



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 110: Question of Cyprus ( <i>continued</i> ) .....	695

**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA  
(Algeria).**

**AGENDA ITEM 110**

**Question of Cyprus (*continued*)**

1. Mr. ABDULDJALIL (Indonesia), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Special Political Committee [A/9820] on item 110.

2. As is indicated in the report, in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 2270th plenary meeting, the Special Political Committee held two meetings on 29 October, for the purpose of hearing the views of the representatives of the two Cypriot communities.

3. The verbatim records of the two meetings held by the Special Political Committee are contained in documents A/SPC/PV.922 and 923.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to propose that the list of speakers on item 110 be closed today at 6 p.m. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that proposal?

*It was so decided.*

5. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As was said so well by the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, on 1 October during the general debate of this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly [2251st meeting, para. 17], the international community must intervene speedily to save the independence, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus.

6. That appeal cannot and must not fall on deaf ears. The international community, supporting the action of the Security Council, must act to restore the constitutional Government of Archbishop Makarios so that the democratic forces of Cyprus and the world may once again demonstrate that the forces of aggression and foreign intervention cannot be recognized as forces of conquest. That is the path that must be taken so that Archbishop Makarios and his Government may once again give Cyprus the aspect of an independent, multinational community in which human rights are respected and tolerance is practised with true sincerity.

7. Because of the analogies that can be drawn between the independence of Panama and that of Cyprus—nations that have been compelled to accept a system of tutelage imposed upon them by the great Powers, in contradiction to the principles of morality and international law—the Republic of Panama has from the very outset identified itself with the noble Cypriot people's desire for national unity and territorial integrity.

8. The Panamanian delegation believes that Cyprus, as a Member State of the United Nations, has the right to be respected as an independent country, with no impairment of its territorial integrity or its sovereignty. Panama, as a sponsor of resolution 2077 (XX) of 18 December 1965, would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm its hope that the unity of the Cypriot nation will be consolidated after this difficult test, without interference or intervention on the part of any foreign Power and without restrictions of any kind. The solution of the Cyprus problem, in our opinion, should be sought on the basis of our recognition of Cyprus as a united, indivisible country, in which the rights of the two communities composing it are recognized and guaranteed.

9. We have been very impressed by the concern shown by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and other officials of the Secretariat over the problem of Cyprus, and we hope that they will continue their efforts to achieve an arrangement satisfactory to the parties in conflict. Representing as we do a people of a truly pacifist spirit, we hope that the Greek and Turkish Cypriots will be reconciled, so that we can clear the path towards an orderly solution of all problems facing the islanders. We hope that soon the inhabitants of Cyprus will be able to enjoy, without any distinctions of any nature, all the basic freedoms desired by free men on this earth.

10. On this occasion we should like to pay tribute to those who have fallen in the line of duty with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus [UNFICYP], and we deeply regret the bloodshed and the loss of life and property which the recent armed struggle has brought on the island. Panama identifies itself with the aspirations of the Government of Cyprus, in that it opposes the annexation or the division of the territory of Cyprus by another country. We also oppose the idea of the union of Cyprus with any other nation.

11. We believe that it is extremely important that there be an immediate withdrawal of all Turkish and Greek forces, as well as a withdrawal of all military personnel in Cyprus because of the invasion or for any other reason, except for UNFICYP. The permanent military bases to which some nations feel that they are entitled as a part of rights left over from the colonial era should also disappear within a reasonable time. The constitutional arrangement recognizing the rights of the communities inhabiting the island should be

considered a problem concerning the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, which should be resolved within the domestic legal process in Cyprus. To mitigate the suffering caused by the recent conflagration, we hope that the United Nations, through its agencies, will for humanitarian reasons help to alleviate as much as possible the suffering of the inhabitants of the island, and we announce that the Panamanian community has already responded in this connexion. We believe that one of the measures which would most aid in restoring normal life in Cyprus would be the immediate return of all refugees to their homes.

12. My delegation believes that draft resolution A/L.738, submitted by the delegation of Cyprus, contains the elements needed to restore normal life on the island, if this draft resolution is, as we hope, implemented justly and fairly. For those reasons, Panama fully supports the draft resolution. Similarly, we support the preliminary text of the draft resolution distributed among the non-aligned group, which should have the support of the overwhelming majority of the Assembly.

13. Mr. ADJIBADÉ (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has decided to take part in the debate on this painful question of Cyprus in the Assembly, but not without a certain profound disquiet in our hearts. This problem is part of the general and distressing problem referred to as the Middle East crisis, with its accompaniment of plots masterminded by foreign Powers, loss of human life and the mass displacement of innocent civilians by an unjust war. My delegation's sadness in considering this matter is all the greater because of the fact that we do not have to look far to see here and elsewhere the evidence of the activities of those whose antagonism is equalled only by their more or less open determination to ensure their hegemony in this area. On the one hand, the aim is to protect the rear, and on the other, it is to extend supremacy over the whole of the Mediterranean basin.

14. Faced with such facts, it is only natural that the General Assembly, which is the expression of the will of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world, should have decided to discuss the matter here, and seek a solution for it, in view of the Security Council's obvious inability to find a just and equitable solution to this grave problem, which has been referred to it, because it is paralysed by the rivalries of the super-Powers. When he reported on this disturbing question on 20 July 1974, the Secretary-General did not fail to emphasize the great gravity of the situation. He said:

"We are faced with an appalling and extremely serious situation. The fighting on Cyprus, with the arrival of Turkish forces, has reached a new level of violence and bitterness. The dangers of a wider conflict, which we discussed earlier this week, have now become a tragic reality. A major breakdown of international peace and security has occurred, despite all bilateral efforts to avoid it."

15. This very clear account of the situation in Cyprus was sufficiently eloquent, and one might have thought then that the great Powers would have decided to sink their rivalries in order to find a sound solution to that problem.

