

all its implications for peace formally before the Security Council. Moreover, the United States Government was firmly convinced that in the light of the Council's obligations under the Charter to maintain international peace and security and the failure so far of all efforts outside the United Nations to restore peace, the Council should address itself urgently to the situation and exert its endeavours to finding a prompt solution.

On the same date, a draft resolution⁷ was submitted by the representative of the United States according to which the Security Council would: (1) call for immediate discussions without preconditions among the appropriate interested Governments to arrange a conference looking towards the application of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 and the establishment of a durable peace in South-East Asia; (2) recommended that the first order of business of such a conference be arrangements for a cessation of hostilities under effective supervision; (3) offer to assist in achieving the purposes of this resolution by all appropriate means, including the provision of arbitrators or mediators; (4) call upon all concerned to co-operate fully in the implementation of this resolution; (5) request the Secretary-General to assist as appropriate in the implementation of this resolution.

At the 1273rd meeting, the Security Council decided by 9 votes to 2, with 4 abstentions, to include the question in its agenda.⁸

Decision of 2 February 1966 (1273rd meeting):

Adjournment

After adoption of the agenda at the 1273rd meeting on 2 February 1966, the President (Japan) said that before proceeding to the consideration of the question included in the agenda, he would like to suggest to the Council that members hold informal and private consultations with a view to determining the most effective and appropriate way of conducting the debate in the future and that, for this purpose, the meeting should be adjourned until the exact date and time could be arranged for the next meeting.⁹ There being no objections, it was so decided.

The question remained on the list of matters of which the Security Council is seized.¹⁰

COMPLAINT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS

Decision of 16 March 1966 (1275th meeting):

- (i) *Reaffirming its previous resolutions, as well as the consensus of 11 August 1964;*
- (ii) *Urging the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to make determined efforts with a view to achieving the objectives of the Security Council;*

(iii) *Extending once more the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus established under the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964 for a period of three months ending 26 June 1966*

On 10 March 1966, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report¹¹ on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus, covering developments from 9 December 1965 to 10 March 1966. The Secretary-General recommended to the Council that despite the reservations which he had to make as a result of the financial situation of UNFICYP, the Force in Cyprus should be extended for a period of six months after 26 March 1966. He informed the Council that his efforts, subsequent to the resignation of Mr. Galo Plaza from the position of United Nations Mediator in Cyprus, towards achieving a resumption of the mediation function had, thus far, been unavailing due primarily to the widely differing and firmly held views in the matter of the three Governments most directly concerned. In this connexion, he referred to his note of 4 March 1967¹² by which he had informed the Council that he had broadened the scope of activity of this Special Representative in Cyprus, without prejudice to the mediation function as envisaged in resolution 186 (1964), authorizing him to employ his good offices and make such approaches to the parties in or outside Cyprus as might seem to be productive, in the sense of achieving, in the first instance, discussions at any level of problems and issues of either a purely local or broader nature.

At the 1274th meeting on 15 March 1966, the Security Council adopted,¹³ without objection, the provisional agenda and invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate in the discussion.¹⁴ The Council considered the question at the 1274th and 1275th meetings held on 15 March and 16 March 1966.

At the 1274th meeting, a joint draft resolution was submitted by the representatives of Argentina, Japan, Mali, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Uganda and Uruguay.¹⁵

At the 1275th meeting on 16 March 1966, the representative of the USSR said that his Government had no objection to the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus on condition that its extension was made in accordance with the provisions of the Security Council resolution 186 (1964), namely, that UNFICYP would retain its present functions and would continue to be financed on a voluntary basis.¹⁶

At the same meeting, the joint draft resolution was unanimously adopted.¹⁷ It read as follows:¹⁸

"The Security Council,

"Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 10 March 1966 that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island,

⁷ S/7106, *OR*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for Jan.-March, 1966*, p. 107.

⁸ 1273rd meeting, para. 27.

⁹ 1273rd meeting, para. 28.

¹⁰ For retention of the item, see the Secretary-General's summary statement on matters of which the Security Council is seized chapter II, p. 51, No. 141. Subsequently, by letter dated 26 February 1966 (S/7168), the President (Japan) transmitted to the Secretary-General the text of a letter of the same date addressed by him to the members of the Security Council, in which he reported on the informal and private consultations with a number of members of the Council.

¹¹ S/7191, *OR*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for Jan.-March 1966*, pp. 204-233.

¹² S/7180, *OR*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for Jan.-March 1966*, p. 191.

¹³ 1274th meeting, preceding para. 28.

¹⁴ 1274th meeting, para. 29.

¹⁵ S/7205, the same text as resolution 220 (1966); 1274th meeting, para. 30.

¹⁶ 1275th meeting, para. 36.

¹⁷ 1275th meeting, para. 37.

¹⁸ Resolution 220 (1966).

"Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 26 March 1966,

"Noting that the basic problem, according to the Secretary-General's report, remains unsolved,

"1. *Reaffirms* its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965 and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964;

"2. *Urges* the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to make determined efforts with a view to achieving the objectives of the Security Council;

"3. *Extends* once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a period of three months ending 26 June 1966, in the firm hope that by the end of this period substantial progress towards a solution will have been achieved."

Decision of 16 June 1966 (1286th meeting):

- (i) *Reaffirming its previous resolutions, as well as the consensus of 11 August 1964;*
- (ii) *Urging the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to make determined efforts with a view to achieving the objectives of the Security Council;*
- (iii) *Extending the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force for a period of six months ending 26 December 1966*

On 10 June 1966, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report¹⁹ on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus, covering developments from 11 March to 10 June 1966. The Secretary-General informed the Council that the situation regarding the resumption of the mediation function had remained unchanged; he recommended the continuance of UNFICYP for a further period of six months ending 26 December 1966 and subsequently informed the Council, on 16 June 1966, that all the parties concerned also wished this extension.²⁰

The Security Council considered the report of the Secretary-General at its 1286th meeting on 16 June 1966, at which meeting the provisional agenda was adopted without objection²¹ and the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey were invited to participate in the Council's discussion.²²

At the same meeting the representative of the Netherlands submitted a draft resolution jointly sponsored with Argentina, Japan, Jordan, Mali, New Zealand, Nigeria and Uganda.²³

Subsequently, the draft resolution was adopted unanimously.²⁴ It read as follows:²⁵

"*The Security Council,*

"*Noting* from the report of the Secretary-General of 10 June 1966 that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island,

"*Noting* that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 26 June 1966,

"1. *Reaffirms* its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, and 220 (1966) of 16 March 1966, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964;

"2. *Urges* the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to make determined efforts with a view to achieving the objectives of the Security Council;

"3. *Extends* the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a period of six months ending 26 December 1966, in the firm hope that by the end of this period substantial progress towards a solution will have been achieved so as to render possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."

After the vote, the representative of the USSR stated that he had voted in favour of the eight-Power draft resolution adopted by the Council with the understanding that the present functions of UNFICYP and the voluntary basis of financing it would be maintained.²⁶

Decision of 15 December 1966 (1338th meeting):

- (i) *Reaffirming its previous resolutions, as well as the consensus of 11 August 1964;*
- (ii) *Urging the parties concerned to act with utmost restraint and to continue co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council;*
- (iii) *Extending once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force for a further period of six months ending 26 June 1967*

On 8 December 1966, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report²⁷ on the United Nations operation in Cyprus, covering developments from 11 June to 5 December 1966. The Secretary-General recommended to the Council that the mandate of UNFICYP be extended for a period of six months ending 26 June 1967. He also informed the Council that the situation regarding the mediation function had remained unchanged since his last report.

¹⁹ S/7350, *OR*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for April-June 1966*, pp. 154-197.

²⁰ S/7350/Add.1, *ibid.*, p. 198.

²¹ 1286th meeting, preceding para. 6.

²² 1286th meeting, para. 6.

²³ S/7358, same text as resolution 220 (1966); 1286th meeting, para. 10.

²⁴ 1286th meeting, para. 17.

²⁵ Resolution 222 (1966).

²⁶ 1286th meeting, para. 93.

²⁷ S/7611 and Add. 1, *OR*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1966*, pp. 110-157.

At the 1338th meeting on 15 December 1966, the Security Council adopted without objection the provisional agenda²⁸ and invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate in the Council's discussion.²⁹

At the same meeting, the representative of Argentina submitted a draft resolution jointly sponsored with the representatives of Jordan, Japan, Mali, Nigeria, Uganda and Uruguay.³⁰

The representative of the USSR stated that his Government had no objection to the extension of the presence of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months, provided that the present functions of UNFICYP were retained and their financing was continued on a voluntary basis.³¹

Subsequently, the seven-Power draft resolution was adopted unanimously.³² It read as follows:³³

"The Security Council,

"Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 8 December 1966 that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island,

"Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 26 December 1966,

"1. Reaffirms its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966) of 16 March and 222 (1966) of 16 June 1966, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting, on 11 August 1964;

"2. Urges the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council;

"3. Extends once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period of six months ending 26 June 1967, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."

