

# HISTORICAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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STUDY GUIDE  
UC3MUN 2019



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Study guide of the topics

*Turkish Invasion of Cyprus, 1974*

of the United Nations Security Council

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## 0. INDEX

<b>0. INDEX.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Welcome letter .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Competence, Functions and Structure of the Committee .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Single topic: Turkish Invasion of Cyprus, 1974.....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>I. Introduction .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>II. Key Concepts .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Megali Idea (Great Idea in English) .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Double Enosis / Partition .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>TMT .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Green Line / UN Buffer zone .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>III. History of the Topic.....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>From 1878 to 1960 .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>The Zurich-London Agreements .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Events leading up to the invasion (1963 - 1967) .....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Coup d’etat of 15th July 1974 .....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>The Turkish Invasion.....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>The UN Peacekeeping Forces .....</b>	<b>25</b>



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**IV. Other actors involved and bloc policies .....27**

**V. Points to be addressed and questions that a resolution should include.....31**

**VI. Actions that have already been taken.....33**

**Bibliography .....35**

**Annex I Members of the Security Council in 1974 .....38**



## Welcome letter

Honorable Delegates,

The Board of Historical Security Council would like to extend a warm welcome to all of you. We are delighted to have you on board here at the UC3MUN 2019 in Madrid, Spain. We are excited to know that you are going to be part of our committee, bearing in minds that at the core of every committee, and every single debate, are the participants, the delegates. We are willing to guide you and answer every question you may have and in doing so, contribute to making this conference an amazing and unforgettable experience. We share with you the same passion for attending MUN's and urge you to develop your skills in diplomacy, public speaking and negotiations. Our topic for discussion is the 1974 Turkish Invasion of Cyprus. The meeting will happen on the 16th of August 1974, right after the end of the second phase of the invasion and the declaration of the cease-fire. The goal of the committee is to pass the resolution No. 360, thus meaning all the previous resolutions regarding Cyprus have to be considered and to be read by the delegates. The Committee should try to find a solution to the war (according to the mandate of the Security Council), but it should not forget that we are in 1974, in the high peak of the Cold War, and the topic must be debated accordingly. Because is a Historical Committee, the study guide has long parts regarding the history before the invasion, so the delegate can better understand the reasons and politics behind the conflict. Through this study guide, we will provide you with an overview of the situation, and also we will provide you with points to be addressed and discussed for the resolution. However, you should also conduct your own, individual study about our topic.



We are looking forward to working with you, and we are more than happy to help you with any queries you may have! Last but not least, remember that regardless of your background, academically, culturally and socially, we are all equally important to a creative and constructive dialogue, in which nobody's opinion is of more value than that of another. We ask you to treat each other with the utmost respect and collegiality, and we are confident that we are going to have an environment for great ideas, learning, and most importantly fun.

Best of Luck,

Darío Ramírez Sarriés , Chair

Stefanos Agathokleous, Co-Chair



## Competence, Functions and Structure of the Committee

The United Nations Security Council is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations. It is charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, but it has key functions regarding the functioning of the UN system, such as the recommendation of a new Secretary General, the recognition of new members before the General Assembly and it shall approve any amendment to the United Nations Charter.

The composition and functioning of the Council are developed under chapters V, VI and VII of the charter. Article 24 contains the provision regarding the exclusive competence of the Council to act on behalf of the member states under its primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security, taking a preeminent role in the UN's collective security system. The Charter authorizes the Council to investigate situations threatening peace, to recommend procedures for peaceful resolution of disputes and may call the member states to interrupt economic relations. It also may sever diplomatic relations and even enforce its decisions militarily.

The UNSC shall adopt its decisions in two ways.

- Under Chapter VI (Pacific Settlement of Disputes), the UNSC may investigate disputes or situations leading to disputes and recommend procedures of adjustment if it considers that the dispute may escalate and endanger international peace and security. Those recommendations are generally considered not be binding, although some scholars argue that they shall be respected similarly to those



adopted under article VII, as they differ in the enforcement options exclusively.

- Chapter VII allows the Council to decide measures on those situations involving “threats to peace, breaches of peace and acts of aggression”. Under this chapter, the UNSC is not limited to recommendations. It is able to take executive actions, including the use of armed force. This principle has been used several times, including the UN action in the Korean War in 1950, during the invasion of Kuwait in 1991 and in the Libyan civil war.

Membership, proceedings and veto

During the conference, we will be simulating the UNSC meetings on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1974 and, therefore, the composition shall be as stated in Annex 1. For the proper development of the debate, the board of the UNSC has invited three members states as observers to the meetings. **They shall participate in the debate, but they will not have a vote in procedural and substantive votings and they shall not propose motions (Pending Secretariat confirmation).**

The Council shall be composed by 5 permanent members, 10 non permanent and 3 observers and their rights and duties shall be those described in the United Nations Charter, the provisional Rules of Procedure of the UNSC and the Rules of Procedure of UC3MUN, being the later the prevalent norm in case of conflict.

Sustantive votings shall pass by **(10 or 9? Charter says 9 affirmative votes, RoP 2/3 of the present)**. These proceedings require the concurring votes or the abstention of the permanent members. Under decisions made under chapter VI and under article 52 paragraph 3, parties to the dispute shall abstain from voting.



The mandate of the United Nations Security Council and its resolutions are binding and absolute. However, a precedent should be recalled. Resolution 377 of the United Nations General Assembly (Also known as Uniting for peace) was approved in November 1950 and it allows the UNGA to partially bypass the UNSC. In the case of a recurring veto of a permanent member in any matter and therefore, making the UNSC fail to maintain international peace and security, an extraordinary session of the GA may be called to consider the matter immediately, issuing recommendations as deemed necessary in order to restore international peace and security. The mechanism has been used 10 times, being 1997 the last time on regards to the Palestine question.