16. But, instead of that normal reaction, the one certainly required in the circumstances, instead of appreciating and putting above all other considerations the great suffering of the civilian population of Cyprus forced to suffer the horrors of a war they did not seek or want, the super-Powers, impelled by their greed for power, tried only to create and seek out conditions enabling them to play the cards in their own interests.

17. Ever since its creation, Cyprus has had one problem after another, and has always had to cope with difficulties of both internal and external origin. We all remember how, after many vicissitudes, the Cypriot State was born under the sponsorship of this Organization, at a time when its geographical position and its colonial past obliged it to accept a hybrid provisional solution, which meant agreeing that its independence should be guaranteed by other States, namely, Greece, Turkey and, of course, the United Kingdom.

18. Perhaps the international community would not have been obliged to consider this case once again today if—masquerading as a guarantee of the constitutionality and territorial integrity of Cyprus—the agreed formula had not in fact made an open breach in the freedom of decision of the Cypriot Government and led to infiltration of elements from outside the country, as the constitutional head of the Government of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, the only head of Cyprus recognized by the international community, has clearly said in his statements before the Security Council and in the Assembly.

19. Everything that is now happening on that troubled island proves—if proof were needed—that Archbishop Makarios is still the only catalytic element capable of assuring a balance between the two communities pending the discovery of a definitive solution, which must necessarily involve a greater sense of Cypriot national unity on the part of the whole population, without regard to their origins, so that they will be wrested from the tutelage of their neighbours. It is clear that Archbishop Makarios is still the only statesman whose wisdom and skill can lead the State towards a proper solution, if only he is given a free hand. This has been clear from the beginning, and one can only express astonishment at the fact that the Security Council has not been able to impose its will in this respect and restore the rights of the constitutional head of Cyprus, who had just been re-elected.

20. It is true that the clear determination of Archbishop Makarios to protect his country from the expansionist aims of its neighbours, particularly the Greece of the colonels, was unwelcome in certain quarters. It is true that the sympathy he felt for the non-aligned movement, of which his country was one of the founding members, was an obstacle to the maintenance in the island of a large North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] military base, like those in Greece and Turkey. It is true that the presence of Archbishop Makarios at the head of the country was becoming awkward and that, in the circumstances, the Machiavellian plotters had no other choice than to eliminate him, physically if necessary. To carry out that plan, its authors could find no better agents than the irresponsible rulers installed in Greece who were

quick to commit aggression against the Cypriot State, a State which desires only peace and independence.

21. But machines, however perfect, sometimes go wrong. The computer did not foresee that the Cypriot people would react so vigorously against the action of the Greek colonels. The computer did not foresee that Archbishop Makarios would emerge alive. The computer did not expect that the Greek colonels—instead of eliminating Makarios—would themselves be swept away by the consequences of their irresponsibility and that Greece, having found its identity again, would leave the circle of NATO, to the great surprise of those who cannot or do not want to see further than the end of their noses.

22. In the panic engendered by that stinging failure, and the disorder that Greece's departure from NATO was creating in the system set up by the authors of the initial plot against Cyprus, those people had no choice other than to preserve at all costs the strategic positions they occupied in Turkey. That country was tacitly encouraged to violate the cease-fire by carrying out a new large-scale aggression aimed at seizing large parts of Cyprus and imposing a solution contrary to all reason. However, it was easy to foresee that that second invasion, far from resolving the Cypriot crisis, could not fail to make its solution much more difficult.

23. Here we have manifest proof of the madness to which the unrestrained pursuit of interests can lead.

24. The question before us is clear, in the eyes of my delegation. Above all, it involves acts of blatant aggression carried out as a result of plots designed to undermine the independence, territorial integrity and constitutional order of Cyprus. While there is no doubt that the aggression against Cyprus, designed elsewhere and carried out by the Greek colonels, should be vehemently condemned, the aggression carried out by Turkey deserves to be condemned with equal vehemence. At first glance this latter aggression might be regarded as a normal response to the first act of aggression; but since its aim is henceforth to divide the island into two communities and endanger the existence of Cyprus as a State, the international community must react vigorously and restore constitutional order on the island.

25. The international community must react, because these various irresponsible acts have undermined its responsibility to Cyprus. The territorial integrity and the balance between the communities of Cyprus are our responsibility; for many years we have felt it our duty to maintain a United Nations force to ensure respect for them. The international community must react because it cannot allow sordid calculations and unrestrained pursuit of selfish interests by some of its members to undermine its foundations and damage its credibility in the eyes of the world.

26. It is true, as you, Mr. President, have so rightly said, that a crisis such as the crisis in Cyprus can be traced back primarily to the imperfections of the international system that emerged from the Second World War and, during the period known as the cold war, was based upon the division of the world into opposing blocs and zones of influence, consolidated by the establishment of military bases. However, this crisis becomes even more acute when it is deliberately sustained, without regard for the sufferings of the

innocent population, for the sole purpose of emphasizing further a nation's supremacy so as to force the international community to accept the dictated decisions of a small minority. It is essential that henceforth the voice of the majority of the international community should express itself with vigour and thus prevail.

27. It is clear that that majority will not be embarrassed by proclaiming that, above all, the Cypriot State is not a matter for bargaining. Hence the urgency that exists for finding a just, equitable and definitive solution for the Cypriot crisis. Our community must require of all due respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

28. It follows from the preceding, in my delegation's view, that the Assembly must above all seek to restore a state of constitutional legality in the afflicted island. In order to bring this about, the aggressors, regardless of where they come from, must promptly evacuate Cyprus. In the same way, the United Kingdom must as soon as possible withdraw its military bases from Cyprus, because their presence in that non-aligned country cannot be justified for very much longer. The valuable assistance that it has provided to the Cypriot head of State in the circumstances can hardly be regarded as calling for any reward.

