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom.⁵ He also drew their attention to a letter dated 21 April 1993 from the representative of Cyprus addressed to the Secretary-General,⁶ confirming the offer of the Government of Cyprus to contribute, on a continuing basis, one third of the annual cost of UNFICYP.

Speaking before the vote, the President, in his capacity as representative of the Russian Federation, recalled that his delegation had stated on many occasions its position on the question of the financing of UNFICYP and that it continued to have fundamental objections to the proposed changes. If contributions were made mandatory, he said, as had been the case with two recent peacekeeping operations, there would be no operations left that would be paid for on a voluntary basis. His delegation was of the view that voluntary contributions should not have a decreasing but an increasing role. It would therefore vote against the draft resolution, not for political reasons but for practical considerations.⁷

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was not adopted, owing to the negative vote of a permanent member of the Council (Russian Federation). Under the operative part of the draft resolution, the Council would have decided that, with effect from the next extension of the UNFICYP mandate on or before 15 June 1993, the costs of the Force should be treated as expenses of the Organization under Article 17 (2) of the Charter of the United Nations. It would have also decided that UNFICYP should be restructured as a first step on the basis of the proposal in paragraphs 16 to 19 of the Secretary-General's report, with the addition of a limited number of observers for reconnaissance and with a view to further restructuring. It would have further decided to conduct a comprehensive reassessment of UNFICYP, to include the implications

for the Force of progress on confidence-building measures and towards a political settlement, additional to the regular six-monthly consideration of the extension of the Force's mandate provided for in its earlier resolutions, at the latest one year after the adoption of that resolution.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United Kingdom reiterated that the financing of UNFICYP should be supported by the whole membership. The Force could no longer be sustained on the basis of voluntary contributions alone. His Government found the Russian Federation's decision to vote against the draft resolution both "regrettable" and "disproportionate", given the extremely modest financial implications for that country now that, thanks to the Cypriot and Greek Governments, a substantial proportion of the Force's expenses would continue to be covered by voluntary contributions. That decision also put in jeopardy the whole operation, as well as the Secretary-General's good offices mission. His Government therefore appealed to the Russian Federation to reconsider its position and to agree to provide a sound basis for the financing of UNFICYP, along the lines proposed by the Secretary-General.8

The representative of the United States stated that the presence of an effective peacekeeping force in Cyprus was an important element in maintaining an atmosphere conducive to the success of United Nations-sponsored negotiations between the two Cypriot parties. Calling the Russian Federation's veto "regrettable", she stressed that discussions towards finding a way to maintain a stable force in Cyprus had to continue urgently. Her Government nevertheless understood and shared some of the concerns expressed by the Russian Federation over the broader question of peacekeeping financing. The inequalities in the existing peacekeeping assessment scale were beginning to call into question the ability to carry out the Organization's work. The time had come to consider the issue seriously and to find urgent solutions within the context of "An Agenda for Peace".9

The representative of France contended that the rejection of the draft resolution did not mean the end of UNFICYP. It only meant that the text required further improvement and that additional consultations were needed to reach a solution, which would be acceptable

⁵ S/25693.

⁶ S/25647.

⁷ S/PV.3211, pp. 3-5.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 6-9.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

to all. He noted that the Council's task would be greatly facilitated if the parties showed their intention of "speedily tackling the political solution" and if they displayed an "indisputable will" for reconciliation. The European States members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Council of Europe, he said, would then have to define, as a matter of priority, the application of the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes. That would permit UNFICYP to become an observer force very quickly with the mandate of overseeing the implementation of confidence-building measures and the reconciliation process.¹⁰

The representative of New Zealand contended that UNFICYP troops "deserved better than today's unfortunate decision". His country believed that support for peacekeeping was the responsibility of all United Nations Members, and therefore regretted that the Russian veto had prevented the Council from taking a reasonable, logical and practical decision.¹¹

The representative of China noted that his delegation had supported the draft resolution, because it reflected the principle of diversity of the financing of United Nations peacekeeping operations. He hoped that, in the future, that principle would be respected.¹²

Decision of 27 May 1993 (3222nd meeting): resolution 831(1993)

At its 3222nd meeting, on 27 May 1993, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General.¹³ Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Russian Federation) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁴ He also drew their attention to a letter dated 21 April 1993 from the representative of Cyprus addressed to the Secretary-General.¹⁵

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Pakistan stated that Pakistan fully endorsed the principle that the financing of peacekeeping operations was a collective responsibility of the States Members in accordance with Article 17 (2) of the Charter, and that it should be treated as an expense of the United Nations according to the existing special scale of assessments, which particularly took into account the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council. Accordingly, his delegation had voted in favour of the earlier draft resolution. The present draft however touched upon issues that went beyond technical matters. It would have been more appropriate if the text had retained its focus on the technical financing problem, particularly since negotiations between the parties were at a critical juncture. The Council should exercise great care so as not to send any signals that might be misinterpreted by the parties. His delegation would therefore abstain in the vote of the draft resolution before the Council.¹⁶

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted by 14 votes in favour, to none against, with 1 abstention (Pakistan), as resolution 831 (1993), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and subsequent relevant resolutions,

Reaffirming that the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus should be considered every six months,

Noting the recent communication from the Government of Cyprus to the Secretary-General,

Noting also that both voluntary and assessed methods of contribution are acceptable for United Nations peacekeeping operations and stressing the importance of maximizing voluntary contributions,

Stressing the importance it attaches to the achievement of early progress towards a political settlement in Cyprus, and also to the implementation of confidence-building measures,

Reiterating in particular its call to both sides to cooperate with the Force in order to extend the unmanning agreement of 1989 to all areas of the United Nations-controlled buffer zone where the two sides are in close proximity to each other,

Reaffirming that the status quo is not acceptable, and concerned that the United Nations should not be entering into open-ended peacekeeping commitments,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 30 March 1993 on the United Nations operation in Cyprus;

2. *Expresses its appreciation* for past voluntary contributions to the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in

¹⁶ S/PV.3222, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 13-14.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 16.

¹² Ibid., pp. 16-17.

¹³ S/25492.

¹⁴ S/25831.

¹⁵ S/25647.

Cyprus and for those that have recently been offered for the future, which are essential for the continuation of the Force;

3. *Stresses* the importance of the continuation of voluntary contributions to the Force and calls for maximum voluntary contributions in the future;

4. *Decides* that, with effect from the next extension of the mandate of the Force on or before 15 June 1993, those costs of the Force which are not covered by voluntary contributions should be treated as expenses of the United Nations under Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations;

5. Decides also that the Force should be restructured as a first step on the basis of the proposal in paragraphs 16 to 19 of the report of the Secretary-General, with the addition of a limited number of observers for reconnaissance and with a view to further restructuring in the light of the reassessment referred to in paragraph 7 below;

6. Underlines the responsibility of the parties for minimizing tension and facilitating the operation of the Force, including through the implementation of confidence-building measures, including that the number of foreign troops in the Republic of Cyprus undergo a significant reduction and that a reduction of defence spending be effected in the Republic of Cyprus, as envisaged in its earlier relevant resolutions;

7. Decides to conduct a comprehensive reassessment of the Force at the time of the consideration of the mandate of the Force in December 1993, including of the implications of progress on confidence-building measures and towards a political settlement for the future of the Force;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Security Council one month before that reassessment, to cover all aspects of the situation, including confidence-building measures, progress in political negotiations and possible progressive steps towards an observer force based on the proposal described in paragraph 12 of the report of the Secretary-General;

9. *Invites* the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to implement the present resolution.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States welcomed the resolution and the new possibilities that it provided for ensuring that UNFICYP would continue its essential role in stabilizing the situation in Cyprus. Her delegation fully supported the Secretary-General's efforts in the ongoing meetings with the leaders of the two Cypriot communities to achieve an agreement on the package of confidence-building measures. In view of the Force's planned restructuring and imminent reductions, it would be particularly important for the two sides to take concrete steps to reduce tensions and to increase safety along the buffer zone. However, if the current round of negotiations did not bring a positive result,

the Secretariat should provide the Council with an accounting of where it believed the responsibility lay, as well as information on how the negotiations would be pursued. With such information in hand, the Council would then be in a position to consider future steps, including, perhaps, a new resolution.¹⁷