## **Single topic: Turkish Invasion of Cyprus, 1974**

### **I. Introduction**

Cyprus, because of its strategic position, was throughout its history colonised by a lot of colonial powers. In 1878 Britain was the last country to occupy Cyprus, taking over the island from the Ottoman Empire. The Cypriots, Greeks and Turks alike, had for centuries co-existed peacefully in mixed villages, towns and places of work.

Cyprus represents one of the most enduring and problematic ethnic disputes. Since 1960, when Cyprus became independence from Great Britain, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots have conflicted with each other, culminating in the arrival of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in 1964 and the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. Conflicts involving ethnic groups have been almost impossible to resolve, and the situation in Cyprus is no exception. Despite the ethnic dispute, the Conflict in Cyprus must also be seen from a different kind of view,



the view of the Cold War, where neither the US or the USSR wanted Cyprus to fall into each other's hands.

## II. Key Concepts

### **Megali Idea (Great Idea in English)**

The term "Megali Idea" appeared for the very first time as an ideological concept in 1844 when the Greek Prime Minister referred to Greece as "any land associated with Greek history or the Greek race". It is important to mention that since the fall of Constantinople by Ottoman Turks in 1453, Greece was under the Ottoman rule until 1832, when it gained its independence. However, only southern Greece was liberated, and many Greek populations were living under the Ottoman rule, including Cyprus. With that being said, the Megali Idea goal was to liberate all the Greek areas that were conquered by the Ottoman Empire and restore the Byzantine Empire. Through the following century, Greece continued to expand with a vast expansion coming after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire through the Balkan Wars, where Greece claimed most of the Aegean Islands, Macedonia, Thessaloniki and Crete. During the First World War, Greece had a National Schism, and two Governments were formed, the King's Government which wanted to stay neutral during the war and Venizelos' Government which wanted to join the war on the Allies' side. It was that time that the British Empire offered Cyprus to the King of Greece and in return, Greece would Join the War; however, the King refused. Greece entered, late, the war on the Allies' side.



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The treaty of Sevres gave Greece more territories closer to Constantinople. Then, Greece launched an attack to conquer all of the remaining former Byzantium territories. However, due to political and social changes in Greece, and the financial Support of Turkey by Soviet Russia, Greece lost the war.

After the war, the treaty of Lausanne was signed between Greece and Turkey, where Greece had to return all the territories gained from the treaty of Sevres. The result was, although in the future there are mentions about the Megali Idea, effectively died in 1923.

### **Enosis (Union with Greece)**

Set of policies that recommend the union of Cyprus with Greece.

### **Double Enosis / Partition**

The policy which suggests that Cyprus should be divided between Turkey and Greece

### **EOKA**

EOKA was an underground nationalist guerrilla movement dedicated to ending the British colonial rule in Cyprus and was active between 1955 – 1959. Their goal was to achieve enosis (Union) of Cyprus with Greece. It was organised by Col. Georgios Grivas Digenis of the Greek Army with the support of the Archbishop Makarios III. EOKA resulted in many guerrilla fights against the British soldiers and Turkish Cypriots who did not want enosis. EOKA was dismissed in 1960, after the Independence of Cyprus.

### **EOKA B'**



EOKA B' was a Greek Cypriot right-wing paramilitary organisation that supported enosis (union) of Cyprus with Greece, it was formed in 1971 and was supported by the Greek Junta of 1967. It was created by Georgios Grivas Digenis when he returned to Cyprus in 1971 as a response to the President Archbishop Makarios' failure to achieve enosis (union). However, EOKA B' had not so much support among the Greek Cypriots like EOKA had, especially from the communist party and the supporters of independence. In January 1974, when Georgios Grivas died, EOKA B' was under the direct control of the Greek Junta and took part in the coup d'état against president Makarios III.

### **TMT**

The TMT or the Turkish Resistance Organization was formed in 1957 to fight the Greek- Cypriot EOKA. It was formed by Turkish Cypriots who did not want enosis, and in case of the event of enosis, Cyprus should be divided between Greece and Turkey.

### **Green Line / UN Buffer zone**

In 1963, there were a lot of tensions between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. To prevent any escalation of the conflict between the two communities, commander of British forces in Cyprus Major General Peter Young, drew a line in Cyprus map with a Green Pen, which separated Cyprus into North (Turkish Cypriots) and South (Greek Cypriots). It is also called the UN Buffer zone since it is controlled by UN Personnel who seek to maintain Peace in the region.

## **III. History of the Topic**



## From 1878 to 1960

The Turkish invasion of the island dates back hundreds of years ago. It started in 1571 when the Ottoman Empire conquered and took control of Cyprus. Few hundred years later, in 1878, the British Empire leased Cyprus from the Ottoman Empire, thus having it under its direct control but it was still part of the latter. In 1914, when the Great War started, the British Empire and the Ottoman Empire were enemies, and so, the British empire seized the island. However, Cyprus only became a crown colony in 1923, after the defeat of the German Alliance and the Ottoman Empire in the war. According to the treaty of Lausanne, Turkey had to renounce any claims on the island, and any Muslim of Cyprus had the opportunity either to move to Turkey and stay as Turkish national or stay in Cyprus under British control.

The British decided that the easiest way for them to control the island was to separate the two ethnicities ( Greeks and Turks of the island), so they would never revolt against them. That is the reason when the Greeks revolted against the British; the latter has used Turks in the police forces. The British tried not only to keep the two ethnicities separated but also to keep away the Greek and Turk national feeling away from the citizens.