Decision of 19 June 1967 (1362nd meeting):

- (i) *Reaffirming its previous resolutions, as well as the consensus of 11 August 1964;*
- (ii) *Urging the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council;*
- (iii) *Extending once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force for a*

further period of six months ending 26 December 1967

On 13 June 1967, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report³⁴ on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus, covering developments from 6 December 1966 to 12 June 1967. In his report, the Secretary-General stated that the situation in the island during the period under review had differed little, if at all, from that of previous reporting periods; basic issues which were at the root of the Cyprus problem continued to be unresolved; the situation regarding a resumption of the mediation efforts remained unchanged; and there was general agreement that if it were not for the interposition of the Force as a buffer in areas of direct confrontation, the renewal of armed strife would appear to be inevitable. He reiterated an observation which he had set forth in an earlier report³⁵ that it was necessary to balance against the undoubted need for the continued presence of the Force in Cyprus the danger that excessive confidence in the indefinite continuation of that presence may be a factor in reducing the sense of urgency of the contending parties about seeking solutions for the underlying differences which had originally caused violence to erupt in the island in 1963 and 1964. The Secretary-General trusted that all interested parties would bear in mind that the Force could not remain in Cyprus indefinitely; for the time being, however, he recommended to the Security Council, with the agreement of the parties concerned, the extension of the mandate of the UNFICYP for a further period of six months up to 26 December 1967.³⁶

At the 1362nd meeting on 13 June 1967, the Security Council adopted, without objection, the provisional agenda³⁷ and invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate in the discussion of the item.³⁸

At the same meeting, the representative of Argentina submitted a draft resolution, jointly sponsored with the representatives of Brazil, Ethiopia, India, Japan, Mali and Nigeria,³⁹ which, he noted, fundamentally reproduced resolution 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966.

Subsequently, the representative of the USSR stated that it was the Security Council, exclusively, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, that had been vested with authority to adopt decisions on questions connected with the use of armed forces on behalf of the United Nations. If the Security Council was unable to adopt the decision it ought to under the Charter, there was nothing to preclude the General Assembly, at its regular sessions or at special or emergency session, in those cases which did not brook of postponement, to convene in accordance with the rules of procedure, and consider questions related to the maintenance of international peace and security, and, within the limits of its competence under the Charter of the United Nations, to make recommendations to the States concerned or to the Security Council. The representative of the USSR stressed further that the Soviet Union did not recognize

²⁸ 1338th meeting (PV), p. 7-10.

²⁹ 1338th meeting (PV), p. 7-10.

³⁰ S/7635, same text as resolution 231 (1966).

³¹ 1338th meeting (PV), p. 16.

³² 1338th meeting (PV), p. 17.

³³ Resolution 231 (1966).

³⁴ S/7969, O.R., 22nd yr., Suppl. for April-June 1967, pp. 183-241.

³⁵ S/7001, O.R., 20th yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1965, pp. 438-486.

³⁶ S/7969, O.R., 22nd yr., Suppl. for April-June 1967, pp. 239-241.

³⁷ 1362nd meeting (PV), p. 2.

³⁸ 1362nd meeting (PV), p. 2.

³⁹ S/7996, same text as resolution 238 (1967).

any decisions that violated the spirit and meaning of the United Nations Charter, especially connected with such a responsible sphere of the United Nations activities as utilization of United Nations armed forces. Regarding the seven-Power draft resolution before the Council, he stated that his Government would not object to the extension of the stationing of United Nations forces in Cyprus for a further period of six months on the understanding that this was made in accordance with the provisions of resolution 186 (1964), namely, that the present functions of UNFICYP were to be retained and they would continue to be financed on a voluntary basis.⁴⁰

At the same meeting, the seven-Power draft resolution was adopted unanimously.⁴¹ It read as follows:⁴²

"The Security Council,

"Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 13 June 1967 that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island,

"Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 26 June 1967,

"1. Reaffirms its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966) of 16 March, 222 (1966) of 16 June and 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964;

"2. Urges the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue determined co-operatives of the Security Council;

"3. Extends once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period of six months ending 26 December 1967, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."

Decision of 24 November 1967 (1383rd meeting):

Statement by the President expressing the consensus of the Council that: the parties concerned be called upon to show the utmost moderation and restraint and refrain from any act which might aggravate the situation in Cyprus and constitute a threat to peace; the parties concerned further be requested to assist and co-operate in keeping the peace and arriving at a permanent settlement in accordance with Security Council resolution 186 of 4 March 1964

By letter⁴³ dated 24 November 1967, the representative of Cyprus requested the President of the Security Council to convene an immediate emergency meeting of the Security Council as a matter of the utmost urgency, in view of the clear threat of the imminent invasion of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus by Turkish forces.

The question was considered by the Security Council at its 1383rd meeting on 24 November 1967, at which the Council adopted⁴⁴ the agenda and invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate in the discussion.⁴⁵

At the same meeting, the representative of Cyprus* stated that his country was under imminent threat of attack and invasion by the navy, military forces and air force of Turkey. He held that the cause of the threatening attitude of Turkey with regard to the invasion of Cyprus was not the events which had occurred in a Turkish Cypriot village; rather, Turkey insisted on having the partition of Cyprus by the use of force. Having referred to the obligations ensuing from Article 2, paragraph 4, of the United Nations Charter, the representative of Cyprus appealed to the Security Council to protect the territorial integrity, the sovereignty and political independence of Cyprus from the threat of invasion by Turkey.⁴⁶

