



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR

**1386<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 22 DECEMBER 1967

NEW YORK

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## NOTE

*Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.*

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## THIRTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 22 December 1967, at 3.30 p.m.

*President:* Chief S. O. ADEBO (Nigeria).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, India, Japan, Mali, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1386/Rev.2)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488).  
Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/8286).

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488):**

### Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/8286)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions previously taken by the Council, I shall now, with the consent of the Council, invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece to take places at the Council table in order to participate, without vote, in the discussion.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. S. Kyprianou (Cyprus), Mr. O. Eralp (Turkey) and Mr. A. S. Bitsios (Greece) took places at the Council table.*

2. The PRESIDENT: Before proceeding to call upon any speakers, I should like to announce that as the result of the intensive consultations in which members of the Council have engaged in the past two weeks agreement has, fortunately, been arrived at on the text of a draft resolution which I shall read out. Before doing so, I wish to express my profound thanks to all my colleagues around this table for their patience and for their active co-operation in making this happy development possible. I also wish to thank the representatives of the parties for their understanding and co-operation, without which our efforts might have been in vain.

3. The text which has been agreed upon by the members of the Council in the course of our consultations reads as follows:

*"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 (S/8286),*

*"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."*

4. There are already one or two members of the Council who wish to speak before the vote and I shall now invite them to do so.

5. Mr. BERARD (France) (*translated from French*): On the eve of the Security Council meeting in November [1383rd meeting], the crisis caused by the events in Cyprus justified the deepest fears: serious incidents there had just brought the two ethnic communities into conflict; the Island was threatened by a landing; Greek and Turkish troops faced one another on their continental border; these new complications threatened to aggravate the differences created between the Powers by events in the Near East.

6. The emotion aroused in my country was all the greater because centuries of friendship bind us to both these ancient peoples. We feel that two countries with such a great past should settle their differences by peaceful means; it would truly be unworthy of them to do otherwise.

7. We were therefore gratified by the consensus of 24 November in which the Council unanimously called 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".

8. We were pleased that the leaders in Ankara, Athens and Nicosia responded to such appeals, particularly the Secretary-General's, and that, along with other efforts being made elsewhere, the mission of Mr. Rolz-Bennett, who, with the Council's consent, had been sent to the scene by the Secretary-General, proved successful. Finally, we were pleased that there was an agreement on a military disengagement, which will help to promote a return to calm in Cyprus.

9. However, the situation is still far from normal and even further from satisfactory. In his report of 8 December, the Secretary-General said: "...how precarious the situation regarding Cyprus remains and how easily and rapidly, in spite of the best efforts of the United Nations Force, relatively small incidents can develop into an imminent threat to international peace" [S/8286, para. 155].

10. It is quite obvious that we cannot stop there and that we must continue to work diligently to achieve further progress towards peace and a lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem.

11. That was what our consensus of 24 November sought in requesting "all concerned urgently to assist and co-operate in keeping the peace and arriving at a permanent settlement in accordance with the Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964". The Council has repeated that appeal in every text it has adopted since that resolution, adopted as long ago as 4 March 1964. In its resolution 238 (1967) of 19 June 1967, the Council extended the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for another six months "in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force".

12. The present meeting was convened primarily to take another decision concerning the maintenance of the United

Nations Force in Cyprus, since its mandate expires on 26 December.

13. The French delegation will not object to a brief extension of the mandate—for three months, for example—within the framework of the resolution of 4 March 1964, without broadening the terms of the mandate formulated in that resolution in terms sufficiently general to cover all eventualities and permit the Force to function effectively.

14. The three Governments concerned must remember that the Force's mandate is to deal with an emergency situation and that its presence cannot be considered a settlement of the question. UNFICYP was established by the resolution of 4 March 1964 solely to restore the conditions necessary for such a settlement and, at that time, it was assigned a mandate of three months. More than three and a half years have passed and the progress towards the restoration of peace and calm on the Island has not been sufficient to bring the mandate to an end, or even to reduce the numerical strength of the Force. The gravity of the recent incidents shows this. Those incidents also show that a lasting settlement is urgent and indispensable. We would be allowing a precarious and dangerous situation to persist, were we to remain satisfied with the *status quo*. We cannot do this. We cannot help feeling that each extension of the Force's mandate is an insurance to the parties concerned, encouraging them to maintain their opposing demands in full, without seeking to surmount them with a reasonable solution.