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that his delegation welcomed the fact that the financing of UNFICYP had now been put on an equitable and sound basis. It was, however, concerned at the slow progress in the ongoing talks. He therefore echoed the view expressed by the representative of the United States that the Secretary-General should inform the Council if he felt one party was more responsible than the other for that lack of progress.¹⁸

The representative of France stated that his delegation attached great importance to the reaffirmation of the principle of collective responsibility. Equally important was the principle that the beneficiaries had to help finance their security, to the extent that they were able. Keeping that balance would be indispensable to maintaining UNFICYP. Noting that the Council would reassess the Force every year, he said that it would be a question of gradually converting the unit into a force of observers until, eventually, when the political situation permitted, it was disbanded. He further stressed that UNFICYP from now on had to operate in conditions of reunification and reconciliation, instead of simply being a buffer preventing violent confrontations.¹⁹

The President, speaking in his capacity as representative of the Russian Federation, said that the resolution clearly indicated a combined method for financing the Force, with the main part of the expenditures covered by voluntary contributions, first and foremost by the parties concerned, and the remainder by the Member States. He also noted that the resolution called for a comprehensive reassessment of UNFICYP, when its mandate would next be considered in December 1993. In that regard, he expressed hope that in the near future, there would no longer be a need for the Force to remain in Cyprus. It was his belief that, if the current round of talks yielded no results, the Secretary-General should present the Security Council with exhaustive information as to why the talks ended

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

in that way. In the light of that information, the Council might need to consider further steps to settle the Cyprus problem, including the adoption of a new resolution.²⁰

Decision of 11 June 1993 (3235th meeting): resolution 839 (1993)

On 9 June 1993, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus, covering developments from 1 December 1992 to 31 May 1993.²¹ The Secretary-General called the Council's decision of 27 May 1993 on the financing of UNFICYP a "landmark", not only because it assured the Force's financial stability but also because it acknowledged the importance of voluntary contributions for some peacekeeping operations, particularly from the beneficiaries of long-term operations. Moreover, it would put the financing of the operation on an equitable and sound basis, which should resolve the difficulties it had experienced in retaining troop contributors. The Secretary-General stated that the restructuring of the Force, as endorsed by Security Council resolution 831 (1993), following successive reductions in strength, had major implications for the two parties. Greater responsibility rested with them for ensuring that there was no increase in tension in Cyprus and that conditions could be maintained for a speedy overall agreement, as envisaged by the Security Council. He stressed that the two sides had to exercise maximum restraint and, in accordance with the proposed package of confidencebuilding measures, extend without delay the 1989 unmanning agreement to all parts of the buffer zone where their forces remained in close proximity. He urged them to take reciprocal measures to lower the tension, including mutual commitments, through UNFICYP, not to deploy along the ceasefire lines live ammunition or weapons other than hand-held ones, and to prohibit firing of weapons within sight or hearing of the buffer zone. He also urged them to work together so that their own agencies could assume the humanitarian functions carried out by the Force over the years.

The Secretary-General further expressed concern about the situation in the mixed village of Pyla, located in the buffer zone. It was his view that the bicommunal nature of the village demanded special cooperation and understanding by both sides, which he urged not to interfere in local activities.

The Secretary-General concluded that, under the prevailing circumstances, the presence of UNFICYP on the island remained indispensable, and recommended an extension of its mandate for a further six months, until 15 December 1993.²²

At its 3235th meeting, on 11 June 1993, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Spain) said that he had received requests for participation in the meeting. However, those making the requests had responded to his appeal, made on behalf of the Council, and had agreed not to press their requests at the present time, without prejudice to their right to request participation at future meetings. The President then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.²³ The draft resolution was thereupon put to vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 839 (1993), which reads:

The Security Council,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus of 9 and 10 June 1993,

Noting the recommendation by the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months,

Noting also that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that, in view of the prevailing conditions in the island, it is necessary to keep the Force in Cyprus beyond 15 June 1993,

Recalling its resolution 831 (1993) of 27 May 1993, in particular its paragraphs 2 to 4 on financing, as well as its paragraphs 5 and 7 on the restructuring of the Force and the comprehensive reassessment which is to be conducted in December 1993,

Reiterating in particular its call to both sides to cooperate with the Force in order to extend the unmanning agreement of

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 10-12.

²¹ S/25912 and Add.1.

²² Subsequently, the Secretary-General informed the Council that the Governments of Cyprus, Greece and the United Kingdom had indicated their concurrence with the proposed extension, while the Government of Turkey continued to support the position of the Turkish Cypriot side, as expressed at previous Council meetings on the extension of the mandate (S/25912/Add.1).

²³ S/25927.

1989 to all areas of the United Nations-controlled buffer zone where the two sides are in close proximity to each other,

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

1. *Extends once more* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force established under resolution 186 (1964) for a further period ending on 15 December 1993;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices, to keep the Security Council informed of the progress made and to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution by 15 November 1993 as part of the report called for in its resolution 831 (1993);

3. Supports the recommendation of the Secretary-General expressed in paragraph 48 of his report that both sides take reciprocal measures to lower the tension, including mutual commitments, through the Force, to prohibit along the ceasefire lines live ammunition or weapons other than those which are hand-held and to prohibit also firing of weapons within sight or hearing of the buffer zone, and requests the Secretary-General to negotiate the necessary agreements between the parties to implement those measures;

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

5. *Calls on* both parties to carry forward expeditiously and in a constructive manner the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General, and requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on progress in the current round of talks.

Decision of 7 July 1993: letter from the President to the Secretary-General

On 1 July 1993, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus.²⁴ The Secretary-General informed the Council on the extensive preparatory work undertaken by his Deputy Special Representative between mid-April and mid-May in Nicosia with the leaders of the two communities. Those discussions made it possible to develop ample material to enable the two leaders first, to reach agreement on a list of confidencebuilding measures, including on Varosha and Nicosia International Airport; and, second, to make progress towards reconciling differences on a number of substantive issues as part of the ongoing process to reach agreement on the draft framework contained in the Set of Ideas. Three draft papers had thus emerged from that preparatory process: a list of 14 confidencebuilding measures; detailed provisions concerning

Varosha; and detailed provisions concerning Nicosia International Airport.²⁵ The two leaders had also agreed that the joint meetings to resume on 24 May in New York would be devoted to reaching agreement on confidence-building and that the aforementioned papers would serve as the basis for the discussion.

The Secretary-General further reported that the discussions from 24 May to 1 June in New York had revealed that the Greek Cypriot side was agreeable to the arrangements proposed for Varosha and Nicosia International Airport, provided that no provisions were added that would have the effect of recognizing the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus". The Turkish Cypriot side had stated that the placing of Varosha under United Nations administration was a major concession on its part, for which the establishment of Varosha as a special area for bicommunal contact and commerce, even when supplemented with the reopening of Nicosia International Airport, represented an inadequate recompense. It had repeated that a proportionate compensation would be the removal of the embargo against the Turkish Cypriot side through the lifting of all restrictions on airports and seaports on the Turkish Cypriot side. Serious consideration was given to the views expressed by both sides and the proposed arrangements were adjusted. The revised proposal concerning Varosha was that the fenced area would be placed under United Nations administration as from an agreed date, pending a mutually agreed overall solution to the Cyprus problem. It would be a kind of free-trade zone in which both sides could trade goods and services. The revised proposal on Nicosia International Airport would open the airport for the equal benefit of both sides. On 28 May, the Secretary-General had asked both sides to give their views on the three papers as supplemented. The Turkish Cypriot leader had indicated that he would have to consult first with his authorities as well as with the Government of Turkey. Despite his undertaking, stated on 1 June 1993, to use his visit to Cyprus and Turkey to promote acceptance of the package and to resume the joint meetings in New York on 14 June,²⁶ he had during the visit strongly criticized the package and announced that he would not return to New York.