It is important to mention that Cyprus (with Greece's help, since Cyprus was not a UN member) tried to legitimise the revolution. In the General Assembly meeting of September 1954, the article passed with 30 states in favour, 19 against and 11 abstaining. It is important to mention all NATO countries voted against, except Iceland. That is the reason Iceland proposed the 814th resolution on the meeting held on the 17th of December 1954 (Greece could



not propose the resolution as it would have surely failed) and it was passed. However, the result of the 9th meeting was that “at the moment, the situation of Cyprus could not be further discussed. Since the United Nations could not legitimise the anti-colonial revolution of Cyprus, the Greeks of the island took the matters in their hand. The actual talks for a revolution started in the 1950s and EOKA was formed. The political leader of the group was Archbishop Makarios III, and the military leader was Georgios Grivas Digenis. In 1954, the first secret weaponry shipment arrived in Cyprus from Rhodes, Greece. The first attack has begun on the early morning hours of 1st April 1955 with bombings on governmental buildings. However, Greece avoided any discussion of the Cypriot fight. Besides, the Papagos'(Prime Minister of Greece) administration said that Greece was against any form of violence and did not want good relations between the United Kingdom and them to be disturbed.

On the 30th of June 1955, the UK invited both Greece and Turkey in London to discuss Cyprus. The acceptance of the invitation by Greece meant two things: 1) The UK took the role of a mediator between the protracted conflict of Greece and Turkey and 2), since Greece agreed to include Turkey on the meeting, Turkey reclaimed its old ambitions about Cyprus (30 years after the Treaty of Lausanne, where Turkey lost any claims on the island). Through the war, there were many fights happening in Cyprus. Moreover, there were also some minor clashes in Turkey where Turkish Nationalists attacked Greek minorities in Constantinople / Istanbul. Furthermore, there were many suggestions to the Greek-Cypriots to end the fight by the UK, but they rejected them all. Then Archbishop Makarios was forced into exile from the island but continued to support the fight from



abroad. EOKA was not only fighting the British but also the Turks of the island who did not support the unification with Greece. In November 1957, the Turkish nationalist group named TMT was formed, by Rauf Denktash, and the group was funded and trained by Turkey. Besides, TMT also attacked Turkish Cypriots trade union members, just like the Greek Cypriot EOKA attacked Greek socialist/ communist groups. The fights continued until 1959, where Archbishop Makarios agreed to Independence instead of Union with Greece, thus forming the Republic of Cyprus and ending the British Colonial Rule.

### **The Zurich-London Agreements**

The Zurich and London Agreements were signed in 1959 between representatives of Greece, Turkey, England and the two communities ( Greeks and Turks ) of Cyprus, thus ending the dispute and the anti-colonial war. The reason the leadership of the Greek Cypriots agreed to independence was that the alternative would be to return to war with the UK and the possible result would be a forced partition of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey. Besides, it is also important to mention the constitution was drafted by the UK and was given to the representatives to sign it, thus meaning no actual debate happened on the constitution. The Cypriot Constitution refers to the two communities as Greeks and Turks and not Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots.

The constitution divided the political power of the island into the two communities; however, the Turkish Cypriot minority was given rights disproportionate to its size ( their size was 18%). According to the Agreements, the President of Cyprus had always to be Greek Cypriot elected by the Greek Cypriots, and the Vice-President should always be Turkish-Cypriot elected by the Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriot vice president was given the power of veto on decisions passed by the House of Representatives and the Council of Ministers. The House of representatives were voted separately within each community, and the House could not change basic articles of the constitution, and any other modification required simple or two-thirds majority of both



the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. To modify the Electoral Law and the adoption of any law relating to municipalities or any fiscal laws required separate simple majorities of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot members of the House.

Separate Greek and Turkish Communal Chambers were created with legislative and administrative powers concerning educational, religious, cultural, sporting and charitable matters, cooperative and credit societies, and questions of personal status. Separate municipalities were envisaged for Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in the five largest towns of the island. Such separation, apart from being impracticable, as the population and properties in many places were intermixed, made their functioning disproportionately expensive for small towns such as those of Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriots held 30 per cent of the posts in the Civil Service and comprised 40 per cent of the Police Force and Army.

Apart from the Constitution mentioned above, two treaties were signed and were included in the package of the Zurich-London Agreements that came to be essential to the development of the invasion in 1974. Those treaties were 1) The Treaty of Guarantee and 2) the treaty of Alliance.

1) The Treaty of Guarantee is a treaty between Cyprus and Britain, Greece and Turkey. The treaty gives the right to any of the three countries mentioned above, to intervene on the island if there is a serious threat that threatening the stability of the island. They have to right to do joint or unilateral actions against Cyprus.

2) The Treaty of Alliance is between Cyprus, Greece and Turkey and it gives the right to the countries to station contingents of their forces on the island.

For the military, the Army was formed by the two communities with an analogy of 6 Greek Cypriots: 4 Turkish Cypriots. Apart from the Cypriot army, the Greek Force in Cyprus and Turkish Force in Cyprus were created with manpower of 950 and 650



accordingly.

It is important to mention that the Treaties mentioned above were never presented to the House of Representatives for ratification as the House would not have ratified them and an impasse would have been created from the earliest days of the birth of the Republic.