15. It is therefore necessary that, during this short extension of the Force's mandate, the three Governments of Ankara, Athens and Nicosia make every effort to reach a concerted and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem. We believe it indispensable to draw the three Governments' most serious attention to this necessity. The efforts desired from them are, to some extent, the pre-requisite for the extension of the UNFICYP mandate.

16. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Four years have passed since the question of the situation in and around Cyprus first appeared on the Security Council's agenda. It is, however, to be regretted that in that time it has not been possible to settle the problem or to remove the causes of the crisis. I should like to recall that during this time the Soviet Union has repeatedly stated its position on the item now before the Council. That position is well known and has lost none of its validity or importance.

17. The Soviet Union has based and continues to base its position on the fact that the Cyprus question should be settled by peaceful means, in the interests of the Cypriot people, and for the purposes of relaxing tension in that part of the world. The Soviet Union firmly supports the Cypriots' struggle against the imperialists for the full independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus which is, as we know, a full Member of the United Nations.

18. There can be no doubt that the internal affairs of Cyprus should be settled by the Cypriots themselves. The question of Cyprus must be settled without interference

from the outside. The lawful rights of the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus should be fully observed by all. The Soviet Union resolutely opposes any plan or attempt to settle the Cyprus question behind the backs of the Cypriot people, to the detriment of their vital interests and for the benefit of the imperialist Powers.

19. We are firmly convinced that if full independence and territorial integrity are to be ensured to the Republic of Cyprus, then all, I repeat all, foreign troops must be withdrawn from its territory and any foreign military bases located there must be eliminated. This is particularly important now in view of the recent sharp aggravation of the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean.

20. In that connexion, we should like to draw the attention of Council members to the statement made by the Soviet Government on 22 November of this year, in which the position of the Soviet Union regarding the recent events in and around Cyprus is set forth.

21. That statement emphasizes in particular that the present events in Cyprus cannot be regarded in isolation from the policy of the reactionary circles in Greece, which have for a long time been hatching plans, with the support of outside forces, to settle the Cyprus question through so-called *enosis*—that is by joining Cyprus to Greece. The military circles now in power in Greece, and their agents in Cyprus, are trying to turn the whole Island into a NATO war base and to deal with the democratic forces of that country by terroristic methods. The Soviet Government's statement was distributed as an official Security Council document<sup>1</sup> and members have been able to acquaint themselves fully with its contents. The Soviet delegation also wishes to stress the need for all States Members of the United Nations, in accordance with Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 to refrain from any action or threat of action likely to worsen the situation in the sovereign Republic of Cyprus.

22. Today the Security Council is again considering the Cyprus question in connexion with the report submitted by Secretary-General U Thant, on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 13 June to 8 December 1967 [S/8286]. That report again contains recommendations for the extension of the stationing of UNFICYP for an additional period of three or six months.

23. Allow me to point out that such a protracted stay of UNFICYP on Cyprus can certainly not be regarded as normal. Nearly four years have passed since these troops were stationed in Cyprus, but the settlement of the Cyprus problem has not been advanced in any way as a result.

24. That very fact is recognized by the Secretary-General himself when he states that "the recent events in the Island and their very serious repercussions have shown how precarious the situation regarding Cyprus remains" and that "relatively small incidents can develop into an imminent threat to international peace". [Ibid., para. 155.]

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1967*, document S/8268.

25. The position of the Soviet Union on the use of United Nations forces to prevent or halt aggressive action and to protect the sovereignty of a State which has become the victim of aggression is generally known. Our position was set forward in detail in the well-known memorandum of the Soviet Government dated 10 July 1964 entitled "Certain measures to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations in the safeguarding of international peace and security"<sup>2</sup> and the memorandum dated 16 March 1967 concerning "United Nations operations for the maintenance of international peace and security".<sup>3</sup>

26. We think we should at this point emphasize once more that a decision to send United Nations armed forces into any particular country should be taken only in the last resort and only after careful consideration of all the circumstances concerned, bearing in mind that the use of foreign troops, including United Nations troops to settle conflicts, and even the mere presence of such troops on foreign soil may, as past experience has shown, lead to diametrically opposite results, to interference in the domestic affairs of States, serious international implications and increased tension.

27. An essential pre-requisite for the application of such an extreme measure as the use of United Nations armed forces should at all times and in all circumstances be the scrupulous observance of all those provisions of the Charter of the United Nations relating to the use of force for the maintenance or restoration of international peace.