The Secretary-General observed that the Varosha/Nicosia International Airport package would

²⁴ S/26026.

²⁵ See S/26026, annex I.

²⁶ See S/26026, annex II.

bring considerable and proportionate benefits to both communities. For the Turkish Cypriot side, it would mean the lifting for all practical purposes of the economic obstacles that had been weighing so heavily on their community. For the Greek Cypriot side, it would open the way for owners of property in the fenced area of Varosha to reclaim possession of their property. Acceptance of such a package would help to overcome the existing mistrust between the two communities and would serve as a catalyst for achieving an overall settlement on the island. He remained hopeful that once the package was fully presented, its benefits would be recognized, as its implementation would undoubtedly constitute the most important forward step in Cyprus in almost two decades. He was also encouraged that the Government of Turkey had supported the package and encouraged its acceptance. He therefore intended to persevere in his efforts to reach agreement on the package without delay, and would send his Special Representative to Cyprus, Greece and Turkey in the coming weeks.

By a letter dated 7 July 1993,²⁷ the President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General as follows:

I have the honour to inform you that your report of 1 July 1993 on your mission of good offices in Cyprus has been considered by the members of the Council.

The members of the Council have asked me to convey to you their full support for your current efforts. They have noted with appreciation the wok undertaken during the extensive preparatory phase in Nicosia and the joint meetings in New York on the package in Nicosia and the joint meetings in New York on the package of confidence-building measures related in particular to Varosha and Nicosia International Airport. They agree with your assessment that the implementation of this package would not only significantly benefit both communities, but would also have a dramatic impact on overcoming the existing mistrust and in facilitating an overall settlement of the Cyprus problem. They fully share your disappointment that Mr. Denktash had not yet adhered to the agreement of 1 June 1993, in which he undertook to promote the acceptance of the package on Varosha and Nicosia International Airport, and that he failed to return to New York, which prevented the resumption of the joint meetings on 14 June. The members of the Council are convinced that once the package is fully presented its significant benefits would be recognized.

The members of the Council wish to underline the obligation of both parties to cooperate with you fully and without further delay in reaching promptly an overall framework agreement on the Cyprus problem and, in the first instance, to

²⁷ S/26050.

arrive at an agreement on the proposals related to Varosha and Nicosia International Airport which will create a climate more conducive to engaging in negotiations on the basis of the set of ideas.

The members of the Council welcome your decision to send your Special Representative to Cyprus, Greece and Turkey in the next few weeks. The members of the Council would like you to submit a full report to the Council in September 1993 on the outcome of your efforts to make progress in your mission of good offices, in particular in achieving an agreement on the proposals related to Varosha and Nicosia International Airport and, if necessary, your recommendation for action by the Council.

Decision of 20 September 1993: letter from the President to the Secretary-General

On 14 September 1993, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus.28 During July 1993, his representatives had visited the region and had met the leaders of the two communities and the main political parties as well as with representatives of civil society. They had also held meetings with the Greek and Turkish authorities. The discussions with the leaders of the two communities, however, did not reveal any change in their respective positions. The Secretary-General was therefore obliged to report that the Turkish Cypriot side had not yet shown the goodwill and cooperation required to reach an agreement on the package. At the same time, he was encouraged by the widespread interest in the package shown by the Turkish Cypriot community during the discussions. He stressed that the Government of Turkey's reiteration of its full support for the package must be followed up by a concrete effort to make the Turkish Cypriot community aware of its position. He informed the Council that he intended to send two teams of experts to Cyprus in early October to address fully the questions that had been raised concerning the effects of the package, including those relating to the economic imbalance between the two communities and to assess the technical requirements for reopening Nicosia International Airport. The Secretary-General stressed that if his current efforts did not succeed, his mission of good offices would be seriously undermined. If that was the case, he would invite the members of the Council to consider alternative ways to promote the effective implementation of its many resolutions on Cyprus.

28 S/26438.

By a letter dated 20 September 1993,²⁹ the President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General as follows:

I have the honour to inform you that your report of 14 September 1993 on your mission of good offices in Cyprus has been considered by the members of the Council.

The members of the Council have asked me to convey to you their continuing support for your efforts and those of your Special Representative and Deputy Special Representative. They fully endorse your report and your observations on the current situation.

The members of the Council reiterate the obligation of both parties to cooperate with you fully and without further delay in reaching promptly an overall framework agreement on the package of proposals and, in the first instance, to arrive at an agreement on the package of proposals related to Varosha and Nicosia International Airport, which will create a climate more conducive to engaging in negotiations on the basis of the set of ideas. They note with concern that the Turkish Cypriot side has not yet shown the necessary goodwill and cooperation required to achieve an agreement.

The members of the Council express their deep disappointment that an agreement on the package had not yet been reached and agree that you cannot continue your current effort indefinitely. They call on the Turkish Cypriot side to give its active support to the effort. They also recognize the important role that Turkey could play in this effort.

The members of the Council agree that it is encouraging that there is widespread interest in the package within the Turkish Cypriot community. In this context, they support your proposals to send two technical teams to Cyprus to analyse the implications of the package, in the terms suggested in paragraph 20 of your report, and to identify the requirements for making Nicosia International Airport operational.

The members of the Council look forward to receiving the report requested in resolution 831 (1993) of 27 May 1993, which will cover the outcome of your further efforts to achieve an agreement on the Varosha and Nicosia International Airport package, including the results of the two technical missions. On the basis of that report the members of the Council will undertake a thorough review of the situation and, if necessary, consider alternative ways to promote the implementation of the resolutions on Cyprus.

Decision of 15 December 1993 (3322nd meeting): resolution 889 (1993)

On 22 November 1993, pursuant to resolution 831 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report in connection with the Security

²⁹ S/26475.

Council's comprehensive reassessment of the United Nations operation in Cyprus.³⁰

In his report, the Secretary-General stated that, since December 1990, the strength of UNFICYP had fallen from 2,132 to 1,203 as the results of decisions by countries troop-contributing to withdraw or substantially reduce their contingents. The Force now covered the ceasefire lines more thinly than before and its capacity to react to incidents and to prevent their escalation had been affected. At the same time, the mandate of the Force had remained unchanged, as essentially had the functions deriving from that mandate. UNFICYP should be able to carry out its task, provided that the military on both sides maintained their present level of restraint and cooperation with the Force and that no major incidents occurred. He noted that a number of arguments continued to weigh heavily against the deployment of military observers. There was no clear agreement between the two sides on the delineation of the ceasefire lines or about what was permitted under the ceasefire. Moreover, because of intense distrust between the two communities, economic activity in the buffer zone had to be carefully controlled by UNFICYP to ensure that it did not lead to incidents. The alternative option of dividing the Force's functions between infantry and military observers was not viable, and he did not recommend it, because the unarmed military observers would not have the capacity to deploy an armed patrol as soon as they observed an incident.

The Secretary-General said that while UNFICYP had successfully kept the peace, the two sides had not used the opportunity to reach an overall agreement. It was often asked whether the Force was not part of the problem in Cyprus, rather than part of the solution. The ancillary question was how long UNFICYP would remain on the island. In weighing those questions, the Council might take into account the following considerations: (a) each side had its own perspective on the future of UNFICYP; (b) if the Force were to be withdrawn, the present buffer zone would be a vacuum that each side would want to fill; and (c) a negotiated settlement, mutually acceptable to the two communities, was needed. The Secretary-General expressed his intention to concentrate his immediate efforts on the package of confidence-building

³⁰ S/26777 and Add.1.

measures, with a view to facilitating the overall framework agreement. He also intended to resume intensive contacts with both sides and with Turkey, after the elections in the Turkish Cypriot community, on 12 December 1993. In the meantime, he urged once again that, as a first step towards the withdrawal of non-Cypriot troops, the Turkish forces on the island should be reduced to their level of 1982 and that the reduction be reciprocated by a suspension of weapons acquisition programmes on the Greek Cypriot side. He would report to the Council on the outcome of his efforts by the end of February 1994.