29. Furthermore, it will be necessary to make sure that the super-Powers which, at whatever distance, are sustaining the atmosphere of tension in the island put an end to their antagonism so as to make it possible for the Cypriot population to determine its own destiny freely and democratically and without any pressures from outside.

30. As far as Dahomey is concerned, there can be only one Cypriot State and one Cypriot people, in which the minorities can live at ease together with the dominant population. If such arrangements have proved feasible elsewhere, there is no reason why they cannot be put into practice in Cyprus.

31. Dahomey, to be sure, would not have wished to take sides in the bargaining over proposals being made for the purpose of settling this crisis, the real purpose of the super-Powers being, as it is, perfectly obvious to all. In the one case, it is a question of regaining the confidence of the countries that are parties to the conflict, and of doing everything possible so that Greece, which, in reaction—and salutary reaction moreover—decided to rid itself of its state of tutelage, will come back into NATO, and so that Turkey will not, out of defiance, go over to a side on which it does not want it to be. In the other case, the important thing is to make sure that this neighbour should not continue to flirt with the other great Power and promote its presence at its doors.

32. However, we must recognize that the proposal of the Soviet Union for the convening of an international conference<sup>2</sup> with the participation of all members of the Security Council, the interested parties and the representatives of the non-aligned movement, though not the only possibility for resolving this crisis, is none the less quite a realistic approach that may make it possible to work out a reasonable solution that is satisfactory to the interests of the Cypriot people. For that reason, my delegation associates itself with that proposal, at the same time stating that such a con-



ference can succeed only if it discards in advance any solution that would involve endorsement of a partition of Cyprus.

33. There is no need to emphasize here that in the case of the question of Cyprus this Assembly must show both vigilance and resolution. It must not accept as a fait accompli the idea that a State, however great and powerful it may be, may take the liberty of putting its own interests ahead of those of the entire international community. That is to say, our debates must above all be directed toward the restoration of justice and equity, in other words, towards guaranteeing the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Cyprus is one and its population must be one and indivisible. The different communities of Cyprus must recognize above all that they are Cypriots and drop the adjectives "Turkish" and "Greek", because they are destined to live together and share the same fate.

34. We shall have performed a useful task if, with the end of our discussions, we find the ways and means for enabling Cyprus to restore its constitutional legality in keeping with the aspirations of the majority of the Cypriot people. We shall have performed a useful task if, through our labours, we insist on the withdrawal from Cyprus of all foreign troops, the withdrawal of all Greek, Turkish and British military officers and personnel, whether they are in the country under some agreement, by reason of invasion, or for other reasons. We shall have done a good job if, as a result of our work, we reject once and for all any form of partition, any idea of a double *enosis* of one State or of States within a State, and any notion involving the occupation or annexation of Cyprus.

35. Let us succeed in our task in this way, and ensure that, once and for all, international peace and security shall become a meaningful concept for the people of Cyprus. This is the hope that my delegation cherishes, namely, that Cyprus may live as a united and non-aligned country, and that the credibility of this Organization may be restored in that country.

36. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): Events in Cyprus have caused, and continue to cause, perfectly justified alarm in the minds of those who wish to preserve peace and security and to confirm the positive trends that have occurred in the world recently towards the relaxation of tension in international relations. This alarm is fully justified because this new conflict, this new focal point of tension, shows yet again that there exist in the world forces and circles that have not abandoned their hope of impeding attempts to improve the international atmosphere; they would like to go even further, I think, and return the world to the period of confrontation and constant tension which has now disappeared into the past.

37. More than a year ago we witnessed the implementation, with foreign assistance, of a violent overthrow in one non-aligned democratic country. Its legal President was killed, and fascist terror became installed in the country.

38. In the summer of the same year, again with foreign assistance, an attempt was made to overthrow the legal Government of another democratic non-aligned country, the President of which was obliged to flee in order to avoid being killed.

39. It is not at all surprising that the secret threads of those two tragic events, however studiously attempts have been made to cover them up, lead precisely to the same centres of power and to the same circles whose desire is to preserve international tension. Who can guarantee that these dangerous precedents will not lead tomorrow to a blatant act of interference in the internal affairs of other peace-loving non-aligned States? That is why the leaders of the overwhelming majority of delegations during the general debate at this session have spoken with such profound concern and called for an urgent, just solution of the Cyprus crisis.

40. There are obviously different, subtle variations in any assessment of the reasons underlying this crisis, as there are various differences in respect of the ways and means proposed to settle it. However, the essential thing is the overwhelmingly held view that a just and durable solution of the conflict that has occurred can and must be found solely on the basis of the terms of the United Nations Charter, with the protection and guarantee of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, a full-fledged Member of this Organization.

41. This is yet another clear confirmation of the determination of the peoples of the world to take energetic measures to stop the attempts of those reactionary forces that oppose the relaxation of tension and the trend towards a new, improved political atmosphere in the world. In fact, even during the lengthy debates in the Security Council on the Cyprus question, the substance of the conflict and the reasons for it were observed. It became clear to humanity that certain NATO circles were anxious to destroy the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus and to turn the island into a stronghold in their strategic plans for the eastern Mediterranean. During the very height of the crisis, the Security Council proved able to come forward with energetic measures against a further extension of the conflict and to protect the independence of Cyprus. That was achieved notwithstanding the open attempts to impose a decision in the narrow interests of one military group and in contradiction with the interests of the Cypriot people. In resolution 353 (1974) the Security Council demanded an immediate end to foreign military intervention in Cyprus, requested the withdrawal without delay from Cyprus of foreign military personnel, and called for the restoration of constitutional government on the island.

42. It is deeply regrettable that these decisions remain unfulfilled even today.

43. Another cause for regret is that the Soviet proposal for the dispatch to Cyprus of a special Security Council mission was rejected. Such a mission not only would have seen the facts for itself but also would have unmasked the authentic reasons for the tragic events in Cyprus.