28. We should like to recall that, in line with the position it has adopted, the Soviet Union was in principle opposed to the sending of any troops, including United Nations armed forces, to Cyprus. We stated this repeatedly in the Security Council when the question of Cyprus was discussed, particularly in 1964.

29. However, the Soviet Union did not stand in the way of the adoption by the Security Council of the resolution of 4 March 1964, since it wished to meet the wishes of the Republic of Cyprus, which considered the resolution, in spite of all its deficiencies, to be a useful one. Turkey, too, it will be remembered, supported the resolution.

30. We should like to draw attention to a dangerous tendency that is now becoming apparent, namely, the tendency to enlarge the powers of UNFICYP and even to make those troops perform "internal security" and other functions on Cyprus. We wish to state categorically that we shall oppose the transformation of UNFICYP—whose stay on the Island has already been unduly protracted—into some sort of police force using arms against the Greek or Turkish community on Cyprus. That would be a violation of the United Nations Charter, would constitute interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus and would be bound to have the most harmful consequences for the United Nations. We should plan not for an increase in the strength and an extension of the powers of UNFICYP but

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes*, annex No. 21, document A/5721.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1967*, document S/7841.

for the withdrawal of the Force at the earliest possible moment, since no foreign troops, including United Nations troops, can do what it is the inalienable right and duty of any nation, including the people of Cyprus, both Greek and Turkish, to do.

31. These are some of the general observations which my delegation thought fit to make at this time in connexion with the Security Council's consideration of the Cyprus question.

32. With regard to the draft resolution submitted by the President of the Council, our colleague Ambassador Adebo, proposing that the stationing of UNFICYP should be extended for an additional three-month period, we note that this draft reaffirms the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964, as well as other decisions taken by the Security Council on the Cyprus question. So, although we did not and do not consider that an extension of the stationing of United Nations troops on Cyprus is justified, we shall nevertheless not prevent that extension for an additional three-month period, on the understanding that that decision is in accordance with the wishes of the Government of Cyprus and other interested parties, and on condition that such an extension is carried out in full conformity with the provisions of the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964, namely, only if the present functions of UNFICYP and the present procedure for the financing of these troops—i.e. on a voluntary basis—are maintained.

33. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution which I read to the Council a few minutes ago.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.<sup>4</sup>*

34. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The resolution just adopted by the Security Council provides for the extension of the stationing of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for a further period of three months ending on 26 March 1968. I am immediately requesting the Governments of the States providing contingents for the Force to co-operate by continuing to make their contingents available.

35. I take this opportunity to express once again my deep appreciation to the Governments of Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom for their whole-hearted and unflinching contribution to this important United Nations peace-keeping operation, which has discharged the Mandate defined for it by the Security Council with impartiality, restraint, and a high sense of duty.

36. May I also express gratitude to those States which have shown their active concern for the effectiveness of the Organization by making the generous voluntary financial contributions which have made possible the continuing existence of the United Nations operation in Cyprus?

37. The resolution invites the parties to avail themselves of the good offices proffered by the Secretary-General and I wish to assure the parties that I am immediately available to them, that I will do all within my power to help them find a way to resolve their differences and that I hope they will respond to the invitation of the Security Council without delay. Bearing in mind the sharply divergent views of some of the parties in regard to the issues that may be raised during their forthcoming discussions with me or my representatives, I would have welcomed clear guidance by the Council on the basic points which have been the subject of much negotiation with the parties during the drafting of the resolution. The weight of the Council's views would have been invaluable to me in the exercise of my good offices and in its absence I deem it my duty to forewarn the Council of the difficulties that lie ahead. The members of the Council will understand, therefore, why I regard it as necessary now to reiterate in the strongest possible terms the call which I made to the parties concerned in my report to the Council of 8 December 1967 [S/8286], namely, to display the statemanship and goodwill which is essential to resolve this complex and long-standing question.

38. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): The arduous consultations of recent days, Mr. President, which as you said have brought great credit to all concerned—to the representatives of the parties as well as to members of the Council—have finally produced a substantive result. And under your genial and effective guidance the Council has just adopted a resolution which, the Canadian delegation hopes, will be a constructive step forward.