The Secretary-General further called upon the military on both sides to cooperate with UNFICYP in extending the 1989 unmanning agreement so that it would cover all areas of the buffer zone where they were in close proximity to each other. That would significantly reduce the tensions and facilitate the Force's tasks. He also urged them, and especially the Turkish forces, in line with resolution 839 (1993), to enter into mutual commitments to prohibit along the ceasefire line live ammunition or weapons other than hand-held ones, as well as the firing of weapons within sight or hearing of the buffer zone. In the prevailing circumstances, he recommended an extension of its mandate for a further six months, until 15 June 1994.³¹

At its 3322nd meeting, on 15 December 1993, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (China) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations,³² and read out a revision to be made to the draft in its provisional form. He also drew their attention to several other documents.³³

The draft resolution, as orally revised, was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 889 (1993), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and other relevant resolutions,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 22 November and 13 December 1993 submitted pursuant to resolutions 831 (1993) of 27 May 1993 and 839 (1993) of 11 June 1993 in connection with the Security Council's comprehensive reassessment of the United Nations operation in Cyprus,

Noting the recommendation by the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus in its present strength and structure for a further period of six months,

Noting also that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that, in view of the prevailing conditions in the island, it is necessary to keep the Force in Cyprus beyond 15 December 1993,

1. *Extends* once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force established under resolution 186 (1964) for a further period ending on 15 June 1994;

2. *Notes* the conclusion of the Secretary-General that the present circumstances do not allow for any modification in the structure and strength of the force, and requests him to keep those matters under constant review with a view to the further possible restructuring of the Force;

3. *Calls upon* the military authorities on both sides to ensure that no incidents occur along the buffer zone and to extend their full cooperation to the Force;

4. Urges all concerned once again to commit themselves to a significant reduction in the number of foreign troops in the Republic of Cyprus and a reduction of defence spending in the Republic of Cyprus to help restore confidence between the parties and as a first step towards the withdrawal of non-Cypriot forces as set out in the set of ideas;

6. *Further calls upon* the military authorities on both sides to cooperate with the Force in extending the 1989 unmanning agreement to cover all areas of the buffer zone where the two sides are in close proximity to each other;

7. Urges the leaders of both communities to promote tolerance and reconciliation between the two communities as

³¹ Subsequently, the Secretary-General informed the Council that the Governments of Cyprus, Greece and the United Kingdom had indicated their concurrence with the proposed extension. The Government of Turkey continued to support the position of the Turkish Cypriot side, as expressed at previous Council meetings on the extension of the mandate (S/26777/Add.1).

³² S/26873.

³³ Letter dated 26 October 1993 from the representative of Cyprus addressed to the Secretary-General (S/26642); letters dated 9 and 30 November 1993 from the representative of Turkey addressed to the Secretary-General (S/26720 and S/26832); and letter dated 3 December 1993 from the representative of Turkey addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26833).

^{5.} Also calls upon the military authorities on both sides, in line with paragraph 3 of resolution 839 (1993), to begin discussions with the Force without further delay with a view to entering into mutual commitments to prohibit along the ceasefire lines live ammunition or weapons other than those which are hand-held, and to prohibit also the firing of weapons within sight or hearing of the buffer zone;

recommended in paragraph 102 of the report of the Secretary-General of 22 November 1993;

8. *Reaffirms* that the status quo is unacceptable, and encourages the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to pursue the Secretary-General's mission of good offices on the basis of the set of ideas and the package of confidence-building measures relating to Varosha and Nicosia International Airport referred to in paragraph 45 of the above-mentioned report of the Secretary-General;

9. *Notes with interest* the confirmation by the team of international economic experts that the package of confidencebuilding measures holds significant and proportionate benefits for both sides, and looks forward to receiving the full reports of the economic and civil aviation experts;

10. *Welcomes* in this context the decision of the Secretary-General to resume intensive contacts with both sides and with others concerned and to concentrate at this stage on achieving an agreement on the package of confidence-building measures, intended to facilitate the political process towards an overall settlement;

11. Also welcomes the declared support of the Government of Turkey for the package of confidence-building measures, would also welcome a statement of support for that package by the Government of Greece, and expresses the hope that rapid progress will now be made on achieving agreement on the package;

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Security Council by the end of February 1994 on the outcome of his efforts to achieve an agreement on the package of confidence-building measures;

13. *Decides* to undertake, on the basis of that report, a thorough review of the situation, including the future role of the United Nations, and, if necessary, to consider alternative ways to promote the implementation of its resolutions on Cyprus.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of Venezuela said his country had voted in favour of the resolution because it considered that the extension of the UNFICYP mandate was justified in the present circumstances. Nevertheless, his delegation believed that the decision was linked to the Council's appeal in paragraph 7 of the resolution to the leaders of the two communities to promote tolerance and reconciliation between the two communities. His delegation also considered that decision to be linked to paragraph 12 and 13 of the resolution. It believed that, upon receiving the Secretary-General's next report, the Council should consider the future renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP in the light of real progress achieved towards the definitive solution of the conflict and carry out a thorough evaluation of that mandate. The speaker contended that the mandate of UNFICYP

had been established in vague terms and with the passage of time the Force had been assigned additional functions that in many cases were not appropriate for a United Nations peacekeeping operation.³⁴

Decision of 11 March 1994 (3347th meeting): resolution 902 (1994)

On 4 March 1994, pursuant to resolution 889 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus in which he reported on his efforts to achieve agreement on the package of confidence-building measures.³⁵ His Special Representative had visited Cyprus from 22 to 26 January 1994 and had held intensive discussions with the leaders of the two communities, proceeding thereafter to Greece and Turkey. Upon his return to Cyprus, both leaders had confirmed to him their acceptance in principle of the package on confidencebuilding measures and their readiness to work out the modalities for its implementation. Proximity talks were launched on 17 February and addressed seven key issues: (i) the United Nations administration of the fenced area of Varosha and of Nicosia International Airport; (ii) the schedule for implementing the package; (iii) arrangements for making the fenced area of Varosha a special area for bicommunal contact and commerce; (iv) traffic rights at Nicosia airport for foreign airlines and those registered in Turkey; (v) safe operation of the airport; (vi) free access to the airport for civilian passenger and cargo traffic from both sides; and (vii) consideration of the 12 additional confidencebuilding measures set out in the report of the Secretary-General of July 1993.36 The Secretary-General noted that the proceedings to date had clarified the position of the two sides to the point where his representatives could now bring forward ideas that ought to enable the two leaders to reach common understandings on the implementation of the package. He emphasized the importance of reaching a positive

³⁴ S/PV.3322, pp. 6-10.

³⁵ S/1994/262. Annex I to the report contains a letter dated 17 December 1993 from the Secretary-General to the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus, to the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey and to the President of the Security Council, forwarding the reports of the two teams of experts sent to Cyprus. Annex II contains the arrangements for working out the modalities for implementing the package of confidence-building measures of 15 February 1994.

³⁶ S/26026.

conclusion on those issues without delay. The confidence-building measures would open avenues of contact between the two communities and would lay the foundation for the kind of relationship that should exist in a federation. He suggested that the Security Council might undertake a thorough review by the end of March and therefore he would report to the Council by that time.