The representative of Turkey* stated that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus were in danger because the Greek and Greek Cypriot attack on the two Turkish Cypriot villages, a detailed account of the preparation and the initiation of which had been provided in the Secretary-General's report to the Council,⁴⁷ was the initiation of the process which would have ultimately put an end to the independence of Cyprus by completing its union with Greece. In the view of the Turkish Government, the only element which threatened the peace on the island, endangered the security of life of the Turkish community, and posed the most direct impediment to the effective functioning of UNFICYP in Cyprus was the presence of the illegal Greek Army of occupation which had been brought to the island with the collusion of the Greek Cypriot Administration: hence, the most important question before the Council was the removal of the element of ever-present threat posed by the illegal presence of the Greek forces in Cyprus. With respect to the immediate action which the Council might feel disposed to take concerning the situation under consideration, the Turkish Government believed that the following three points should be considered: (a) the condemnation of the inhuman crimes perpetrated against the Turkish community; (b) the payment of compensation to the inhabitants of the two villages; and (c) the provision of effective guarantees for the security of the two Turkish villages.⁴⁸

The representative of Greece* referred to the "provocative acts" of the Turkish Government which had preceded the incidents before the Council and stated that at the present moment, preparations seemed to have been completed in Turkey for the launching of an attack, armed forces and military air forces having been massed along the coast facing Cyprus, as well as along the frontier between Turkey and Greece. The Council was confronted by a threat of the use of force, which was about to be put into effect, and therefore the immediate task of the

⁴⁰ 1362nd meeting (PV), pp. 12-15.

⁴¹ 1362nd meeting (PV), p. 21.

⁴² Resolution 238 (1967).

⁴³ S/8262, OR, 22nd yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1967, p. 248.

⁴⁴ 1383rd meeting (PV), p. 2-5.

⁴⁵ 1383rd meeting (PV), p. 2-5.

⁴⁶ 1383rd meeting (PV), pp. 6-11.

⁴⁷ S/8248, OR, 22nd yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1967, pp. 215-236.

⁴⁸ 1383rd meeting (PV), pp. 12-20.

Security Council was to prevent the use of force and to put an end to threat of its use.⁴⁹

Subsequently, at the suggestion of the President of the Security Council, the meeting was recessed to allow members of the Council to consult with one another regarding what should be done about the problem before them.⁵⁰

At the resumed 1383rd meeting held on the same day, the President read out the following statement as representing the consensus of the views of the members of the Council:⁵¹

"The Council has now acquainted itself with the position of the parties directly concerned. It is gravely concerned in view of the tense and dangerous situation with regard to Cyprus. The Council notes with satisfaction the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General to help maintain peace in the region and calls upon all the parties concerned to show the utmost moderation and restraint and to refrain from any act which might aggravate the situation in Cyprus and constitute a threat to the peace. The Security Council further requests all concerned urgently to assist and co-operate in keeping the peace and arriving at a permanent settlement in accordance with Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964."⁵²

Decision of 22 December 1967 (1386th meeting):

- (i) *Reaffirming its previous resolutions, as well as expressions of consensus;*
- (ii) *Extending the stationing of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for a period of three months ending 26 March 1968;*
- (iii) *Inviting the parties promptly to avail themselves of the good offices offered by the Secretary-General;*
- (iv) *Calling upon all the parties concerned to continue to show the utmost moderation and restraint and refrain from any act which might aggravate the situation;*
- (v) *Urging the parties concerned to undertake a new determined effort to achieve the objectives of the Security Council with a view to keeping the peace and arriving at a permanent settlement*

On 8 December 1967, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report⁵³ on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus, covering developments from 13 June to 8 December 1967, which the Council considered at its 1385th and 1386th meetings, held on 20 and 22 December 1967. In his report, the Secretary-General noted that towards the end of the period under review, the situation in Cyprus had undergone a serious deterioration due to the incidents of 15/16 November 1967 at Agios Theodoros and Kophinou. He drew attention to the continuing precariousness of the situation and recommended to the Security Council that the mandate of UNFICYP be extended for another period, whether of six or of three months, as one obvious step for the maintenance of peace in Cyprus. Having informed the Council that the situation regarding a resumption of the mediation

function had remained unchanged since his last report, the Secretary-General emphasized that his good offices continued to be available to the parties concerned and to the Security Council.

At the 1385th meeting on 20 September 1967, the Security Council adopted, without objection, the provisional agenda⁵⁴ and invited the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate in the discussion.⁵⁵

At the same meeting, the President drew the attention of the Council to the communication⁵⁶ dated 12 December 1967 from the representative of Turkey in which it was requested that Mr. Osman Örek be given an opportunity to address the Council as the representative of the Turkish community in Cyprus.⁵⁷ The Security Council decided,⁵⁸ in view of the past precedents⁵⁹ and on the same basis as before, to give a hearing to Mr. Örek, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council.⁶⁰