39. The resolution just adopted provides for the extension of the UNFICYP mandate for three months, in the light of the fact that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that the Force's continuation is necessary. The resolution also places the extension of UNFICYP in the proper context by emphasizing the need for renewed efforts towards a permanent settlement. Furthermore, the resolution offers us hope that the coming weeks will be used to good advantage for the purpose of clarifying various issues which have been raised by the parties and which may require the detailed consideration of this Council. In this connexion, as we have just been reminded by the Secretary-General, the Secretary-General has proffered his good offices. Whether the parties choose to rely mainly or solely on this offer is for them to decide; but it is our hope that the parties will avail themselves of every opportunity to compose their differences.

40. It is in this light that the Canadian delegation has been able to vote for the resolution.

41. Looking to the future, and conscious of the fact that in recent weeks an outbreak of hostilities in the eastern Mediterranean was only narrowly averted, Canada fully supports the view expressed by the Secretary-General that: "... neither the parties nor the Security Council can afford to allow the situation regarding Cyprus to stumble from crisis to deeper crisis and from danger to graver danger" [Ibid., para. 157]. Already before the recent crisis we, in Canada, had been greatly concerned at the fact that while UNFICYP had been able to keep some of the current tensions on the Island in check, there had been lack of

<sup>4</sup> See resolution 244 (1967) of the Council.

progress towards settlement of the dispute. We believe that it is essential for the parties to do all in their power to press on towards a solution of the underlying problems—problems which have already made necessary the presence of a large and costly peace-keeping force in the Island for more than three and a half years, and now the Force's continued presence for at least a further short period.

42. In conclusion, I should like to urge, in the language of the resolution just adopted, that the parties undertake "a new determined effort" to achieve a political settlement. Meanwhile, as long as UNFICYP is required, I would also urge that co-operation with the force should be improved in the directions indicated in the Secretary-General's report, so that UNFICYP may carry out the functions which the Security Council has already assigned to it, on which the parties are in principle already agreed.

43. Finally, I should like to pay tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General for his extremely valuable initiatives during the recent crisis, and those of his able and distinguished colleagues of the Secretariat. The Secretary-General's efforts have had, and continue to have, our full understanding and our support.

44. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): The crisis of November, in the view of my delegation, clearly demonstrated two predominant needs, namely, that UNFICYP should be extended for another period of time and that new and concerted efforts should now be made towards an incipient solution of the underlying problems of the Cyprus question. We have noted with satisfaction that the resolution deals with both aspects, in the second and in the third and fifth operative paragraphs respectively. We have therefore been happy to vote for the draft resolution which has just been adopted unanimously.

45. Allow me here to add, Mr. President, that this result is yet another sign of and testifies once again to your patience, perseverance and wisdom.

46. My Government has all along attached the greatest importance to the role played by UNFICYP in the interest of peace and tranquillity in Cyprus. Denmark has therefore supported UNFICYP with troops and with money from the very beginning. We have paid a total amount of more than \$1 million in support of this peace-keeping force and we have participated in it in providing a contingent. We have done so because my Government firmly believes that the United Nations must be made to play as important a role as possible in the maintenance of international peace and security and because we thought that in the case at hand a certain pacification and reduction of tensions was necessary in order to create an atmosphere in which negotiations towards political solutions could profitably be entered upon.

47. Developments during the last four years have proved that UNFICYP has been able to contribute substantially to pacification in Cyprus. However, although efforts to that end have been made, no real progress towards political solutions has been achieved. Thus, it is borne out that the presence of a peace-keeping force is in itself not enough and that the ultimate goal of the peace-keeping activities of the

United Nations can only be achieved if the sending of a peace-keeping force is combined with energetic efforts in the political field.

48. Denmark has therefore welcomed the offer of the Secretary-General to the parties to make his good offices available to them, and we are happy to note that the parties have agreed to avail themselves of that offer. In that way the purpose of promoting a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement of the problem confronting Cyprus in accordance with the United Nations can be truly served.

49. It is my pleasure to use this opportunity to respond immediately to the request made by the Secretary-General in the statement which he just made and to state that Denmark is ready to maintain its military and police contingent in Cyprus for the coming three months.

50. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): The United States was pleased to support the draft resolution extending the life of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for three months and we are gratified that it was adopted unanimously by the Security Council.

51. Like all draft resolutions adopted by the Security Council, no single Member can give it an authoritative interpretation. The resolution speaks for itself.

52. The world has only recently watched with great concern as violence increased in Cyprus itself and the danger of hostilities mounted rapidly. It was only due to the strenuous efforts by many, including the Secretary-General and his Representative, Mr. Rolz-Bennett, and the ultimate co-operation of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, that the corner was turned. It was, of course, the appeal of the Secretary-General of 3 December<sup>5</sup> that was the critical element in making this favourable turn of events possible.