44. The case of Cyprus shows the danger inherent in any departure from the principles of the United Nations Charter and the non-implementation of decisions of the Organization, particularly those of the Security Council, the organ bearing primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace. Failure to comply with such decisions has always led to an aggravation of conflicts and disputes. This is

equally true of Cyprus, the Middle East, Namibia and other similar cases.

45. As far as Cyprus is concerned, this has made it impossible to find a just solution thus far. Moreover, attempts are continuing to withdraw the Cyprus problem from the competence of the Security Council and the United Nations and to impose a decision within the framework of one single military bloc, taking into account its military and political schemes over the short term and the long term in that region. Analysis of the events that have occurred since the crisis started and the debates in the Security Council and the Assembly have shown that the danger of a further aggravation of the situation in Cyprus and in the eastern Mediterranean has not passed. The threat of open or covert division of the territory of the island has not been removed; a settlement of the conflict cannot be achieved by either foreign military force or by political *diktat* foisted on a sovereign republic against the genuine interests of its people.

46. It is no mere coincidence that so far all attempts made to find a solution to the conflict within the framework of the hastily convened Geneva Conference have failed; this has also shown the failure of the so-called system of guarantees provided by the Zurich and London Agreements.<sup>3</sup> That is why the proposal of the Soviet Union for the convening of an international conference under United Nations auspices,<sup>2</sup> with the participation of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, the members of the Security Council and also certain other States, principally from among the non-aligned group of countries, has met with broad support and endorsement in the international community. There can be no doubt that it is precisely such a representative forum that would be in a position to find a solution to the Cyprus question and would be able to guarantee effectively the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus in a manner in keeping with the interests of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

47. The immediate elimination of this new focal point of tension is all the more necessary in that it may have grave consequences for the peace of the world, particularly because of its proximity to the Middle East. Only in this way may one thwart the plans of those forces that desire to profit from the heightened tension in the area to bring about for their own purposes the failure of the efforts of the United Nations and other peace-loving forces to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and in the eastern Mediterranean.

48. An urgent solution of this problem is also necessary in order to put an end to the great sufferings that have been inflicted on the Cypriot people. The economy of that small country has been virtually paralysed; a substantial part of the population has been forcibly turned into refugees, and this has caused additional suffering and material damage in the country. Neither world public opinion nor the United Nations can allow a small, peace-loving, non-aligned country to be subjected to yet further sufferings or to be denied a chance to determine its own destiny.

49. The duty of the United Nations is to come out clearly and categorically in favour of the just cause of Cyprus and to protect its independence. In this way, the Organization will make an effective contribution

to the removal of a source of conflicts, and to the removal of misunderstanding or lack of understanding, between the States directly concerned respecting the exclusion of the threat or use of force in the settlement of disputes, in accordance with the terms of the Charter of the United Nations.

50. I should like to add that similar detailed statements by representatives of Turkish and Greek Cypriots, as well as the comments and statements that followed, which we heard yesterday in the Special Political Committee, have shown once again that the situation in the island is highly complicated and fraught with the greatest dangers. These statements have shown that, in a complicated situation, it is not possible simply through direct talks and within the framework of the Geneva Conference to find a rapid and just solution of the crisis.

51. Since yesterday our delegation has become even more convinced that it is extremely necessary to have the active participation of the Security Council and of the United Nations in the solution of the problem, and also that it is important for the Security Council and the United Nations to take a part in guaranteeing the free and independent existence of the Republic of Cyprus and the provision of full opportunities for both communities to express their views as to the form their State should take, without interference from outside.

52. The Bulgarian people and State have been following events in Cyprus most carefully, and our consistently peace-loving foreign policy, which enjoins the principles of autonomous and independent existence of States, respect for their national freedom and territorial integrity, and non-interference in their internal affairs, has dictated our position on this issue. We also base our attitude on our own bitter experience.

53. In the 13 centuries of the existence of our people, it lived for more than six centuries under a harsh, foreign yoke, and its preservation as a nation cost a long and difficult struggle with many victims. In our history, also, the artificial division of our country into two parts was the cause of great hardships and losses in the successful struggle for unity. Bulgaria and other Balkan countries have often found themselves drawn into senseless, devastating wars and have fought in the interests of foreign Powers and States.

54. Fortunately, after the Second World War, the Balkan countries, having learned from their bitter historical experience, embarked upon a course, which they are now following unswervingly, of good-neighbourliness and mutual understanding and co-operation; and this is characteristic of our relations with Cyprus, Greece and Turkey today. That is why we are very anxious to see that the Cyprus problem is resolved at the earliest possible date and in the most just and worthy manner possible.

55. For good neighbours the law is that when a fire breaks out in the house of a neighbour one should rush to extinguish it, because otherwise the fire may spread from one house to another. That is why the Bulgarian Government, immediately after the beginning of the tragic events in Cyprus, took the necessary realistic diplomatic steps in its approaches to the States concerned, so as to bring about a cease-fire in the conflict

that had shortly before flared up not far from our southern border.

56. Motivated by humanitarian considerations, the Bulgarian Government, to the extent possible, also provided considerable and timely assistance to the population of Cyprus, which had suffered so greatly. We thereby have shown that our peace-loving policy is consistent and not motivated by passing events. Our desire is to turn the Balkans into an area of peace, security and co-operation. True to this policy, the Bulgarian Government will continue in future to make its contribution to a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus crisis. This involves giving Cyprus full independence as a sovereign State with full territorial integrity.

57. The States directly involved should rely on the United Nations, and particularly on the decisions of the Security Council calling for the immediate cessation of foreign armed intervention and the simultaneous withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the island. Only in this way will it be possible to create conditions in which Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can resolve the question of the internal structure of their State on their own. Only in such circumstances is it possible to guarantee the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus and to exclude the danger of a renewal of intervention, or the commencement of some new intervention on the island, from whatever source.