The Treaties, moreover, were in direct conflict with the basic principles of international law and morality, with the principles of the United Nations Charter and with the right of every state to full sovereignty and independence. They authorized foreign powers to take such action as would constitute an unprecedented intervention in the domestic affairs of an independent state and member of the United Nations and violated the internationally accepted principles of democratic government, majority rule and equality among citizens. The United Nations Mediator on Cyprus, Dr Galo Plaza, in paragraph 163 of his report to the U.N. Secretary-General in March 1965, described the 1960 Constitution, created by the Zurich and London Agreements, as "a constitutional oddity", and in paragraph 129 he stated that difficulties in implementing the Treaties signed on the basis of those Agreements had begun almost immediately after independence. Furthermore, the UK annexed two Cypriot territories, in Akrotiri and Dhekelia where it established sovereign bases under British control. On the 16th of August 1960, Cyprus declared itself an independent state from Great Britain

### **Gains vs Losses?**

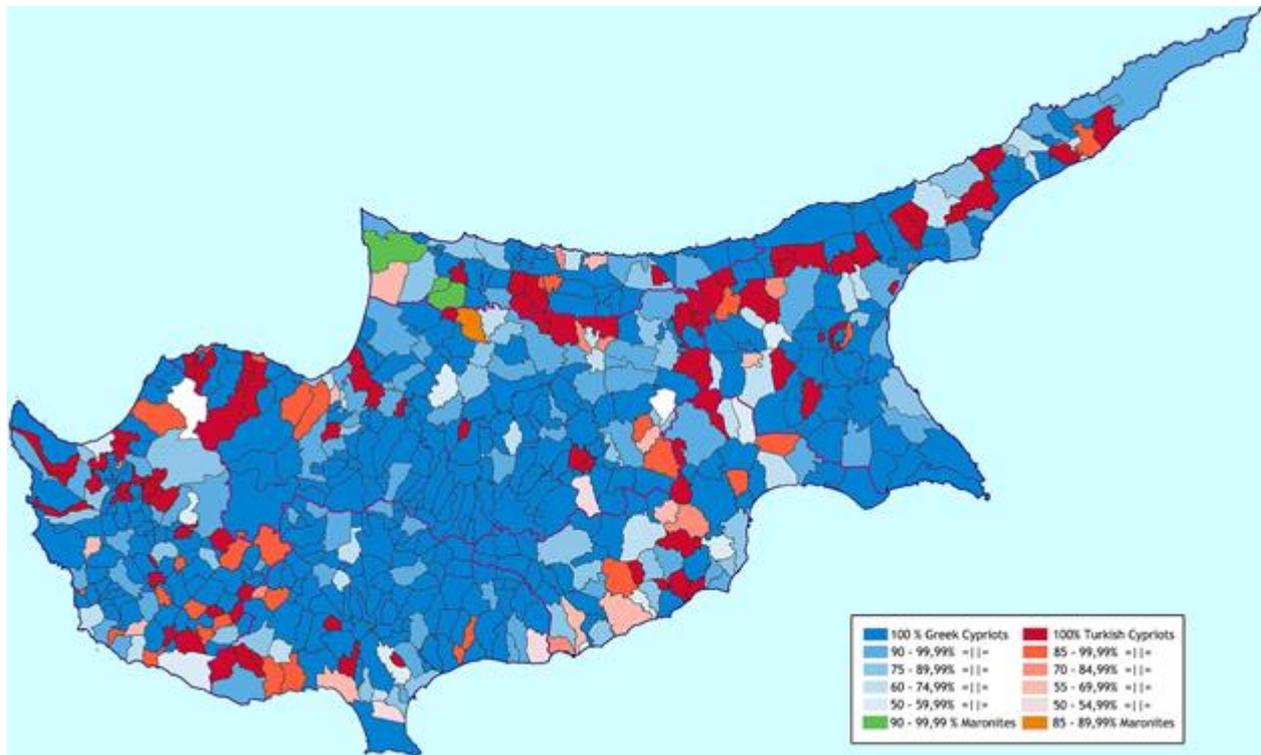
For the Turkish-Cypriots, a massive gain from the agreements was that enosis was prohibited. However, then so, too, partition. There was undoubtedly a good deal of Greek-Cypriot dissatisfaction with what they regarded as an imposed settlement, though in the late 1959 presidential elections the Greek-Cypriot electorate voted by a two to one majority for Makarios who, if grudgingly, supported the Constitution, against his rival, who did not. In Greek-Cypriot eyes, a Turkish minority (about one-fifth of the population) had been raised to virtual political equality and grossly over-



represented in the institutions of the state. The new constitution, it has been an aid, in reality, the legacy of constitutional strife, rather than a model for sound government based on democratic lines'. The new republic took over sovereignty from the British on August 16, 1960, after eighty-two years of British rule, much of it troubled. Its occupation had been of doubtful value to Britain but had it remained under Turkish control, and it might well have become a battleground during the Turkish war of liberation against the Greeks after the first world war.

### **The Republic of Cyprus (1960 - 1963)**

The first president of Cyprus was the Archbishop Makarios III, and the first vice-president was Dr Fasil Küçük who were elected in the first elections held on 13 December 1959. The newly founded state was barely working and had difficulties functioning, due to the many faults of the constitution regarding the two communities and the veto powers by the Turkish Cypriot vice president.



( Demographic map of Cyprus in 1960. Source : (En.wikipedia.org, 2018)

### Events leading up to the invasion (1963 - 1967)

In 1963, president Makarios III submitted to the Turkish Cypriot vice president for consideration, 13 constitutional amendments for the better functioning of the state and to remove barriers between the two communities. One of the amendments was the veto of both the president and vice president should be abandoned. After the submission of the amendments, Turkey opposed them and soon the Turkish Cypriot leadership. The reason was that the amendments were against the constitution and that the Turkish population living in Cyprus would become a minority. In December 1963 tensions rose when police cars used by Turkish Cypriot policemen suspected of engaging in the distribution of weapons refused to submit to government inspection. Then, armed clashes broke out in the island and immediately the Turkish Cypriot



community called for partition or Taksim. Turkish Cypriots abandoned all governmental and civil positions, even the house of representatives. The Turkish Cypriot vice president also abandoned his position. Turkish Cypriot civilians started going into enclaves in any location of the island and besides, Turkey threatened to invade as the stability of the island was critically damaged.