53. Two critical factors were involved: first, the withdrawal of Greek and Turkish excess troops and the abatement of military measures as a first step following the appeals of the Secretary-General, and second, the extension of the good offices of the Secretary-General as proffered by him. We are gratified that all three Governments welcomed the appeal of 3 December and that prompt action was undertaken by Greece and Turkey in response to the first part of the appeal. We are also gratified with the favourable attitude shown towards the Secretary-General's offer of good offices, and particularly with the prospect that those good offices can now, in the light of the Secretary-General's statement today, which we listened to with interest and which we welcome, can now be expected to go forward with the support of the Council in the resolution we have just adopted and without the time pressures which the extension of the life of the Force have relieved. We believe this process will be a highly important one, and we urge those concerned to approach it with the greatest determination to reach an understanding exactly in the spirit of the statement which the Secretary-General made here today.

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<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1967*, document S/8248/Add.6, para. 1.

54. For our part, we shall continue to support the work of UNFICYP both politically and financially. I should like to say parenthetically that my Government has contributed, since the inception of the Force, in excess of \$30 million to the Force.

55. We also believe that we must look beyond the immediate issues towards a permanent solution, as the risk from the recurring crises can be seen to be becoming progressively larger. The provision to this effect in the resolution is therefore of great importance, and we hope that early attention can be given to the methods by which this aspect of the problem can be best approached, none of which methods we have excluded in adopting the resolution.

56. I regret that at this meeting of the Council, which it is to be hoped will be the last one before the holiday season, on the threshold of unanimous agreement around this table, we were once again subjected to the familiar and platitudinous Soviet theme of an imperialist conspiracy to extinguish the independence of Cyprus. It is precisely those countries described in such heavy-handed and entirely mendacious terms which Ambassador Fedorenko accuses of this plot that have been in the forefront of efforts to uphold the independence of Cyprus. It is those countries, both directly and in support of the United Nations, which have given tangible evidence of their willingness and anxiety to contribute to peace and security in that troubled Island. Surely the intensive efforts, for example, of our own emissary, Mr. Cyrus Vance, can hardly be considered as anything but a sincere and vital commitment to assure the maintenance of peace and security and to create opportunities to find a solution. It is entirely pertinent to note that those efforts have been applauded by all of the parties concerned.

57. Nor can I let this occasion pass permitting UNFICYP to be described as a foreign force. It is an agent of the world Organization, established by the Security Council at the request of the Government of Cyprus. We are all deeply indebted to those nations which have contributed their soldiers to the United Nations Force and to the cause of peace-keeping. Now if the Soviet Union were to change its policy and show a willingness to contribute to the efforts of this Organization and UNFICYP to maintain peace in Cyprus, if, to use an American slang term, it would "put up" in support of peace-keeping, I am sure we would all listen with much closer attention to the Soviet comments on this subject.

58. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I had the opportunity of speaking shortly when we last met and I do not wish to keep the Council now, but I would like to say a word about the provision of troops and of finance for the United Nations Force. When we wish the end, we must provide the means, and I am glad to be amongst the first, with the representative of Denmark and the representative of the United States, to be able to make our statement in response to the request which has just been put to us by the Secretary-General. My country will maintain its full military contingent as its contribution to the Force and will meet all the costs of that contingent. I am also glad to be able to announce immediately that my Government will

provide the contribution of \$1 million to cover the three months period immediately ahead of us.

59. I do not think any of us wish at this stage and at this season of the year to introduce discordant notes into our discussions. I listened with great attention to the speech of the representative of the Soviet Union. His speech, if I may say so, illustrated the difficulties which have faced us in coming to an agreed conclusion, and indeed illustrated the extent of the achievement which has now been secured.

60. I would wish to say that we listen to advice; we are glad to listen to advice. We shall certainly listen to advice even when we consider it to be negative. But we would greatly hope that the contribution which comes from members of the Council was not only advice, but was also somewhat more practical. We would greatly hope that those who have so far not been prepared to contribute would in the future be prepared to reconsider their position and to make their contribution too.

61. I should like to take this opportunity of paying the respects of my Government to the United Nations Force and to convey, very respectfully, to General Martola and to all members of the Force our admiration for the vigilance and steadiness which the Force has shown, particularly during the tense and dangerous circumstances through which it has just passed.