At its 3347th meeting, on 11 March 1994, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (France) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.³⁷

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 902 (1994), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its relevant resolutions on Cyprus,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 4 March 1994 on his mission of good offices in Cyprus, submitted pursuant to resolution 889 (1993) of 15 December 1993,

Recalling its support for the decision of the Secretary-General to concentrate at this stage on achieving an agreement on the confidence-building measures relating to Varosha and Nicosia International Airport, as well as the other measures outlined in annex I to his report of 1 July 1993,

Reaffirming that the confidence-building measures, while not an end in themselves, nor a substitute for the wider political process, would offer significant benefits to both communities and would facilitate the political process towards an overall settlement,

1. *Reiterates* that the maintenance of the status quo is unacceptable;

2. *Welcomes* the acceptance in principle by both parties of the confidence-building measures relating, in particular, to Varosha and Nicosia International Airport;

3. Welcomes the fact that intensive discussions have made it possible for the representatives of the Secretary-General to bring forward ideas that should facilitate the discussions aimed at reaching agreement on the key issues for implementing the confidence-building measures, and stresses the need to conclude such an agreement without delay; 4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a further report by the end of March 1994 on the outcome of his efforts to finalize that agreement;

5. *Decides* to review the matter further, pursuant to paragraph 13 of resolution 889 (1993), on the basis of that report.

Decision of 11 April 1994: letter from the President to the Secretary-General

On 4 April 1994, pursuant to resolution 902 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus.38 On 9 March 1994, his Deputy Special Representative had submitted to each leader a paper entitled "Draft ideas for the implementation of the package of confidencebuilding measures". Extensive discussions had been engaged and had led on 21 March to a revised draft which was submitted to both parties on 21 March. The Turkish Cypriot leader had voiced numerous objections, claiming that the new text contained changes from the wording of the original package of 1 July 1993 which favoured the Greek Cypriot side. The leader of the Greek Cypriot community, on the other hand, had stated that, while he did not like many of the changes that had been introduced to the 21 March text, he was prepared to accept the revised text if the Turkish Cypriot leader would do likewise. The Secretary-General further informed the Council that the discussions between his representatives and the Turkish Cypriot side had not yielded the response necessary to make an agreement possible. He continued to believe, however, that the package of confidence-building measures offered real benefits to both sides. He would therefore pursue his efforts and report to the Council by the end of April.

By a letter dated 11 April 1994,³⁹ the President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General as follows:

The members of the Security Council have considered your interim report of 4 April 1994 on your efforts to finalize an agreement on the modalities for implementing the package of confidence-building measures outlined in your report of 1 July 1993. They also had the benefit of a useful and informative briefing from your Special Representative, Mr. Joe Clark, on 8 April.

The members of the Council have asked me to convey to you their full support for the intensive efforts which you, your

³⁸ S/1994/380.
³⁹ S/1994/414.

³⁷ S/1994/285.

Special Representative and his Deputy made to facilitate agreement on the key issues for implementing the confidencebuilding measures without delay. They regret that insufficient progress has been made to enable agreement to be reached in the time-scale envisaged in your report of 4 March 1994. This is a matter of concern. They note that the leader of the Greek Cypriot community is ready to accept the 21 March 1994 text of ideas on implementation, provided that the Turkish Cypriot leader, who has voiced numerous objections, does likewise. They believe that the next few weeks will provide an important test of the commitment of the parties to making progress towards an overall settlement.

The members of the Council take this opportunity to reiterate the terms of Council resolutions 889 (1993) of 15 December 1993 and 902 (1994) of 11 March 1994. They endorse your approach and underline the need to conclude an agreement on the implementation of the confidence-building measures on the basis suggested by you before the end of April. They look forward to receiving your full report at that time.

Decision of 15 June 1994 (3390th meeting): resolution 927 (1994)

On 30 May 1994, pursuant to resolutions 889 (1993) and 902 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on his mission of good offices.⁴⁰ He informed the Council that despite further contacts with the parties concerned no agreement was reached on the 21 March text. The Secretary-General observed that the Security Council was facing again a familiar scenario: the absence of agreement due essentially to a lack of political will on the Turkish Cypriot side. He put forward a range of options that the Security Council could examine in its review of the situation. One would be to conclude that the political will to resolve the conflict did not exist and that the peacekeeping and peacemaking resources should be redirected elsewhere. Alternatively, it could be concluded that the good offices mission, which depended on the consent and cooperation of the parties, was not adequate to deal with the situation, and the international community, through the Council, could look into coercive measures. Another possibility was to put aside the package currently under discussion and resume discussion of substantive questions which had been presented to the parties in July 1992.41 Yet another option would be to undertake a fundamental and far-reaching reflection on how to approach the Cyprus problem and consult the members of the

Council, the Guarantor Powers,⁴² the two leaders in Cyprus and others, with a view to exploring farreaching options. A last option would be to build on the fact that both sides had accepted in principle the package of confidence-building measures and to renew the international community's efforts to obtain agreement on their implementation. A decision by the Council on any of the options could be preceded by international consultations or deliberations, such as an international conference, a visit to the area by a commission composed of some or all Council members, or a further visit by his Special Representative. All options, except the first, would require the continued presence of UNFICYP in the island.⁴³

On 7 June 1994, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the United Nations operation Cyprus,44 covering in developments from 23 November 1993 to 31 May 1994. The Secretary-General reported that detailed parallel discussions between UNFICYP and the respective military authorities on further unmanning of the buffer zone and on prohibition of live ammunition, weapons other than those that were hand-held and the firing of weapons within sight or hearing of the buffer zone had not taken place owing to the position taken by the Turkish Forces. For the same reasons, difficulties with regard to access to Varosha persisted. UNFICYP intended to redouble its effort to engage the Turkish Forces and others in practical discussions on those important military issues and on the reinstatement of longstanding practical arrangements with regard to access to Varosha. He would report to the Council on those matters at the next opportunity. The Secretary-General was also concerned by the lack of progress in those areas as well as in efforts to reduce the level of troops on the island, particularly when taken in the context of the lack of political will recently encountered in the efforts to reach agreement on implementation of the package of confidence-building measures. In the prevailing circumstances, the Secretary-General believed that the continued presence of the Force on

⁴⁰ S/1994/629.

⁴¹ See S/24472.

⁴² Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

⁴³ The comparison of the package of confidence-building measures of 1 July 1993 and the draft ideas of 21 March 1994 are contained in annex I to the report of the Secretary-General. Annex II gives the schedule of benefits from the implementation of the confidencebuilding measures.

⁴⁴ S/1994/680 and Add.1.

the island remained indispensable, and recommended an extension of its mandate until 31 December 1994.⁴⁵

At its 3390th meeting, on 15 June 1994, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General dated 7 June 1994 in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Oman) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁴⁶ The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 927 (1994), which reads:

The Security Council,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General of 7 June 1994 on the United Nations operation in Cyprus,

Taking note also of the recommendation by the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus for a further period of six and one half months,

Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to keep the Force in Cyprus beyond 15 June 1994,

Expressing concern that, during the period reviewed in the report of the Secretary-General, patrols of the Force continued to encounter interference in or around the buffer zone, that ceasefire violations continued and that no progress was made on an unmanning agreement,

Concerned also that there has been no progress towards a final political solution, no significant reduction in the number of foreign troops in the Republic of Cyprus and no reduction of defence spending in the Republic of Cyprus,

Recalling its resolution 831 (1993) of 27 May 1993, and in particular its provisions on the financing of the Force,

Recalling also its resolution 889 (1993) of 15 December 1993,

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

Noting that it is continuing its consideration of the report of the Secretary-General of 30 May 1994 on his mission of good offices in Cyprus and that a further communication is awaited on the subject, 1. *Extends* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus for a further period ending on 31 December 1994;

2. *Calls upon* the military authorities on both sides to ensure that no incidents occur along the buffer zone and to extend their full cooperation to the Force;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep under review the structure and strength of the Force with a view to the possible restructuring of it;

4. Urges all concerned to commit themselves to a significant reduction in the number of foreign troops in the Republic of Cyprus and a reduction of defence spending in the Republic of Cyprus to help restore confidence between the parties and as a first step towards the withdrawal of non-Cypriot forces as set out in the set of ideas;

5. Once again calls upon the military authorities on both sides, in line with paragraph 3 of its resolution 839 (1993) of 11 June 1993, to begin discussions with the Force without further delay with a view to entering into mutual commitments to prohibit along the ceasefire lines live ammunition or weapons other than those which are hand-held and to prohibit also the firing of weapons within sight or hearing of the buffer zone;