The events mentioned above were taken into an advantage by the Turkish Cypriot nationalist saying that the two communities could never live together and demanding partition of the island. They also attacked their Cypriot people who supported cooperation between the two communities. Furthermore, the clashes were about to become an armed conflict with the participation of the Greek and Turkish military forces, until the Commander of the British troops in Cyprus succeeded in de-escalating the clashes by drawing the Green Line through the capital, Nicosia that was the separation line between the two forces and communities. In 1964, through a Security Council resolution, UN peacekeeping forces were sent to Cyprus, but the clashes continued through the following years.

In 1964, what is left from the House of Representatives (only Greek-Cypriot Representatives) passed a legislation to create the National Guard formed only by Greek Cypriots, with the purpose to maintain the stability of the island. Through the following years, Turkish Cypriots were trying to get more territories under their control, and the National Guard was trying not to let it happen. The creation of the National Guard made Turkey to start threatening again that it will invade the island. The invasion was avoided after the intervention of the US president Johnson. Soon after, the Acheson Plan was proposed that would give the Karpasia Peninsula in the north of the island (4.5% total land) to Turkey for a military base, and the rest of the island would be unified with Greece. However, President Makarios denied the plan.

In August 1964, after a clash of Turkish and Greek Cypriots, Turkey bombed several villages and military locations of the island and resulted in a counterattack by the National Guard, and also it succeeded in advancing into Turkish Cypriot positions. A Greek Turkish war was avoided in the last minute with the help of the Soviet Union. The



result was, some high positioned military officials resigned, including Georgios Grivas Digenis ( the leader of the former EOKA); also there were a lot of anti-American protests happening in the island. Most of the weapons of the National Guard were coming from Greece, but also the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. During the Cold War, due to the fact that Cyprus decided not to join the west or east side, thus joining the Non-Aligned and also because there was a vast communist present on the island made the US intelligence forces refer to Cyprus as " The Cuban of the Mediterranean" and they thought Cyprus was aligning with the Soviet Union.

### **Events leading up to the invasion ( 1967 - 1974)**

In 1967, the democracy in Greece had fallen, and three military officials controlled the country through a military junta. The leaders of the Junta regime thought that the problem with Cyprus could be solved through a Greek-Turkish approach and they invited the Turkish leaders into talks in September 1967. However, they were unable to solve the crisis. In November 1967, because a severe clash happened in Cyprus between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, Turkey sent an ultimatum to Greece. They demanded that Greece to remove the Hellenic Force and the military leader Georgios Grivas Digenis, or else they would attack Greece. The Greek Junta regime met the demands of Turkey, and on 29th of December 1967, Turkish Cypriots proclaimed the Interim Turkish Cypriot Administration. At the moment, due to Turkish demands, Cyprus was military weakened.

In March 1970, a nationalist group was formed named Ethniko Metopo or Nationalist Front which it included Greek Cypriots and Greek citizens and officials members of the Greek Junta regime. It was against the president Makarios III, and they claimed that if the president is eliminated, Enosis (Union) with Greece could be achieved.

In 1971, a new group was formed name EOKA B', and the leader was no other than the leader of the former anti-colonial guerilla group EOKA, Georgios Grivas Digenis. EOKA 'B included Greek Cypriot members and members of the Nationalist Front. They



made terrorist attacks against government buildings, assassinations of politicians and they were also against president Makarios. President Makarios sent a letter to the Greek Junta regime to withdraw back to Greece all the Greek military officials of the Cypriot National Guard as they took part in the terrorist attacks of EOKA B'. In January 1974, the leader of EOKA B' Georgios Grivas Digenis died, and the organisation fell under the direct control of the Greek Junta and its leader, Dimitrios Ioannidis.

### **Coup d'etat of 15th July 1974**

In the early mornings of the 15th of July 1974, an attempt to overthrow the president Makarios III took place from the Cypriot National Guard and the Hellenic Force in Cyprus, both under the direct control of the Greek Junta. Its goal was to eliminate president Makarios III and establish a partition of the island between Greece and Turkey. The military attacked the presidential palace; however the president was able to escape to Paphos ( a Cypriot city located in the south-west of the island), and through the national radio broadcast, he said to the Cypriot citizens, and he is still alive. Then, with the help of British forces, he escaped to London and then to New York where he addressed the Security Council on the 19th of July as the true leader of Cyprus. The coup d'etat cost the lives of approximately 100 people ( military officials and civilians included). Then the Greek Junta installed their puppet president, Nikolaos Samson, the Cypriot national radio broadcast came under their control, and all the prisoners who were members of EOKA B Were released.

### **The Turkish Invasion**

In the early hours of 20th July 1974, as a result of the coup d'etat happened five days ago, Turkey invaded the island. The operation was called Peace Operation Attilas by Turkey and an Invasion by the Greeks. Turkey claimed the invasion was justified under the article of the treaty of Guarantees signed in the Zurich-London Agreements of 1959. According to Turkey, the Turkish Cypriots were under direct threat after the coup