58. That is why we fully support the effective measures proposed by the Soviet Union, and in particular the convening under the auspices of the United Nations of an international conference to consider and resolve the Cypriot crisis. As the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, said recently:

"We emphasize the need for respect for the sovereignty and independence of friendly Cyprus, and we sincerely desire that our neighbours—Greece and Turkey—should live in peace and mutual understanding with each other and with an independent Cyprus. The Balkan peoples have frequently become cannon fodder for the interests of the imperialist Powers. Socialist Bulgaria has striven and will strive with all its strength for new relations in the Balkans, for good-neighbourliness and co-operation in the cause of peace throughout the world."

59. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*Interpretation from French*): On behalf of the nine countries members of the European Economic Community [EEC], I take the floor today in this debate devoted to a matter involving three States with which we have established a special relationship, involving peoples with whom we have traditional relations of friendship and a region that is in close proximity to us. The Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom will, for his part, add the comments called for by the specific responsibilities of his country.

60. I do not believe that it would be useful, three and a half months after the crisis broke out, to dwell at length on the events that have taken place since that day. The Security Council, which has this matter before it, has devoted some 17 meetings to this question since 16 July last. I need only emphasize that the situation in Cyprus today causes considerable concern

because of its instability and constant threat to peace and security and also because of the suffering inflicted upon the population of the island in both communities, and that therefore it has profound roots. These roots, without doubt, do not explain or particularly justify all of the present facts or all of the successive events that have occurred over the last three months. However, they do help place the situation within its true human and political framework, and thereby make it possible better to discern the outline of a solution, which must above all be one of reconciliation.

61. Cyprus, a State Member of the Organization, has witnessed internal difficulties practically since its creation as a result of the moral, psychological and sociological division of the two communities that make up its population. No doubt paths have been explored towards a dialogue between those two communities to seek solutions to their problems, but suspicion has been such, on one side and on the other, that not even the slightest bold initiative has seriously been entertained. Without doubt also, the Organization has been called upon to exert its calming influence by maintaining a peace-keeping force on the island for 10 years and by offering its aid to the parties in their talks through the person of its Secretary-General and a special representative. But in no way could this serve as a substitute in the search for the indispensable accommodation that must be arrived at. Thus, we have come to the events of which we all know.

62. Desirous of restoring concord in Cyprus and also between Greece and Turkey, both of which are directly concerned by the fate of the two communities on the island and both guarantor Powers, together with the United Kingdom, the nine members of EEC have intervened several times since the beginning of the crisis to demonstrate their concern and to call for respect for the principles set out by the Security Council in its successive resolutions. Today their joint position is within that same context. It can be defined by three principal points which, in their view, are of equal importance.

63. First, we are in favour of the principle of the maintenance of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Thus, we particularly appreciate the renewed commitment of Greece and Turkey to respect these fundamental points. It is also self-evident that all parties must be guided by the desire to observe the principles governing relations among States. Respect for independence and integrity excludes, in our view, a settlement that would lead to partition or annexation of all or part of the island. Respect for sovereignty, for its part, implies the implementation of the provisions of Security Council resolutions, calling in particular for the withdrawal of foreign forces from the island, except when provided for by international agreements.

64. Secondly, with respect to the settlement of the question of Cyprus, we have no authority to take a position on the means to be employed but we believe that the agreement of the two communities making up the Republic of Cyprus is an essential condition. Indeed, what is at stake is their legitimate interests and the protection of their identity within viable and realistic institutions, because the crisis results from the threats felt by one side and the other. We also welcome the dialogue that has begun between their respective



representatives and we attach paramount importance to it. We hope that that dialogue, after dealing with humanitarian questions, will rapidly be extended to political questions. Moreover, we recognize that the United Nations, in a matter which has been before it for such a long time, can and must contribute to the rapid achievement of a settlement. That is why we hope that the present debate in the Assembly will serve this purpose and will make it possible to arrive at a definition of the principles of a settlement that would be accepted by all the parties and would meet with general support. Moreover, we support the persevering efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, and we should like to pay a tribute to the devotion with which UNFICYP is carrying out its mission and effectively helping to prevent a deterioration of the situation.

65. Thirdly, we attach particular importance to the distressing question of refugees, which affects approximately one third of the population of the island. This is a humanitarian question and, as such, is already before the international community. Our nine countries, moreover, are collectively and individually taking part in the effort of international solidarity. But this question is also a political one, both because it is at the very core of a settlement and because it may well, if not rapidly solved, degenerate into a serious international problem such as we are unfortunately witnessing elsewhere in the world. We therefore feel that a solution in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the Security Council must be implemented forthwith.

66. In conclusion, for the nine countries members of EEC, the Cyprus crisis jeopardizes the equilibrium and the security of a region in close proximity to them. It also involves two European countries united to them by a similar bond, quite apart from the relations of friendship they have with both parties. They therefore intend to remain vigilant and ready to use these relations to make moderation prevail and to serve the cause of reconciliation.

67. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): My Government's views on the events which took place in Cyprus this summer were explained at considerable length in the Security Council. I am sorry to say that I spoke there on no less than 11 occasions myself during July and August. I do not, therefore, intend to speak now at any length. The representative of France has already spoken on behalf of the members of EEC, and I should like to associate the United Kingdom with what he has said. But my country's long association with Cyprus, our continued interests in the island and our continued responsibilities there, and the role we have played in the crisis, oblige me to speak in the early stages of this debate.

68. When the latest crisis broke in July this year, the British Government had no choice but to play an active role. Nor did we wish to avoid this. We were immediately involved, both as a guarantor under the Treaties of 1960,<sup>4</sup> and because of the physical presence in the island of British forces and British sovereign base areas.