Subsequently, the representative of Cyprus* stated that it would serve the cause of peace if there were a complete withdrawal of Greek and Turkish troops from Cyprus accompanied by a guarantee against external attack. He was prepared to discuss, within the framework of the United Nations, any constructive proposal aimed at reducing tensions and removing the causes of friction which, in turn, would pave the way to a peaceful solution. However, the Cypriot Government would not consent to any new bilateral effort between Greece and Turkey with regard to the Cyprus problem which was not a dispute between Greece and Turkey but a problem that concerned the people of Cyprus.⁶¹

The representative of Turkey* held that the mandate of the UNFICYP, as spelled out in Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, had given it more authority than it had chosen to exercise. Such implementation of the mandate of the Peace-keeping Force had stemmed from a strict interpretation of the concept of sovereignty; however, if a Government invited a peace-keeping force, it thereby voluntarily and inevitably limited its sovereignty to the extent that it could no longer act in such a way as to make it impossible for that force to keep the peace. The representative of Turkey submitted the following as the minimum functions which the UNFICYP had to be called upon to perform, either through a clarification of its existing mandate or under new and broader functions which might be assigned to it, through agreement between the parties, with a clear call from the Security Council: the UNFICYP (1) should be instructed and allowed formally to observe and report to the Secretary-General and thereby to the Council any influx of arms into or from the island; (2) should be in a position to inform the Council instantly of any troop concentrations; (3) should be called upon to observe and supervise the disarming of all forces on the island

⁴⁹ 1385th meeting (PV), p. 6.

⁵⁰ 1385th meeting (PV), p. 6.

⁵¹ S/8293, *OR*, 22nd yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1967*, p. 318.

⁵² 1385th meeting (PV), p. 6.

⁵³ 1385th meeting (PV), p. 11.

⁵⁴ See, *Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council, Supplement 1964-1965*, under Chapter VIII, pp. 111 and 125. See also: *Ibid.*, under chapter III, Case 6.

⁵⁵ See chapter III, Case 2, of this *Supplement*.

⁵⁶ 1385th meeting (PV), pp. 16, 17, 21, 22.

⁴⁹ 1383rd meeting (PV), pp. 26-30.

⁵⁰ 1383rd meeting (PV), pp. 66-70.

⁵¹ 1383rd meeting (PV), p. 71.

⁵² Decision of 24 November 1967, *OR*, 22nd yr., *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1967*, p. 11.

⁵³ S/8286, *OR*, 22nd yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1967*, pp. 266-315.

illegally constituted after December 1963, and should take into custody the arms so abandoned; (4) should have complete and unhindered freedom of access to all parts of the island; (5) should ensure the safety and freedom of all citizens on all roads. Further, it was to be understood that neither before nor after the measures of disarmament was the UNFICYP intended to supplant the authority of either the Greek-Cypriot Government or the Turkish community in areas under their respective control.⁶²

The representative of Greece* stated that the threat of invasion of Cyprus by Turkey still existed and that the Secretary-General's report contained three certain important elements which would make it possible to take positive steps in the right direction, namely (i) the speedy withdrawal of foreign troops and all armed forces other than United Nations forces, (ii) positive demilitarization of Cyprus under United Nations supervision and the preparation of practical arrangements to safeguard the security of the Cypriot population, and (iii) prompt and urgent action with a view to seeking a lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus.⁶³

At the 1386th meeting of the Security Council, on 23 December 1967, the President (Nigeria) read out the text of a draft resolution which had been agreed upon by the members of the Council in the course of consultations.⁶⁴

Subsequently, the representative of France stated that he would have no objection to a short extension of the mandate of the UNFICYP within the framework of the resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964. However, he drew the attention of the three Governments concerned to the need to make every effort, during the short extension of the Force's mandate, to achieve a concerted and lasting resolution of the Cyprus question.⁶⁵

The representative of the USSR "stressed" that a decision to send the United Nations armed forces into any particular country had to be taken only as a most extreme measure, only after careful weighing of all the circumstances, and bearing in mind that the use of foreign troops—including even United Nations troops—to settle conflicts, and even the very presence of those forces on foreign soil, might lead to interference in the domestic affairs of States, to international implications, and to an aggravation of tension. The prerequisite for the application of such an extreme measure as the use of United Nations armed forces had to be, in all circumstances, the scrupulous observance of all the provisions of the United Nations Charter concerning the question of the use of force for the maintenance or restoration of international peace. The USSR Government would oppose the transformation of UNFICYP into a kind of police force which would be using arms against the one or the other of the two communities in Cyprus because that would be a flouting of the Charter, an interference in internal affairs of Cyprus, and would lead to adverse consequences for the United Nations. Although, in his view, any further stationing of United Nations troops on Cyprus was not justified, he would not prevent the extension of UNFICYP on the island for an additional

three-month period, provided that the extension was in keeping with the desires of the Governments concerned, and provided also that the extension was carried out in accordance with the provisions of resolution 186 (1964), namely, with the maintenance of the present functions of the UNFICYP and the optional method of financing the troops.⁶⁶

At the same meeting, the draft resolution was voted upon and adopted unanimously.⁶⁷ It read as follows:⁶⁸