d'etat. The Greek junta collapsed immediately after the invasion, and the national guard failed to counterattack the Turkish forces. Turkey Landed in the Dock of Kyrenia, in the northern part of the island and the 22nd more troops arrived from Turkey. The Cypriot national guard tried to defend the northern territories, but it was unable to do so. In the afternoon of the same day, a ceasefire was agreed, and at this moment, Turkey controlled the city of Kyrenia. Greece was unable to help Cyprus as they never expected Turkey to invade, they were able to send few troops on the island, however, in 23rd of July, the dictatorship collapsed, and democracy was restored in Greece; furthermore, the puppet president in Cyprus resigned. The new president of Cyprus became the president of the House of representatives, Glafkos Clerides, and in Greece, the new prime minister was Konstantinos Karamanlis. The UN peacekeepers were unable to keep the ceasefire, and Turkey continued to expand. At a conference on 14 August 1974, Turkey demanded from the Cypriot government to accept its plan for a federal state, and population transfer, with 34% of the territory under Turkish Cypriot control. When the Cypriot acting president Clerides asked for 36 to 48 hours in order to consult with Athens and with Greek Cypriot leaders, the Turkish Foreign Minister denied Clerides that opportunity because Makarios and others would use it to play for more time. The negotiations in Geneva failed, and Turkey declared the second phase of the invasion, on the 14th of August, codename Attilas II was its goal was to reach the green line. Turkey used the Geneva talks to bring 40.000 troops on the island. An hour and a half after the conference broke up, the new Turkish attack began. Britain's then foreign secretary and soon to be prime minister James Callaghan, later disclosed that Kissinger "vetoed" at least one British military action to pre-empt the Turkish landing. Turkish troops rapidly occupied even more than was asked for at Geneva. Thirty-six and a-half per cent of the land came under Turkish occupation reaching as far south as the Louroujina salient. In the Nicosia airport, Turkish troops attacked the UN peacekeepers. Furthermore, Greece was not able to help Cyprus, even though they declared a mobilisation law. The Greek Prime Minister said that Greece was unable to help due to the long distance between them and Cyprus.



## Missing Persons and refugees

There were a lot of casualties in all sides participated in the conflict ( Greek, Greek Cypriots, Turks, Turkish Cypriots, UN peacekeepers ). However, as the second phase of the invasion just ended, it is still too early to have an exact number of the casualties. The Republic of Cyprus claims that Turkey took Greek Cypriot civilians to prisons back in Turkey. The Greek Cypriots that success came in the southern part of Cyprus during the invasion are now internally displaced persons.



Current Map of Cyprus in the day of our meeting on the 16th August 1974  
Source : (Google.com, 2018)



## The UN Peacekeeping Forces

The Security Council originally defined the function of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus in its resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 in the following terms: "in the interest of preserving international peace and security, to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions".

The Security Council has periodically extended that mandate, which was conceived in the context of the confrontation between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities in 1964. In connection with the hostilities in July and August 1974, the Security Council adopted many resolutions, which have affected the functioning of UNFICYP and have required the force to perform specific additional functions relating, in particular, to the maintenance of the ceasefire.

When Fighting resumed on 23 July, especially in the vicinity of Nicosia International Airport, which, with the agreement of the local military commanders of both sides, was declared a United Nations protected area and was occupied by UNFICYP troops, the Secretary-General reported to the council on the breakdown of the ceasefire, and sent messages to the prime ministers of Greece and Turkey and the acting president of Cyprus, expressing his high anxiety and requesting measures to ensure observance of the ceasefire. The council on 23 July adopted resolution 354 (1974), reaffirming the provisions of resolution 353 (1974) and demanding that the parties comply immediately with paragraph 2 of that resolution, which called on them to stop firing and refrain from action, which might aggravate the situation.

## UNFICYP activities



As a consequence of these events, UNFICYP was faced with a situation that had not been foreseen in its mandate. According to the Security Council resolution number 186 (1964), the functions of UNFICYP were conceived concerning the intercommunal conflict in Cyprus, not to large-scale hostilities arising from action by the armed forces of one of the guarantor powers.

On 15 July, as soon as the coup d'état was reported, UNFICYP was brought to a high state of readiness. Additional liaison officers were deployed at all levels, and increased observation was maintained throughout the island in all areas of possible intercommunal confrontation. Special measures were taken to ensure the security of the Turkish Cypriot community. A few cases of firing into the Turkish enclave north of Nicosia were reported; the firing was stopped through liaison with the National Guard.

On 20 July, the day of the Turkish landings, UNFICYP was placed on full alert. An increased level of observation was maintained throughout the entire island, and additional precautions were taken to safeguard isolated Turkish Cypriot villages. The National Guard reacted to the Turkish operations with strong simultaneous attacks in other parts of the island against most of the Turkish Cypriot quarters and villages. The best UNFICYP could achieve under the circumstances was to arrange local ceasefires to prevent further loss of life and damage to property, as the Turkish Cypriot fighters, who were mainly deployed to protect isolated villages and town sectors, were heavily outnumbered. When the war situation made it necessary on 21 July to evacuate foreign missions to the British Sovereign Base Area at Dhekelia, UNFICYP played a significant part in the organisation and execution of that humanitarian operation. In all areas, including the Kyrenia sector, intensified United Nations patrolling was carried out, a close watch was maintained over the battle zone, and all possible efforts were made to promote the safety of civilians.

The Secretary-General reported to the Security Council his understanding that



UNFICYP should, and indeed must, use its best efforts to ensure, as far as its capabilities permitted, that the ceasefire called for by the council was maintained. A United Nations peacekeeping force, in a dire situation such as the one prevailing in Cyprus, could not be expected to stand by and not make the maximum effort to ensure that a resolution of the Security Council was put into effect. For this reason, the Special Representative, the Force Commander and all the personnel of UNFICYP made every effort to restore the ceasefire, to ensure that it was observed and to prevent any incidents from escalating into a full recurrence of fighting. In this connection, UNFICYP assisted in delineating the positions of the parties as at 16.00 on 22 July. There was an establishment of additional United Nations observation posts in the confrontation areas, and extensive patrolling was carried out in order to maintain a United Nations presence throughout the island.

Also, the Secretary-General requested reinforcements from the contributing countries; they arrived between 24 July and 14 August, increasing the total all-ranks strength by 2,078 to a total of 4,444.