6. Also calls upon the military authorities on both sides to cooperate with the Force in extending the 1989 unmanning agreement to cover all areas of the buffer zone where the two sides are in close proximity to each other;

7. *Also urges* the leaders of both communities to promote tolerance and reconciliation between the two communities as recommended in paragraph 7 of its resolution 889 (1993);

8. *Stresses* the urgent need for the implementation of the confidence-building measures referred to in the report of the Secretary-General of 1 July 1993;

9. Stresses also that it will conduct a thorough and comprehensive review of the situation, including the role of the United Nations in Cyprus and the progress achieved towards a political settlement, in the context of its consideration of the report of the Secretary-General of 30 May 1994 and the further communication, and in particular a re-evaluation based upon the options proposed by the Secretary-General;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution by 15 December 1994.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of Pakistan said his delegation would have preferred a brief procedural resolution extending the Force's mandate without going into the substance of the political issues. Those would be best addressed when the Council carried out an in-depth consideration of the Secretary-General's report of 30 May 1994 and his forthcoming report. His delegation remained optimistic

⁴⁵ Subsequently, the Secretary-General informed the Council that the Governments of Cyprus, Greece and the United Kingdom had indicated their concurrence with the proposed extension. The Government of Turkey continued to support the position of the Turkish Cypriot side, as expressed in previous Council meetings on the extension of the mandate (S/1994/680/Add.1). ⁴⁶ S/1994/706.

about the prospects for positive results on the package of confidence-building measures. He noted the recent steps taken by the Turkish Cypriot side in that regard, which demonstrated the leadership's political will to make progress on the question of confidence-building measures, as well as on an overall political settlement of the problem.⁴⁷

Decision of 29 July 1994 (3412th meeting): resolution 939 (1994)

By a letter dated 28 June 1994,48 the Secretary-General brought to the Council's attention the developments that had taken place since the submission of his last report on 30 May. The Secretary-General recalled that discussion of the implementation of the package of confidence-building measures had been based on a paper dated 21 March 1994,49 which was subsequently revised on the basis of extensive discussions with both leaders. On 6 June 1994, the Turkish Cypriot leader had provided the Secretary-General's Deputy Special Representative with further information on his side's position which clearly showed that it had evolved in a positive direction. However, in all recent discussions, the Turkish Cypriot leader had insisted that the 21 March paper should be amended to incorporate the clarifications which had emerged in Vienna in May while his Deputy Special Representative had argued that those clarifications would not require any textual amendment but would be reflected in a letter from the Secretary-General to both leaders and would also be made available to the Council. Meanwhile, the leader of the Greek Cypriot community had reiterated his acceptance of the 21 March paper but had stated that he could not accept the continuation of negotiations on the confidencebuilding measures. The Secretary-General observed that there was now a very substantial measure of agreement on the substance of the confidence-building measures. However, agreement was lacking on how to record the clarifications that had emerged. He therefore suggested that the Council begin considering the options presented in his report of 30 May.

At its 3412th meeting, on 29 July 1994, the Security Council included the letter from the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Pakistan) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the report of the Secretary-General of 30 May 1994,⁵⁰ as well as to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁵¹ The resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted by 14 votes in favour⁵² as resolution 939 (1994), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its relevant resolutions on Cyprus,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 30 May 1994 and his letter dated 28 June 1994, concerning his mission of good offices,

Reaffirming, in this context, that the confidence-building measures, while not an end in themselves, nor a substitute for the wider political process, would offer significant benefits to both communities and would facilitate the political process towards an overall settlement,

Recalling the acceptance in principle by both parties of the confidence-building measures, and welcoming the acceptance by the leader of the Greek Cypriot Community of the 21 March 1994 "Draft ideas for the implementation of the package of confidence-building measures", and welcoming also the considerable progress towards agreement made by the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, as described in the letter from the Secretary-General dated 28 June 1994,

Noting that there is now a substantial measure of agreement on the substance of the confidence-building measures and the modalities for their implementation, but also noting with concern that neither leader is yet prepared to proceed to their implementation on the basis outlined in the letter from the Secretary-General dated 28 June 1994,

Having studied the options and ideas for future action set out in paragraphs 57 to 62 of the report of the Secretary-General of 30 May 1994,

1. *Reiterates* that the maintenance of the status quo is unacceptable;

2. *Reaffirms its position* that a Cyprus settlement must be based on a State of Cyprus with a single sovereignty and international personality and a single citizenship, with its independence and territorial integrity safeguarded, and comprising two politically equal communities as described in the relevant Security Council resolutions, in a bicommunal and bizonal federation, and that such a settlement must exclude union in whole or in part with any other country or any form of partition or secession;

⁴⁷ S/PV.3390, p. 2.

⁴⁸ S/1994/785.

⁴⁹ "Draft ideas for the implementation of the package of confidence-building measures" (S/1994/785, annex).

⁵⁰ S/1994/629.

⁵¹ S/1994/895.

⁵² Rwanda was not represented at the meeting; see also chapter IV, part III.

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to begin consultations with members of the Council, with the Guarantor Powers and with the two leaders in Cyprus with a view to undertaking a fundamental and far-reaching reflection on ways of approaching the Cyprus problem in a manner that will yield results, and reiterates its call to the parties to demonstrate their commitment by cooperating fully to this end;

4. *Urges*, in this context, the parties to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to achieve agreement on the modalities for implementing the confidence-building measures at the earliest possible time;

5. Also requests the Secretary-General to submit a report by the end of October 1994, including a programme for achieving an overall solution to the issues involved in the Cyprus problem, following his consultations referred to in paragraph 3 above and on progress made towards the implementation of the confidence-building measures;

6. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 4 November 1994: letter from the President to the Secretary-General

On 29 October 1994, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus,53 informing the Council of action taken in pursuance of resolution 939 (994). On 18 August, he had written to the Council members and the Guarantor Powers, seeking their views on matters covered by the resolution. The responses had indicated continuing support for his good offices, but had reaffirmed, for the most part, the positions taken in that resolution. In September, his Special Representative had travelled to the United Kingdom, Cyprus and Turkey for consultations with the Guarantor Powers and the parties. Upon his return, he had reported that matters were close to an impasse both on the substance of the Cyprus problem and on the confidence-building measures. The Secretary-General had thus written again to both leaders on 10 October, inviting them to join his Deputy Special Representative in informal consultations to explore further concrete ways for implementing the confidence-building measures and achieving an overall settlement of the problem. The Secretary-General informed the Council that the invitation had been accepted and that the first meetings had taken place on 18 October. He intended to submit a definitive report at a later stage.

By a letter dated 4 November 1994,⁵⁴ the President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General as follows:

The members of the Security Council wish to express their appreciation for the report on your mission of good offices in Cyprus of 29 October 1994. The members of the Council note that your review of the situation remains in progress. They look forward to receiving your definitive report at an appropriate time.

The members of the Council wish to take this opportunity to thank you, your Special Representative and you Deputy Special Representative for the continuous efforts aimed at a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem in accordance with relevant Council resolutions.

Decision of 21 December 1994 (3484th meeting): resolution 969 (1994)

On 12 December 1994, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus, covering developments from 1 June to 12 December 1994.⁵⁵ Reporting on his mission of good offices, the Secretary-General said that following recent separate meetings with the leaders of both communities, he had instructed his Deputy Special Representative to continue his contacts with the two leaders and to make every effort to find a basis for a resumption of direct talks.

The Secretary-General further reported that during the last six months, UNFICYP had continued to carry out its functions in Cyprus effectively, with the cooperation of both sides, and the situation remained generally quiet. That, however, should not obscure the fact that there was only a ceasefire in Cyprus, not peace. In the absence of progress towards a settlement, the overall situation remained subject to sudden tensions, generated by events outside the island, as well as from within. In that connection, he emphasized that the relations between Greece and Turkey were particularly important.