"The Security Council,

"Noting the appeals addressed by the Secretary-General to the Governments of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus on 22 November, 24 November and 3 December and the report of the Secretary-General of 8 December 1967;

"Noting the replies of the three Governments concerned to the appeal of the Secretary-General of 3 December in which the Secretary-General proffered his good offices, and their replies to his previous appeals;

"Noting from the said report of the Secretary-General that circumstances continue to require the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for a further period;

"Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 26 December 1967;

"1. Reaffirms its resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and its subsequent resolutions as well as its expressions of consensus on this question;

"2. Extends the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force established under the Council's resolution 186 (1964), for a period of three months ending on 26 March 1968;

"3. Invites the parties promptly to avail themselves of the good offices proffered by the Secretary-General and requests the Secretary-General to report on the results to the Council as appropriate;

"4. Calls upon all the parties concerned to continue to show the utmost moderation and restraint and refrain from any act which might aggravate the situation;

"5. Urges the parties concerned to undertake a new determined effort to achieve the objectives of the Security Council with a view, as requested in the Council's consensus of 24 November 1967, to keeping the peace and arriving at a permanent settlement in accordance with Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964;

"6. Decides to remain seized of this question and to reconvene for its further consideration as soon as circumstances and developments so require."

Decision of 18 March 1968 (1398th meeting):

- (i) *Reaffirming its previous resolutions, as well as the consensus of 11 August 1964 and 24 November 1967;*
- (ii) *Urging the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council;*

⁶² 1385th meeting (PV), pp. 27-32.

⁶³ 1385th meeting (PV), pp. 33-36.

⁶⁴ 1386th meeting (PV), pp. 2-5.

⁶⁵ 1386th meeting (PV), pp. 7-10.

⁶⁶ 1386th meeting (PV), pp. 15-17.

⁶⁷ 1386th meeting (PV), p. 18-20.

⁶⁸ Resolution 244 (1967).

(iii) *Extending once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, for a further period of three months ending 26 June 1968*

On 9 March 1968, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report⁶⁹ on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus, covering the developments from 9 December 1967 to 8 March 1968. The Secretary-General recommended to the Council the extension of the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for another period of three months, noting that the Governments concerned had given their agreement to a further extension.

The Security Council considered the report of the Secretary-General at its 1398th meeting, held on 18 March 1968, when the provisional agenda was adopted without objection,⁷⁰ and the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey were invited to participate in the discussion.⁷¹

Subsequently, the President (Senegal) announced that consultations among members of the Security Council had resulted in agreement on the text of a draft resolution.⁷²

At the same meeting, the representative of the USSR stated that he would not oppose the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP for a further three-month period, since this was in keeping with the desire of the Government of Cyprus and the other parties concerned and on condition that the extension would be carried out in accordance with the provisions of resolution 186 (1964), that is, retaining the present mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus and under the existing system of financing it on a voluntary basis.⁷³

At the same meeting, the President put to the vote the above-mentioned draft resolution and stated that if there was no objection, he would consider that the draft resolution had been unanimously adopted. There being no objection, the draft resolution was adopted unanimously.⁷⁴ It read as follows:⁷⁵

"The Security Council,

"Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 9 March 1968 (S/8446) that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island;

"Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 26 March 1968;

"Noting, from the observations in the report, the new conditions prevailing in the island,

"1. Reaffirms its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966) of 16 March, 222 (1966) of 16 June and 231 (1966) of 15 December

1966, 238 (1967) of 19 June and 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964 and at the 1383rd meeting on 24 November 1967;

"2. Urges the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council by availing themselves in a constructive manner of the present auspicious climate and opportunities;

"3. Extends once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period of three months ending 26 June 1968, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."

Decision of 18 June 1968 (1432nd meeting):

- (i) *Reaffirming its previous resolutions, as well as the consensus of 11 August 1964 and 24 November 1967;*
- (ii) *Urging the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council;*
- (iii) *Extending once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force for a further period ending 15 December 1968*

On 11 June 1968, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report⁷⁶ covering the developments from 8 March to 7 June 1968. Having noted that despite the relaxation of tension and improved relations between the two communities, the situation remained unstable in the island, he recommended that the Council extend the stationing of the UNFICYP for a further period of six months until 26 December 1968.

The Security Council considered the report of the Secretary-General at its 1432nd meeting on 18 June 1968, at which meeting the provisional agenda was adopted without objection⁷⁷ and the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey were invited to participate in the discussion.⁷⁸

At the same meeting, the President (United States) stated that pursuant to consultations which had been held among the members of the Council, and in accordance with the requests of several of those members, a draft resolution had been prepared.⁷⁹

The representative of the USSR, stated that he would not hinder an extension of the presence of those forces for an additional period of six months in view of the fact that this was in accordance with the wishes of the Government of Cyprus and of the interested parties, and on condition that the extension should be made in accordance with the provisions of resolution 186 (1964), that is, with the strict preservation of the present functions of the United Nations Force in Cyprus and of the present system of financing it through voluntary contributions.⁸⁰

Subsequently, the President stated that if there was no objection, he would consider that the draft resolution

⁶⁹ S/8446, *OR*, 23rd yr., *Suppl. for Jan.-March 1968*, pp. 217-254.