#### **IV.**

### **Other actors involved and bloc policies**

#### United States

Prior to the Cold War, the United States of America were not involved neither historically nor geopolitically, since the island had been under British ruling until mid 1950's. The rising American concerns towards Cyprus must be understood under the containment strategy, aimed to prevent the spreading of Communism in regions of strategical concern for US interests. During the Cold War, US policy was based on four goals:



- a) The republic of Cyprus shall develop political stability, alongside Turkey and Greece and under the look-out of the British Government, forming a consistent bloc against communism.
- b) Cyprus should prioritize economic development, free democratic institutions and a pro-western orientation.
- c) The USA shall enjoy unrestricted use of its own existing communications facilities on the island.
- d) The British military bases should be maintained and be available to any western nation.

The USA had been well aware of the prospect of ethnic violence in the island, but have considered the UK responsible of solving the issue. Therefore, the USA didn't mediate in the ethnic conflicts during the 50's and had no word on the drafting of the Constitution.

Anyhow, the USA realised AKEL (Moscow aligned Cypriot Communist party) was gaining power and support, held a wide share of the seat of the parliament and were backing Archbishop Makarios as president of the republic. Makarios remarks on the need of soviet troops in the event of a soviet invasion enhanced fears of US officials on the island becoming the Mediterranean Cuba. By 1964, USA policy evolved into the following priorities: a) Ensuring that the ethnic conflict in Cyprus does not escalate into a larger war and b) not compromising their relations with Greece and Turkey through their actions in Cyprus. Both countries were pivotal to the NATO containment policy and a priority. After having the Acheson plan for dividing the island rejected, the USA backed and disengaged.



In the early 70's the US policy shifted towards an interest in removing Makarios from power. This policy was parallel to the Greek Junta efforts to stage a Coup d'état against Makarios.

There is division on the academia on the level of awareness of the USA on the Coup. It was surprising for the International Community that the USA was left alone in its refusal to explicitly condemn the coup by the insurgents. The State Department considered the change of government "an accomplished fact" and their prime objective was to prevent further exacerbation and to support the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus as well as its constitutional arrangements. The USA vetoed a UNSC draft resolution condemning Greece for its role on the Coup. It seems obvious that the coup seemed to fulfil US policy objectives in dealing with the "Makarios issue".

US complacency with the Greek led coup was coupled with a certain tolerance towards the Turkish landing of troops on 20 June 1974. This policy was justified by Henry Kissinger by stating that the only event that would have discouraged the Turkish landing of troops would have been a US military action on the island. Any forceful intervention on the island would have probably shifted Turkey closer to the USSR. As a result of the US complacency with the invasion and after mass demonstrations in Athens and Nicosia, Roger Davies, US ambassador to Cyprus was assassinated. Resulting from the Greek pressure, the US initiated an embargo that lasted a very short time and achieved almost nothing.

### **Soviet Union**

The Soviet Union followed during the cold a policy oriented to slowly but steadily into the eastern Mediterranean countries (Turkey, Greece and Cyprus), both for economic and for geostrategic reasons. This penetration,



however, was driven through indirect methods rather than through aggressions, territorial demands and sending of troops. Alongside the RDA, the Soviet Union supported and financed political groups and governments to weaken ties with the US and the NATO, enabling them to extend soviet influence towards southern Mediterranean. Additionally, they also were able to drive the Western mishandling of certain foreign policy actions into disaffection, so those countries would pursue a non-aligned policy.

A crucial factor of the Soviet Policy towards Cyprus was the influence of the Cypriot Communist Party (AKEL). The party has historically been loyal to Moscow and was briefly outlawed by the British in 1955 but legalised again before the first presidential elections in 1959. After that moment, they became the main opposition party and they viewed themselves as the alternative political voice to the Orthodox Church. The fact that Makarios, both head of the Church and the republic, had the backing of a vast majority of the Greek Cypriot population forced AKEL to cooperate with him, accepting the London and Zurich Agreements and focusing their policy efforts against the British military bases and the USA and NATO influence in Cypriot domestic affairs.

The Soviet Union, although apparently had no influence in the region because of the Greek and Turkish membership to NATO, took advantage of the disillusionment of the Turkish government with the West. Although Turkey has been a part of the NATO for a long time, they are well aware of their geostrategical position, that enables them to ask for huge concessions to the US. After Lyndon Johnson remarks and diplomatic statements on the planned Turkish invasion in 1964, Turkish officials recognized that their strict adherence to the west in a rapidly changing environment had left the country virtually isolated. Several factors, all bound to the Cyprus question, forced Turkey to reconsider their rapprochement with the soviet bloc.



- a) Turkey felt that a wide opening towards the Soviet Union would make the USA reconsider their stance on Cyprus and push for more presence and rights for the Greek population or eventually the Enosis.
- b) Turkey considered that winning the soviet support would imply the backing of the communist bloc in the United Nations on any decision regarding Cyprus.
- c) The worst outcome Turkey could expect was a neutral soviet position on the question of Cyprus, and that would imply denying support for the Greeks.

This policy reconsideration was not exclusively based on the Cyprus question, as other domestic issues were also key: the growing anti-American feeling and the rejection of USA military bases, the liberal constitution of 1961 (that enabled citizens to freely criticize the governments policy with the US), the emergence of a socialist movement that advocated for the emancipation of Turkey from the West and the normalization of relations with he non aligned and communist countries.

## V.

### **Points to be addressed and questions that a resolution should include.**

- Two other countries, Greece and the UK have the right the intervene to restore stability according to the treaties of the Zurich-London Agreements. How should the rest of the guarantor powers response to Turkey?
- The UN Peacekeeping Force (UNFICYP) was unsuccessful in keeping peace and stability in the island. How should the Security Council decide on a new mandate of



the peace keepers? Should the peacekeepers expand their duties in humanitarian aid after the invasion in fighting missing persons on both sides? What should the role of UNFICYP be from now on?