69. I suppose it was inevitable that, with this involvement, there should be accusations about NATO plots, which are again being paraded by those whose only interest in Cyprus is to make propaganda for their own

doctrinaire purposes. Indeed we heard one example of that yet again this morning. It is not exactly surprising, if I may say so to the representative of Bulgaria—that we heard from him a faithful echo of the views of the Soviet Union. It is not exactly surprising, but nevertheless still somewhat depressing. The parrot-like repetition of these lies does not augur well for a constructive and serious debate. Those who propagate the theory of a NATO plot seem to think that we engineered the overthrow of Archbishop Makarios. It was curious, was it not, that we then helped him to leave Cyprus when he wanted to, and indeed we were thanked by him here at the United Nations for having done so. I need waste no more of the Assembly's time in refuting what is so clearly false propaganda. I only hope that those who have been peddling it will cease to do so, and may attempt at last to make a constructive contribution towards helping the people of Cyprus itself.

70. Throughout the crisis, the British purpose has been to serve the interests of the people of Cyprus. Our actions have been determined by our responsibilities under the Treaties and by our desire to respond to the request expressed in Security Council resolution 353 (1974) and the later resolutions of the Council. My Government responded with immediate and substantial help when the Secretary-General appealed for the reinforcement of UNFICYP. We continue to be at the service of the Cyprus people, and of this Organization, in order to help if required.

71. I would, while speaking of UNFICYP, again pay tribute, as the British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary did when he spoke in the general debate [2240th meeting, paras. 233-234], to those members of the Force who gave their lives in Cyprus, as well as to the Secretary-General and all those who have worked under him for the United Nations during the crisis.

72. My Government has, I think I can safely say, done its part in support of their efforts. It is clear that the United Nations still has an important role in Cyprus and that its contribution to making and keeping a just peace is likely to be crucial. My delegation hopes that those who come to contribute, through participation in this debate, to finding ways to solve the Cyprus problem may also feel able to contribute in money and resources to the same objective, by responding to the appeal that the Secretary-General has launched for the financing of UNFICYP.

73. The British Government, which was deeply involved throughout the summer in the attempts made, both at the Geneva Conference and subsequently, to find peaceful solutions, is extremely grateful to those other Governments which have since attempted to assist in the peace-making process. I am aware that the committee of five non-aligned countries, established by the non-aligned group here, has devoted a good deal of effort to considering what sort of draft resolution might be the best outcome to this debate. We applaud them for having the courage and perseverance to make this attempt. They will need no lessons from us or from anyone else on the difficulties and complexities of the Cyprus problem. Indeed, if this debate served no other purpose, it would have been worth while if it made those who listened to it aware that there are no simple solutions; there is no

neat panacea; nor indeed is there any single villain—not even the bogeyman of NATO—the removal of which would solve everything. Those who have been attempting to draw up a generalized text for our consideration have undertaken no simple task; peace-making is, by definition, difficult.

74. There are, however, certain encouraging features. In particular, the reaffirmation by the Governments of Greece and Turkey of their commitment to a sovereign and independent Cyprus is a very positive step. There can be no peace in the longer term on the basis either of *enosis* or of partition. It is to be welcomed that those interested parties from whom we have heard in the past two days are evidently agreed at least on this point.

75. The central question remains the constitutional structure of Cyprus within the sovereign, independent State which all are agreed should be preserved. This is indeed a matter on which the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities should agree. It is evident from the statements we have heard, however, that they are still far from agreement. We can respect—and indeed, if I may, I would pay tribute to—their sincerity and the passion with which they hold the views we have heard them express. But compromise—and I make no apology for using the word in this context—is essential. It is of the utmost importance that the talks already in train between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktas, which offer the best forum for working out mutually acceptable agreements, and which have achieved a good deal already, particularly in the humanitarian field, should go forward, and that the basic issues on which a settlement depends should now be tackled.

76. Speaking in the general debate on 24 September [*ibid.*, para. 238], Mr. Callaghan said that the central question was whether there should be a federal system in the Republic. That remains the central question. Until that question is answered, it remains impossible to proceed to solving the remaining problems. Perhaps it is for the best that, while the parties express their opinions on this issue, it is avoided in any draft resolutions. But it still remains the central question.

77. What, then, should the outcome to our discussions be? The Cyprus delegation has proposed its own draft resolution. It has been made clear that this draft is not acceptable to the Turkish Cypriot community. My delegation wishes, at this juncture, merely to make it clear that it sees no merit in further disagreement and further strife. It hopes that the search for mutually acceptable positions will continue and, above all, that the process of negotiation will be assisted.

78. Immediate action is required to alleviate the suffering of the people of Cyprus. The return of the refugees to their homes is the first, the most obvious and perhaps the most necessary step. Progress on this should not be held up.

79. My Government hopes that the refugee problem may be settled very soon and that Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktas will give it the very highest priority. In our view, progress on that and towards a settlement can best be made at present by continuation and encouragement of those talks between the repre-

sentatives of the people whose future is most directly at stake.

80. At all costs we here in the United Nations should avoid, in this debate, any action or any words which might hinder their efforts. I hope that we here in the United Nations will show the same flexibility, the same willingness to compromise, in the interests of a lasting settlement, which we look for from the representatives of the communities themselves. In so far as this debate encourages a sense of realism amongst those who have to take the decisions on Cyprus, in so far as it contributes to the process of negotiation, it—and any resolution we may adopt—will help the people of Cyprus.

81. Mr. ISSRAELIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The question of Cyprus is one of the most important questions before the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

82. The delegation of the Soviet Union supported the proposal of Cyprus that this item should be included in the agenda of this session [A/9743] because we feel that, under the Charter, the United Nations bears the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and consequently for the protection of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State Member of the United Nations. The inclusion of the question of Cyprus in the agenda of the General Assembly was entirely warranted because for more than three months now the whole world has been witnessing the blatant violation of the independence and territorial integrity of a sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations, a State that has actively participated in the non-alignment movement: the Republic of Cyprus.