⁷⁰ 1398th meeting (PV), p. 2.

⁷¹ 1398th meeting (PV), p. 2.

⁷² 1398th meeting (PV), pp. 3-5.

⁷³ 1398th meeting (PV), p. 36.

⁷⁴ 1398th meeting (PV), pp. 38-40.

⁷⁵ Resolution 247 (1968).

⁷⁶ S/8622, *OR*, 23rd yr., *Suppl. for April-June 1968*, pp. 189-212.

⁷⁷ 1432nd meeting (PV), pp. 2-5.

⁷⁸ 1432nd meeting (PV), pp. 2-5.

⁷⁹ S/8639 adopted without change as resolution 254 (1968).

⁸⁰ 1432nd meeting (PV), p. 31.

before the Council had been adopted unanimously. There being no objection, the draft resolution was unanimously adopted.⁸¹ It read as follows:⁸²

"The Security Council,

"Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 11 June 1968 (S/8622) that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island,

"Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island, it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 26 June 1968,

"Noting, from the observations in the report, the encouraging recent developments in the island,

"1. Reaffirms its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966), of 16 March, 222 (1966) of 16 June and 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966, 238 (1967) of 19 June and 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967, and 247 (1968) of 18 March 1968, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964 and at the 1383rd meeting on 24 November 1967;

"2. Urges the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council by availing themselves in a constructive manner of the present auspicious climate and opportunities;

"3. Extends once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period ending 15 December 1968, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."

Decision of 10 December 1968 (1459th meeting):

- (i) *Reaffirming its previous resolutions, as well as consensus of 11 August 1964 and 24 November 1967;*
- (ii) *Urging the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council;*
- (iii) *Extending once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force for a further period ending 15 June 1969*

On 4 December 1968, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his report⁸³ covering the developments from 8 June to 2 December 1968. Noting that the improved conditions on the island had made it possible to reduce the strength of the Force by about 25 per cent, but that the promising efforts of the parties in Cyprus to reach a peaceful settlement of their differences might be jeopardized by the uncertainties that might arise if the United Nations presence in Cyprus were to be withdrawn

or radically changed at this stage, the Secretary-General recommended that the Council extend the stationing of UNFICYP for a further period of six months until 15 June 1969.

The Security Council considered the report of the Secretary-General at its 1459th meeting on 10 December 1968, at which meeting the provisional agenda was adopted without objection and the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey were invited to participate in the discussions.⁸⁴

At the same meeting, the President (Ethiopia) stated that pursuant to consultations which had been held among the members of the Council, and in accordance with the request of some of those members, a draft resolution had been prepared.⁸⁵

The representative of the USSR stated that he would not impede the extending of the period for the stationing of United Nations troops in Cyprus by six months, taking into account the fact that this would accord with the desire of the Government of Cyprus and other interested parties, and on the understanding that the extension would take place in accordance with the provisions of resolution 186 (1964), that is, maintaining the present functions of the United Nations troops in Cyprus and the existing method of their financing on a voluntary basis.⁸⁶

Subsequently, the President put to the vote the draft resolution before the Council and it was adopted unanimously.⁸⁷ The text read as follows:⁸⁸

"The Security Council,

"Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 4 December 1968 (S/8914) that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island,

"Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 15 December 1968,

"Noting, from the observations in the report, the encouraging recent developments in the island,

"1. Reaffirms its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966) of 16 March, 222 (1966) of 16 June and 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966, 238 (1967) of 19 June and 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967, and 247 (1968) of 18 March and 254 (1968) of 18 June 1968, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964 and at the 1383rd meeting on 24 November 1967;

"2. Urges the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council by availing themselves in a constructive manner of the present auspicious climate and opportunities;

⁸⁴ 1459th meeting (PV), pp. 2-5.

⁸⁵ 1459th meeting (PV), p. 6.

⁸⁶ 1459th meeting (PV), p. 26.

⁸⁷ 1459th meeting (PV), p. 26.

⁸⁸ Resolution 261 (1968).

⁸¹ 1432nd meeting (PV), p. 32.

⁸² Resolution 254 (1968).

⁸³ S/8914, *OR*, 23rd yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1968*, pp. 136-157.

"3. *Extends* once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period ending 15 June 1969, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."