The Secretary-General said that the excessive level of armaments and forces in Cyprus, and the rate at which they were being strengthened, gave cause for serious concern. Moreover, it was to be deplored that the Council's call to all concerned to commit themselves to a significant reduction in the number of foreign troops and defence spending in the Republic of

⁵³ S/1994/1229.

⁵⁴ S/1994/1256.

⁵⁵ S/1994/1407 and Add.1.

Cyprus had not been heeded. Similarly, so far it had not been possible to make progress on the modest measures, repeatedly called for by the Council, aimed at reducing the confrontation between the two sides along the ceasefire lines. The Secretary-General concluded that the presence of UNFICYP remained indispensable and he therefore recommended an extension of its mandate for a further six months, until 30 June 1995.⁵⁶

At its 3484th meeting, on 21 December 1994, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Rwanda) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁵⁷

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 969 (1994), which reads:

The Security Council,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General of 12 December 1994 on the United Nations operation in Cyprus,

Taking note also of the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months,

Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that, in view of the prevailing conditions in the island, it is necessary to keep the Force in Cyprus beyond 31 December 1994,

Expressing concern that, during the period reviewed in the report of the Secretary-General, patrols of the Force continued to encounter interference in or around the buffer zone, that ceasefire violations continued and that no progress was made on an unmanning agreement,

Expressing its concern once again that there has been no progress towards a final political solution, no significant reduction in the number of foreign troops in the Republic of Cyprus and no reduction of defence spending in the Republic of Cyprus,

Recalling its resolution 831 (1993) of 27 May 1993 and, in particular, its provisions on the financing of the Force,

Recalling also its resolution 889 (1993) of 15 December 1993,

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

Noting that a review of the situation on the Secretary-General's mission of good offices in Cyprus remains in progress, and looking forward to receiving a definitive report at an appropriate time,

1. *Extends* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus for a further period ending on 30 June 1995;

2. *Calls upon* the military authorities on both sides to ensure that no incidents occur along the buffer zone and to extend their full cooperation to the Force;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep under review the structure and strength of the Force with a view to the possible restructuring of it;

4. Urges all concerned to commit themselves to a significant reduction in the number of foreign troops in the Republic of Cyprus and a reduction of defence spending in the Republic of Cyprus to help restore confidence between the parties and as a first step towards the withdrawal of non-Cypriot forces as set out in the set of ideas, and calls upon the Secretary-General to promote efforts in this direction;

5. Once again calls upon the military authorities on both sides, in line with paragraph 3 of resolution 839 (1993) of 11 June 1993, to begin discussions with the Force without further delay with a view to entering into mutual commitments to prohibit along the ceasefire lines live ammunition or weapons other than those which are hand-held and to prohibit also the firing of weapons within sight or hearing of the buffer zone;

6. Also calls upon the military authorities on both sides to cooperate with the Force in extending the 1989 unmanning agreement to cover all areas of the buffer zone where the two sides are in close proximity to each other;

7. *Also urges* the leaders of both communities to promote tolerance and reconciliation between the two communities as recommended in paragraph 7 of resolution 889 (1993);

8. *Welcomes* the decision of the Secretary-General to continue contacts with the two leaders, to make every effort to find common ground for the basis for a resumption of direct talks;

9. *Reaffirms* the importance it attaches to early progress being made on the substance of the Cyprus question and on the implementation of the confidence-building measures referred to in the report of the Secretary-General of 1 July 1993;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution by 15 June 1995.

⁵⁶ S/1994/1407, para. 34.

⁵⁷ S/1994/1433.

Decision of 23 June 1995 (3547th meeting): resolution 1000 (1995)

15 June 1995, the Secretary-General On submitted to the Council a report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus covering developments from 13 December 1994 to 15 June 1995.58 The Secretary-General reported that during the period under review, both sides had generally respected the ceasefire and the military status quo. However, UNFICYP had intervened in response to numerous minor incidents, to correct violations and prevent any escalation. He stated that, despite the Council's call urging a significant reduction in the number of foreign troops in Cyprus,⁵⁹ both sides had continued to improve their military capabilities through the acquisition or upgrading of armaments and equipment and the recruitment of additional personnel. Nor had progress been made so far in pursuance of the Council's call on both sides to prohibit the firing of weapons within sight or hearing of the buffer zone and to extend the unmanning agreement to cover all areas of the buffer zone.60

The Secretary-General also reported that his representatives had continued contacts with the leaders of the two communities and with the Government of Greece and Turkey with a view to finding a basis for a resumption of direct talks.

The Secretary-General concluded that, in view of the prevailing circumstances, the presence of UNFICYP remained indispensable. He therefore recommended an extension of its mandate until 31 December 1995.⁶¹

At its 3547th meeting, on 23 June 1995, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Germany) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.⁶²

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 1000 (1995), which reads: The Security Council,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 15 June 1995 on the United Nations operation in Cyprus,

Taking note of the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the mandate of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months,

Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to keep the force in Cyprus beyond 30 June 1995,

Reaffirming its earlier relevant resolutions on Cyprus, and in particular resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and 969 (1994) of 21 December 1994,

Expressing its concern that there has been no progress towards a final political solution,

Noting that no progress has been made on extending the unmanning agreement of 1989,

Noting also that a review of the situation on the Secretary-General's mission of good offices in Cyprus remains in progress, and looking forward to receiving a definitive report at an appropriate time,

1. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus for a further period ending on 31 December 1995;

2. *Calls upon* the military authorities on both sides to ensure that no incidents occur along the buffer zone and to extend their full cooperation to the Force;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep under review the structure and strength of the Forces with a view to its possible restructuring, bearing in mind the possible implications of an agreement on the extension of the unmanning agreement of 1989;

4. *Expresses concern* about the modernization and upgrading of military forces in the Republic of Cyprus and the lack of progress towards a significant reduction in the number of foreign troops in the Republic of Cyprus, urges once again all concerned to commit themselves to such a reduction and to a reduction of defence spending in the Republic of Cyprus to help to restore confidence between the parties and as a first step towards the withdrawal of non-Cypriot forces as described in the set of ideas, and calls upon the Secretary-General to promote efforts in this direction;

5. *Expresses concern also* about the failure by the military authorities on both sides to take reciprocal measures to prohibit along the ceasefire lines live ammunition or weapons other than those which are hand-held and to prohibit also the firing of weapons within sight or hearing of the buffer zone, and calls upon those authorities to enter into discussions with the Force on this matter in line with paragraph 3 of resolution 839 (1993) of 11 June 1993;

⁵⁸ S/1995/488 and Add.1.

⁵⁹ Resolution 969 (1994), para. 4.

⁶⁰ Ibid., paras. 5 and 6.

⁶¹ See S/1995/488/Add.1.

⁶² S/1995/503.

6. *Regrets* the failure to reach agreement on the extension of the unmanning agreement of 1989 to cover all areas of the buffer zone where the two sides are in close proximity to each other, and calls upon the military authorities on both sides to cooperate urgently with the Force to this end;

7. *Urges* the leaders of both communities to promote tolerance and reconciliation between the two communities as recommended in the relevant reports of the Secretary-General;

8. *Welcomes* the Secretary-General's decision to continue contacts with the two leaders to make every effort to find common ground for the basis for a resumption of direct talks;

9. *Reaffirms* the importance it attaches to early progress being made on the substance of the Cyprus question and on the implementation of the confidence-building measures as called for in resolution 939 (1994) of 29 July 1994;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report by 10 December 1995 on the implementation of the present resolution and on any obstacles he may have encountered;

11. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 11 July 1995: letter from the President to the Secretary-General

By a letter dated 7 July 1995,63 the Secretary-General informed the Council that the Turkish Cypriot authorities had begun large-scale excavations in the old city of Nicosia, immediately behind the Turkish forces' ceasefire line in an area specifically covered by the 1989 unmanning agreement. Although the Turkish Cypriot authorities had informed UNFICYP that they intended to build a playground at the site, the extensive digging of trenches had raised doubts as to the real purpose. As provided for in the 1989 unmanning agreement, the Force had requested regular access to the excavations, as well as a detailed briefing on the construction plans. Regrettably, both requests had been denied. For its part, the Government of Cyprus had indicated that, if the existing situation was not rectified, it would consider that the unmanning agreement had been breached and would accordingly contemplate taking countermeasures. Despite United Nations representations to the Turkish Cypriot side, no progress had been made towards a resolution of the problem.