- As of these moments, you have Greek Cypriot citizens located in the Northern part of the island, and Turkish-Cypriot citizens located at the southern part of the island. Should the UNFICYP facilitate the exchange of the population if desired by Turkey and Cyprus?
- Should the Security Council decide on a mandate about a peace enforcement mission? If yes, what should be included in the mandate?
- Should the Security Council recognise the Northern Part of Cyprus as a part of Turkey or should they condemn the invasion?
- Should the Cypriot government control all of the island according to the Zurich - London agreements?
- Is there any military or legislative steps that the Security Council should discuss, that will help to avoid any reemerge of the war?
- Cyprus, a non-aligned member through the Cold war, was invaded by a NATO member. How should the Soviet Union and the rest of the communist countries answer to that?
- The Security Council have the right to issue sanctions on other states? Should the Security Council issue sanctions on Turkey ? or should they issue sanctions on Greece that motivated the Coup d'etat? ( At the moment of the meeting Greece is now a democracy and the Junta regime has fallen ). If yes, what those sanctions should be about? ( economic sanctions, military sanctions etc.).
- There are currently 40.000 Turkish troops on the northern occupied part of the island, wherein the south there are much more less. How should the Security Council react to that unbalanced number of troops?
- Settlement to an occupied territory to disturb the demography of the state is a crime of war. Should the Security Council what will happen with a possible settlement by Turkey?



## VI. Actions that have already been taken

**Resolution No. 186      4 March 1964      Adopted unanimously**

Present situation in Cyprus likely to threaten international peace. Calls all member states to refrain from any action that would worsen the situation in the sovereign Republic of Cyprus. Asks the Government of Cyprus to take all additional measures necessary to stop violence and bloodshed in Cyprus.

Recommends the creation, with the consent of the Republic of Cyprus, of a U.N peace keeping force.

**Resolution No. 187      13 March 1964      Adopted unanimously**

Calls all member states to refrain from any action that would worsen the situation in the sovereign Republic of Cyprus. Noting the progress in regard to the establishment of a UN peace Keeping Force in Cyprus (already en route).

**Resolution No 192      20 June 1964      Adopted unanimously**

Calls all member states to comply with resolution 186 and 187. Expresses appreciation to all members that have contributed troops, police, supplies and financial support. With the consent of the Republic of Cyprus extends the presence of UN Force.

**Resolution No 193      25 September 1964      Adopted unanimously**

Reaffirms resolutions 186 and 187. Reaffirms the appeal by the President of the Security council worded as follows: "The Security Council has authorized me to make an urgent appeal to the Government of Turkey to cease instantly the bombardment of and the use of military force of any kind against Cyprus , and to the Government of Cyprus to order the armed forces under its control to cease firing immediately".

**Resolution No 194      25 September 1964      Adopted unanimously**

The council notes with satisfaction the cease fire being observed throughout Cyprus; asks all governments to stop all flights over the territory of the Republic of Cyprus in violation of its sovereignty. Asks all member to comply with resolution 193. Noting that the Republic of Cyprus has indicated its desire that the stationing of UN be extended; extends the presence of the Force.

**Resolution No 198      18 December 1964      Adopted unanimously**

Noting with satisfaction that the situation in Cyprus has improved and significant progress has been made. Noting that the Republic of Cyprus has indicated its desire that the stationing of UN be extended; extends the presence of UN Force.

**Resolution No 353      20 July      Adopted unanimously**

Deeply deploring the outbreak of violence and the continuing bloodshed. Gravely concerned about the situation which has led to a serious threat to international peace and security and which has created a most explosive situation in the whole of Eastern Mediterranean area. Equally concerned about the necessity to restore the constitutional structure of the Republic of Cyprus established and guaranteed by international agreements. Recalling resolution 186 and its subsequent resolutions on this matter:

Calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

Calls all parties to cease fire.

Demands an immediate end to the foreign military intervention in the Republic of Cyprus that is in contravention of point 1 above.

Requests the withdrawal of military personnel, calls upon Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom to enter into negotiations for a peace settlement without delay.

**Resolution No 354      23 July 1974      Adopted unanimously**

Reaffirming the provisions of its resolution 353, Demands all parties to the present fighting to comply immediately with the cease fire.[8]

**Resolution No 355      1 August 1974      Adopted unanimously**

Deeply deplores the fact that members of the peace keeping force have been killed and wounded.

**Resolution No 357      14 August 1974      Adopted unanimously**

Deeply deploring the resumption of fighting in Cyprus contrary to the provisions of Resolution 353. Reaffirms resolution 353. Decides to remain seized of the situation and on instant call to meet as necessary to consider what more effective measures may be required if the ceasefire is not respected

**Resolution No 358      15 August 1974      Adopted unanimously**

The Security Council deeply concerned about the continuation of violence and bloodshed in Cyprus; Deeply deploring the noncompliance with its resolution 357; recalls resolution 353, 354 and 355. Insists on full implementation of the above by all parties.

**Resolution No 359      15 August 1974      14-0 (People's Republic of China did not participate in the voting.)**



Deeply deplores the fact that members of the peace keeping force have been killed and wounded. Demands that all parties cooperate with the UN in carrying out its tasks, including humanitarian aid.

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## Annex I Members of the Security Council in 1974

Australia —	Non Permanent Member
Austria —	Non Permanent Member
Belarus —	Non Permanent Member
China —	Permanent Member
Cameroon —	Non Permanent Member
Costa Rica —	Non Permanent Member
France —	Permanent Member
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland —	Permanent Member
Indonesia —	Non Permanent Member
Iraq —	Non Permanent Member
Kenya —	Non Permanent Member
Mauritania —	Non Permanent Member



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Peru —	Non Permanent Member
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics —	Permanent Member
United States of America —	Permanent Member
Cyprus —	Observer
Turkey —	Observer
Greece —	Observer



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