SITUATION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Decision of 9 April 1966 (1277th meeting):

- (i) *Determining that the resulting situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to the peace;*
- (ii) *Calling upon the Portuguese Government not to permit oil to be pumped through the pipeline from Beira to Southern Rhodesia;*
- (iii) *Calling upon the Portuguese Government not to receive at Beira oil destined for Southern Rhodesia;*
- (iv) *Calling upon all States to ensure the diversion of any of their vessels reasonably believed to be carrying oil destined for Southern Rhodesia which may be en route for Beira;*
- (v) *Calling upon the Government of the United Kingdom to prevent, by the use of force if necessary, the arrival at Beira of vessels reasonably believed to be carrying oil destined for Southern Rhodesia, and empowering the United Kingdom to arrest and detain the tanker known as the "Joanna V" upon her departure from Beira in the event her oil cargo is discharged there*

By letter ⁸⁹ dated 7 April 1966, the representative of the United Kingdom requested the convening that afternoon of an emergency meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation in Southern Rhodesia, in connexion with the arrival at Beira of an oil tanker destined for Southern Rhodesia and the approach to the same port of a second tanker, also believed destined for Southern Rhodesia. The letter expressed the concern of the United Kingdom Government that this might result in substantial supplies of oil reaching Southern Rhodesia, in contravention of the oil embargo it had imposed in conformity with Security Council resolution 217 (1966) of 20 November 1966. The letter also stated that during the meeting, the United Kingdom would make proposals to meet the situation.

In a second letter ⁹⁰ dated 8 April 1966, the representative of the United Kingdom, having drawn the attention of the President of the Council to rule 2 and Article 28 of the Charter, expressed dissatisfaction that the Council had not been convened the day before, in spite of the formal and urgent request he had made in his letter of 7 April. He also regretted that no relevant formal explanation had been given by the President and, in the circumstances, insisted that the meeting of the Council be convened without further delay.

At the 1276th meeting on 9 April 1966, the Council adopted the agenda and considered the question at the 1276th and 1277th meetings, both held on 9 April 1966. The representatives of Algeria and Sierra Leone,⁹¹

Kenya ⁹² and Greece ⁹³ were invited to take part in the discussion.

At the same meeting, the representative of the United Kingdom referred to a procedural question concerning the urgency of the request for the convening of the meeting, and objected to the fact that such a request for an emergency meeting of the Council had not been accepted. ⁹⁴ He then drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution ⁹⁵ which his delegation had submitted and stated that what he was doing was not to raise a new subject, but to report a serious challenge to the authority of the United Nations, on which both the Security Council and the General Assembly had pronounced themselves within recent months. His delegation was seeking the authority of the Council to respond to that challenge with vigorous and immediate action. The United Kingdom Government, pursuant to Council resolution 217 (1965), had taken action with regard to the oil embargo against Southern Rhodesia. But as the Council was meeting, an oil tanker, the *Joanna V*, with a full cargo of oil, was in the port of Beira, while another tanker, the *Manuela*, also with a full cargo of oil, had been close to Beira and could put in at that port very soon. Other tankers might follow, and would surely do so, unless the Council acted now. If the oil carried by such ships were pumped through the pipeline to the refinery at Umtali, which had been closed since December 1965, the normal system of supply of petroleum products to Southern Rhodesia would resume. Moreover, if the oil from these and other tankers reached Rhodesia, the oil embargo effected by the Council would be severely prejudiced, the illegal régime in Salisbury encouraged, and the United Nations purposes most seriously frustrated. His delegation therefore came to the Council to seek its help and authority to prevent this from happening. If the Council failed to take the required action, it would be helping the illegal régime and reduce the authority of the United Nations, which no Council member wished to do.⁹⁶

At the same meeting, the representative of Uganda introduced the following amendment,⁹⁷ submitted jointly with Mali and Nigeria, to the revised United Kingdom draft resolution: (1) after the first preambular paragraph, insert the following paragraphs: "*Noting* that economic measures have failed to produce the desired political results; *Deeply concerned* at the reports that oil had been reaching Southern Rhodesia;" (2) in operative paragraph 1, delete the words "the resulting situation" and insert "the situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia," and after the word "peace" add "and security"; (3) after operative paragraph 3, insert the following paragraph: "*Calls upon* the Government of South Africa to take all measures necessary to prevent the supply of oil to Southern Rhodesia;" (4) Delete operative paragraph 5, and replace it by the following paragraph: "*Calls upon* the Government of the United Kingdom to prevent by all means including the use of force, the transportation

⁹² 1277th meeting, para. 1.

⁹³ 1277th meeting, para. 127.

⁹⁴ For the procedural discussion, see chapter I, Case 1.

⁹⁵ S/7236/Rev.1. For the consideration of the provisions of article 39, see chapter XI, Case 1; for the consideration of the applicability of article 42, see chapter XI, Case 7.

⁹⁶ 1276th meeting, paras. 13, 14, 19 and 20.

⁹⁷ S/7243, OR, 21st yr., Suppl. for April-June 1966, pp. 32-33.

⁸⁹ S/7235, 1276th meeting, para. 10.

⁹⁰ S/7238, OR, 21st yr., Suppl. for April-June 1966, pp. 30-31.

⁹¹ 1276th meeting, para. 8.