62. I join with all other members of this Council in praising the role of the Secretary-General throughout the recent crisis, and of his staff—and not only those at Headquarters. I have already had opportunity to pay my tribute to the contribution made, with others, by Mr. Rolz-Bennett as the Representative of the Secretary-General sent so promptly to the area. And I am glad that we have with us this evening Ambassador Osorio-Tafall, whom we know has given his unstinting effort, with great patience and great skill and great perseverance, in co-operation with all concerned, to seek improvements in the conditions in the Island itself. We have a great respect for him and we wish him well in his future endeavours.

63. Then I would like also, again very respectfully, to say how much we have benefited from the presence of the Foreign Minister of Cyprus. I do not believe that we should have been able to achieve the result which we can welcome tonight without his presence. I would certainly wish to record my admiration for the wisdom and the reason and restraint which he has shown. All of us, I am sure too, very well recognize that we have been extremely fortunate in this Council in having as representatives of Greece and Turkey two of the most experienced and able Ambassadors in the United Nations. We thank them for the contribution which they have made to the result which we have before us this evening.

64. Finally, I should like to say that all of us, I am sure, will join in extending to you, Sir, our President and our leader, a message of our gratitude for the initiative which you have taken, for the tact which you have shown, for the readiness to find a way when sometimes we could not see any course which could be followed successfully. It may be that we shall not have another opportunity to pay you

respects to you, but I am sure that I speak not only for every member of this Council but for every representative in the United Nations when I say that we all hold you in the highest respect as one of the leaders of the United Nations. Long may you continue so.

65. I suppose that, finally, we would all wish to extend to Cyprus our wishes for a very peaceful Christmas and a much happier New Year—a New Year, so we trust, of reconciliation and peaceful settlement.

66. The PRESIDENT: I call now on the representative of Greece.

67. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, you were kind enough to express your appreciation of the co-operation you have received from the parties concerned. I represent one of these parties and I should like to take advantage of your permission to exercise my right of reply and, in my turn, very briefly express my delegation's gratitude to you and to the members of the Council for your patience and perseverance, which have helped the Council to reach a positive and, I hope, constructive result this evening.

68. I shall use my right of reply to answer the representative of the Soviet Union. Mr. Fedorenko is getting into the habit of attacking Greece every time we meet to discuss the Cyprus situation. Yet he is too experienced not to be aware that the Council's rules of procedure are thereby infringed. He knows the Charter well enough to realize that by saying what he has said, he is violating Article 2, paragraph 7. He is usually much too courteous to seek to take advantage of the courtesy of others, and deep down he must realize how preposterous it is for him to play the professor in democracy and choose a Greek for his pupil.

69. Mr. Fedorenko is very much aware of all these things. One point, however, escaped his attention and I should like to say a word or two about it. He made a statement in the Council. He said that the Greek Government and its agents in Cyprus, in seeking to impose *enosis* on the Island, were responsible for present events there. In other words, he directly accused my country of having wished to annex Cyprus. The Council will surely agree that the accusation calls for a reply.

70. Mr. Fedorenko must be familiar enough with the definition of the word "annexation". According to the dictionary, it means to attach a certain country to one's own country against the wishes of the inhabitants of the territory. Contemporary history books and those written before the October Revolution show us that the desire of the Cypriots to join Greece has always existed.

71. I once mentioned that a certain Kyprianou—not our colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, but an archbishop—was hanged 150 years ago for uttering that word. Since then, Cypriots have continuously called for the attachment of their country to Greece and, with the establishment of the United Nations and its Charter, they finally found a peaceful and democratic means to attain that goal, by exercising their right to self-determination. Yet it is precisely during the United Nations era that they

have been told they shall not exercise this fundamental human right. I do not believe that during all these years Greece has shown signs of wishing to annex Cyprus. Nor do I believe that the Cypriots themselves have given any sign of wanting to join Greece without the democratic procedure of exercising the right to self-determination.

72. To come here at this moment and say that the Greek Government has just discovered *enosis* in order to annex Cyprus is, I feel, an insult to the Cypriot people on the part of the Soviet Union's representative, which they will find it difficult to forget. Moreover, it runs counter to statements made the other day by the representative of Turkey, when he assured the Council that it was not Greece, but Cyprus, which was following the course attributed to Greece by Mr. Fedorenko.

73. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of the Soviet Union in exercise of his right of reply.

74. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, when we stated our position on this item, we, as you obviously realized, based ourselves only on facts and did not refer to any particular State. The Soviet delegation has, as always, stressed in that statement the fact that the destiny of the people of Cyprus should be decided lawfully, as in the case of all the peoples of this world, by the Cypriots themselves, both Greek and Turkish.

75. But it was quite clear that the United States representative, to whom these things are more obvious, took our comments about the hatching of intrigues and the imperialist conspiracies against Cyprus as applying to him. He even tried to boast about the mission of the American envoy, Vance, of whom the United States probably expected a great deal and whom they were ready to place in the role of a peace-maker. But no disguises could conceal the interference of NATO and Washington in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

76. The question is being examined by the United Nations, and the constant attention of the Security Council is focused on it. In accordance with the decisions that had been taken, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, took appropriate steps with the approval of the Security Council, having sent his Representative, Ambassador Rolz-Bennett, to the capitals of the countries which are involved in the situation on and around Cyprus. In this way, he as chief executive of this Organization, tried to do everything he could to bring the situation back to normal. So why is an attempt being made in these circumstances to bring in certain personalities, as a substitute for the efforts of the Secretary-General and of the United Nations as a whole? And why, I would ask, in these circumstances send envoys extraordinary from one of the countries?

77. We realize that somebody would like to place the blue helmet of the United Nations on Washington's travelling salesman, Mr. Vance, and then pay him, at the expense of others, including the Soviet Union, for useless services rendered not for the United Nations nor for peace, but for the NATO military bloc. But even in our most sanguine and fanciful dreams, we should keep a sense of proportion. We

happen to be in the Security Council, not in our private theatre-box, where we can indulge our dreams and fancies.

78. We fully confirm our position of principle, and if the United States representative considers that respect for an observance of the United Nations Charter is merely, to use his own words, commonplace, then we can only express our deep regret.

79. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Turkey.

80. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): I had no intention of speaking at this late stage and I wish only to say that the Council is fortunate in having had the opportunity of hearing the remarks made by my colleague from Greece with regard to the question of *enosis*, or annexation. It only hopes to throw light on what I had to clarify to the Council the other day on the same subject.

81. It is obvious that a people can do whatever it likes except alienate its sovereignty, especially if the question is not one of a people but of two peoples inhabiting the same country. The peoples of Cyprus have chosen to live together as a nation and live together as a nation they shall, and neither the one community nor the other should be given the right to take the other by force and bring it under the rule of a foreign country.

82. Having said that, I wish to express my deep gratitude to you, personally, Sir, and to all others who have helped to bring forth a resolution which we consider to be constructive.

83. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Cyprus.

84. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): I intend to keep the promise which I gave to this Council at the last meeting and not to enter into any kind of polemics. There is much I could say on what has been said, and on some of the things that have been said today; indeed, I could also elaborate at length on things that were said the other day. However, in reply to what has just been said by the representative of Turkey, I simply wish to state that, as we see it, the

problem of Cyprus is for the people of Cyprus to determine and decide and resolve on the basis of accepted democratic principles, the principles of the Charter of the United Nations—the principles which we uphold in every similar case.

85. Apart from that, I do not wish to enter into any controversial subject or into any controversy.

86. I should simply like to thank the Council most sincerely for its keen interest and continuous efforts to reach a conclusion, as exemplified by the resolution adopted earlier; we welcome it as a most constructive one.

87. In particular I should like to express thanks for what has been said about my contribution in this respect, and for the generous remarks made by the representative of the United Kingdom. I can assure the Council that we shall abide by what I stated the other day—that we consider ourselves committed to a peaceful solution, but a solution which is in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

88. Above all, Mr. President, I should like to thank you personally most sincerely for your guidance and your great contribution towards achieving the results which have been achieved.

89. I should like to reiterate our gratitude to the Secretary-General for everything that he has been doing for Cyprus and for everything he continues to do, and also to express our appreciation for his representative, Mr. Rolz-Bennett, who went to the three countries during the crisis in an effort to assist in resolving it. And I should not like to let this opportunity go by without making specific reference to Mr. Osorio-Tafall and General Martola, who are doing their utmost in fulfilling the task which was entrusted to them.

90. In conclusion, I welcome what has been said tonight by the Secretary-General and I wish to assure him that my Government accepts his good offices and that we are ready to co-operate promptly with him.

*The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.*

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