83. Despite the increased efforts of the peace-loving countries to protect peace and strengthen *détente*, and to make that process of *détente* irreversible, a dangerous focal point of tension emerged in the eastern Mediterranean and continues to exist there. The reasons for the emergence of that focal point of tension are well known, and I should have preferred not to have to take the time of the Assembly in stating them. But in view of the crude attack on one of the speakers which we have just heard from the United Kingdom representative, I think it is in order for me to recall those reasons, whether the United Kingdom representative likes it or not. They are the following.

84. For many years the NATO strategists, expanding their military preparations in the Mediterranean region, have been constantly trying in one way or another to draw the territory of Cyprus ever more deeply into the orbit of those preparations. To this very day a British military base exists on the island of Cyprus, and the United Kingdom is, as is known, a member of NATO. I therefore fail to understand the reaction of the United Kingdom representative.

85. Last summer all of us witnessed the very unedifying sight of two member States of NATO converting a small country with no potential for defence at all—and I emphasize that—into an arena of armed intervention, bringing suffering and death to the citizens of Cyprus and destroying villages and towns. The NATO States, and particularly the United Kingdom, attempted to prevent a discussion of the Cyprus



question by obstructionist tactics. The results of those efforts are well known. I cannot but cite a Russian saying to the effect that the hat of a thief can be seen burning from a distance.

86. I should like to quote the following statement made by Mr. Brezhnev, in which he emphasized:

"The world now has further clear proof of the dangerous role played in international affairs by the NATO military bloc. The very existence of that bloc and its fundamental political aims are quite incompatible with the cause of peace and independence and the security of the peoples of the world."

87. From the very beginning of the events in Cyprus, the Soviet Union came out in defence of the inalienable rights of Cyprus; it resolutely called for an end to outside interference in the affairs of Cyprus, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of Cyprus, for the restoration of the constitutional system and for the provision of an opportunity for the people of Cyprus, Greek and Turk, to exercise their inalienable right to solve their problems by themselves and to decide the fate of their motherland, the sovereign Republic of Cyprus, in conditions of peace, tranquillity and non-intervention in their affairs.

88. The statements on the Cyprus question made by the Soviet Government in July and August this year give a detailed assessment of the events in Cyprus, an assessment based on a position of fundamental principle. They set forth the reasons for the emergence of the situation. They emphasize the firm position of the Soviet Union in defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

89. From the very outset of the problem, the Soviet Union firmly advocated that the Security Council, which under the Charter bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should take effective measures immediately. As is well known, through the active and consistent participation of the Soviet Union and a number of other countries, the Security Council adopted some important decisions designed to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and to lessen the dangers of the situation there.

90. The Security Council decisions, which previous speakers have referred to today, concern the immediate cessation of foreign armed intervention, the withdrawal of foreign troops and military personnel from the island and the restoration of the constitutional system and the legal constitutional Government of the Republic of Cyprus. These fundamentally important decisions, and particularly the cardinal resolutions 353 (1974) and 357 (1974), adopted unanimously by the Council, form the basis for a lasting political settlement of the Cyprus crisis in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. As the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs, Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko, said in the General Assembly, the solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter

the case of the Cyprus tragedy too." [2240th meeting, para. 137.]

91. Unfortunately, notwithstanding their binding nature under the Charter, there has still not been compliance with these decisions of the Security Council.

92. In our persistent and determined efforts to remove the Cyprus question from the dead end it has reached as the result of the attempts—and I emphasize this again—of certain NATO circles to settle this question more privately, outside the United Nations, in their own narrow, selfish interests, the Soviet Union has made a number of concrete proposals. Those proposals are in no way propagandist but are designed to bring about a just settlement of the Cyprus problem. The Soviet Union proposed that a mission of the Security Council be sent to Cyprus to ascertain on the spot what was happening with regard to the implementation of the Security Council decisions and to report back to the Council.<sup>5</sup> Members are well aware that in the past the practice of sending Security Council missions for the purpose of fact-finding on the spot has frequently been followed and has proved well justified. A special commission of the Security Council in Cyprus would undoubtedly play an important and very positive role in the quest for a settlement. However, the opponents of the proposal prevented the adoption of the necessary decision by the Security Council. They brought a negative influence to bear on the decision of certain other members of the Council also. As a consequence a great deal of time was wasted. However, subsequent events in Cyprus have confirmed the correctness and timeliness of the Soviet proposal for the dispatch to Cyprus of a special mission of the Security Council. A decision on this proposal is still awaited.

93. The Soviet Union also made another proposal of fundamental importance which was not based in any way on propaganda. It proposed that consideration of the Cyprus problem should be taken up in a body composed of States representing all the different political systems of the present day. For this purpose an international conference was to be convened within the framework of the United Nations with the participation of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, all the member States of the Security Council and other States, particularly non-aligned States.<sup>2</sup> The Soviet proposal for the convening of an international conference on Cyprus under the auspices of the United Nations is motivated by the Soviet Union's sincere desire for the achievement as soon as possible of a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council. Such a solution would ensure the cessation of foreign military intervention in Cyprus, the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops and military personnel from the territory of the island and the restoration of a constitutional system. The conference could also consider and find solutions for the international aspects of the Cyprus problem, thereby helping to promote the creation of an atmosphere propitious for the resolution of questions concerning the internal structure of the Republic, which, as I have emphasized before, must be resolved by the Cypriots themselves without any outside interference. The holding of an international conference on Cyprus within the framework of

"... is the only way radically to remove the tension. The demand that the Charter of the United Nations be observed should not be an empty phrase—as those responsible for events in Cyprus would like to see it. It must be complied with in

the United Nations would also promote and enhance the authority and influence of the United Nations.