The Secretary-General cautioned that if the situation was not resolved quickly, it would not only present an obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1000 (1995) but would also put at risk the unmanning agreement of 1989 and the benefits that had flowed from it.

By a letter dated 11 July 1995,⁶⁴ the President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General as follows:

The members of the Security Council have considered your letter dated 7 July 1995 concerning the requests by the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus to the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot authorities regarding access by the Force to the excavations currently being undertaken in the old city of Nicosia, Cyprus, and the need for a full and detailed briefing on the plans which have been put into effect.

The members of the Council recall the provisions of resolution 1000 (1995) of 23 June 1995, in which the Council called upon the military authorities on both sides in Cyprus to cooperate fully with the Force. The members of the Council note that the requests by the Force regarding the excavations in question fall within the terms of the unmanning agreement of 1989, and extend their full support to the efforts being made by the United Nations to secure access without further delay by the Force to inspect the excavations. The members ask you to inform the Council of the outcome of the inspection, once it has taken place.

By a letter dated 25 July 1995,65 the Secretary-General informed the President of the Security Council that, on 13 July, his Deputy Special Representative had received a detailed briefing by the Turkish Cypriot authorities on the excavations carried out by them and had visited the site. On 14 and 15 July, two United Nations technical teams had inspected the area. Based on their findings, UNFICYP concluded that the construction did not indicate work carried out to normal military specifications. At the same time, the construction appeared unnecessarily elaborate and costly for its stated purpose. His Deputy Special Representative had also informed him that the Turkish Cypriot authorities had agreed that UNFICYP would have unhindered regular access to the site during the work and thereafter. Those arrangements would enable UNFICYP to satisfy itself that the new construction continued to be used exclusively for civilian purposes.

⁶³ S/1995/561.

⁶⁴ S/1995/562. ⁶⁵ S/1995/618.

Decision of 19 December 1995 (3608th meeting): resolution 1032 (1995)

On 10 December 1995, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus, covering developments from 16 June to 10 December 1995.⁶⁶ The Secretary-General reported that his representatives had continued contacts with the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus and the parties concerned, with a view to finding a basis for a resumption of direct talks. He noted that almost all of the elements required for a just and lasting settlement were on the table. He was hoping that in the next few months it would be possible to generate the necessary political will to overcome the long-standing deadlock in the negotiating process.

The Secretary-General again expressed his concern at the excessive levels of military forces and armaments in Cyprus and at the rate at which they were being strengthened. Neither side had heeded the Council's repeated calls for a significant reduction of foreign troops and in defence spending in Cyprus. In addition, it had not been possible to make progress even on modest measures aimed at reducing confrontation between the two sides along the ceasefire lines.

The Secretary-General further noted that the large attendance at the bicommunal events organized by UNFICYP, in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, had demonstrated that there was a strong desire on the part of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots to develop contacts and mutual understanding with their compatriots in the other community.

Referring to the humanitarian situation, he said that the review conducted by UNFICYP had shown that the Greek Cypriots and Maronites in the northern part of the island were far from leading the normal life they had been promised under the agreement reached between the two sides in 1975.⁶⁷ Although the Turkish Cypriot authorities had recently announced limited measures to improve the situation, much more needed to be done. UNFICYP would pursue the matter and would follow up with the Government of Cyprus on the measures to eliminate any discrimination against or harassment of the Turkish Cypriots living in the southern part of the island. The Secretary-General concluded that the presence of UNFICYP on the island remained indispensable and therefore recommended an extension of its mandate until 30 June 1996.⁶⁸

At its 3608th meeting, on 19 December 1995, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Russian Federation) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁶⁹

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 1032 (1995), which reads:

The Security Council,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 10 December 1995 on the United Nations operation in Cyprus,

Taking note of the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the mandate of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus,

Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to keep the force in Cyprus beyond 31 December 1995,

Reaffirming its earlier relevant resolutions on Cyprus, and in particular resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and 1000 (1995) of 23 June 1995,

Expressing its concern that there has been no progress towards a final political solution,

Noting that no progress has been made on extending the unmanning agreement of 1989,

1. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus for a further period ending on 30 June 1996;

2. *Calls upon* the military authorities on both sides to ensure that no incidents occur along the buffer zone and to extend their full cooperation to the Force;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep under review the structure and strength of the Force with a view to its possible restructuring, and to present any new considerations he may have in this regard;

4. Welcomes the humanitarian review undertaken by the Force with regard to the living conditions of the Greek Cypriots and the Maronites living in the northern part of the island and of Turkish Cypriots living in the southern part of the island, supports the recommendations of the Force contained in

⁶⁶ S/1995/1020 and Add.1.

⁶⁷ S/11789, annex.

⁶⁸ See S/1995/1020/Add.1.

⁶⁹ S/1995/1045.

the report of the Secretary-General, and decides to keep the matter under review;

5. *Expresses concern* about the continuing modernization and upgrading of military forces in the Republic of Cyprus and the lack of progress towards a significant reduction in the number of foreign troops in the Republic of Cyprus, urges once again all concerned to commit themselves to such a reduction and to a reduction of defence spending in the Republic of Cyprus to help restore confidence between the parties and as a first step towards the withdrawal of non-Cypriot forces as described in the set of ideas, and calls upon the Secretary-General to promote efforts in this direction;

6. *Expresses concern also* about the failure by the military authorities on both sides to take reciprocal measures to prohibit along the ceasefire lines live ammunition or weapons other than those which are hand-held and to prohibit also the firing of weapons within sight or hearing of the buffer zone, and calls upon those authorities to enter into discussions with the Force on this matter in line with paragraph 3 of resolution 839 (1993) of 11 June 1993;

7. *Regrets* the failure to reach agreement on the extension of the 1989 unmanning agreement to cover all areas of the buffer zone where the two sides are in close proximity to each other, and calls upon the military authorities on both sides to cooperate urgently with the Force to this end;

8. Welcomes the initiative of the Force in organizing successful bicommunal events, urges the leaders of both communities to promote tolerance, confidence and reconciliation between the two communities as recommended in the relevant reports of the Secretary-General, and calls uponthem to promote further bicommunal contacts and to remove obstacles to such contacts;

9. *Welcomes* the Secretary-General's decision to continue contacts with the two leaders to make every effort to find common ground for the basis for a resumption of direct talks;

10. *Reaffirms* the importance it attaches to early progress being made on the substance of the Cyprus question and on the implementation of the confidence-building measures as called for in resolution 939 (1994) of 29 July 1994;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report during the coming mandate period on his mission of good offices, including a full assessment of his efforts towards reaching a settlement of the situation in Cyprus;

12. Also requests the Secretary-General to submit a report by 10 June 1996 on the implementation of the present resolution;

13. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

21. Items relating to the situation in the former Yugoslavia

A. The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Decision of 8 January 1993 (3159th meeting): statement by the President

By a letter dated 8 January 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹ the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina informed the Council that the Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzego`vina had been killed by Serbian extremists, as he was returning from the airport in a convoy of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Bosnia and Herzegovina requested an emergency meeting of the Security Council to consider immediate and resolute action, including the use of force under Chapter VII of the Charter.

¹ S/25074.

The representative of Turkey made a similar request by a letter of the same date addressed to the President of the Security Council.²

At its 3159th meeting, on 8 January 1993, the Council included the above-mentioned letters in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Turkey, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Japan) then stated that, after consultations among members of the Security Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:³

The Security Council is profoundly shocked to learn of the killing of Mr. Hakija Turajlic, Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by Bosnian Serb forces, while he was under the protection of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

The Council strongly condemns this outrageous act of terrorism which is a grave violation of international

² S/25077. ³ S/25079.