94. In this connexion the following needs to be said. From this high rostrum critics of the Charter are often heard going on about the need to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations, strengthen its role in international affairs and so on. But when concrete proposals are made, such as the proposal to send a special mission of the Security Council to Cyprus and to convene an international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations—in other words, when proposals are made whose purpose is the actual, concrete manifestation of the effective role of the United Nations in political affairs today, not mere words—then the opponents of those proposals come to the fore, and they include those who are so fond of talking about the need to enhance the authority of the United Nations. They apparently prefer loud oratory to actual deeds in the interests of the settlement of international conflicts.

95. The proposal of the Soviet Union for the convening of an international conference on Cyprus has met with broad support in the statements of many delegations both during the general political debate and at this meeting today, and I thank those delegations which have supported our proposal. A very positive view has been taken of this Soviet initiative. Above all, it has met with support and understanding from Cyprus, and I think this is particularly significant. Speaking from this rostrum, Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus said:

“... In that connexion, I wish to stress that any negotiations on the problem will have to take place in a wider international conference than that of Geneva. We consider the proposal for an international conference within the framework of the United Nations as constructive and therefore acceptable to us.” [2251st meeting, para. 19.]

96. The constructive nature of the Soviet proposal for the convening of the conference, particularly in view of the failure of the Zurich and London agreements, which were foisted on Cyprus, and the sheer bankruptcy of the Geneva negotiations on Cyprus, has not been disputed by anyone, even those who for their own narrow, selfish reasons do not want the Soviet proposal to be adopted. The Soviet Union, as in the past, is firmly convinced that the convening of an international conference on Cyprus would be of primary significance for the solution of the Cyprus problem.

97. In connexion with events in Cyprus the question arises also of international guarantees for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Here also the Soviet Union has produced clear, precise and constructive proposals. The failure of the Geneva talks clearly confirmed the pointlessness of the Zurich-London agreements for guarantees to Cyprus and raised the question of a new system of international guarantees. At the same time it showed that a just, durable settlement of the Cyprus problem, in keeping with the decisions of the Security Council and with the principles of the Charter, can be achieved only in a broad international forum within the framework of the United Nations, which truly defends the interests of this long-suffering Republic. That is why the Soviet Union proposed that the decisions of an

international conference on Cyprus, adopted with the direct participation of representatives of Cyprus, and designed to ensure the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, should be effectively guaranteed by the permanent members of the Security Council.

98. Since, in accordance with the Charter, those Powers in any case bear prime responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Soviet Union proposes that those States should become authentic guarantors of a future free Cyprus. It is inadmissible that Cyprus should have imposed upon it again guarantees which would not only fail to ensure peace and tranquillity but would also be used to serve interests which are quite alien to it and which would be a loophole for all kinds of acts which would threaten the freedom, independence and indeed the very existence of the Cypriot State. In this respect, one cannot fail to express regret at the fact that certain permanent members of the Security Council rejected the proposal out of hand, so to speak.

99. Firmly defending the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus as a Member of the United Nations and as a non-aligned State, the Soviet Union does so out of considerations of high principle. Those considerations emanate from the very essence of Soviet foreign policy, a policy of rejection of aggression, of the defence of the lawful rights of all peoples, whether large or small, a policy of peace and a lessening of international tensions. Those who sincerely and honourably advocate the preservation of an independent Cyprus and the maintenance of peace and security in that region can count on understanding and co-operation from the Soviet Union.

100. The State of Cyprus has many friends, and in its defence we have heard from the socialist States and many non-aligned States. Events in Cyprus have shaken the whole world and this is understandable, because what happened on Cyprus really goes well beyond the confines of that island. The tragedy of the Cypriot people applies to an equal extent to all States, and the fact that the victim of aggression happened to be a small country, a member of the non-aligned movement, imparts a particular political significance to what happened. The beginning and the development of the Cypriot crisis has shown that, in our day, the intrigues of the aggressive forces are opposed by a powerful front of the partisans of peace, independence and sovereignty of all States. Events have also shown that, if the combined efforts of the peace-loving States in the United Nations are not brought to bear in defence of a small State, that State might well disappear from the face of the earth altogether for ever and simply become a victim of partition and annexation. That is why it is essential that the United Nations should take urgent, effective measures to ensure the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council relating to Cyprus.

101. There are some who would like to freeze the situation that has come about in Cyprus and defer indefinitely the whole settlement of the Cypriot problem by various diversionary remarks about “quiet diplomacy”, as they call it, “impartial mediation”, and so on. At the same time, the partition of the island is becoming intensified, and in fact the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the

Cypriot State will be eliminated. The Soviet State resolutely opposes such a policy on the Cypriot problem. We favour the most rapid, just settlement of this problem. This is in the interests of Cyprus and its people and in the interests of international security in Europe and elsewhere. The freezing of the present situation in Cyprus can lead only to further aggravation of the situation and also to the threat of military confrontation. That is why, from this rostrum, many delegations—and some of them spoke today—were quite right to demand the adoption of urgent measures for a lasting and sound settlement of the Cypriot problem on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus and on the basis of the withdrawal from the territory of Cyprus of all foreign troops. All those who cherish peace and *détente*, all those who do more than pay lip-service to the implementation of the noble ideals of the Charter, cannot fail to support such an urgent and just settlement of the Cyprus problem.

102. The question is this: Is Cyprus, a Member of this Organization, to be an independent, sovereign State with territorial integrity, which can continue its policy of non-alignment and, together with other non-aligned States, make its contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security, or is it to become a victim of partition and annexation as a result of foreign intervention and what has been labelled as single or double *enosis*?

103. The delegation of the Soviet Union considers that the Soviet Union can help Cyprus defend its independence and national existence. It must make its great contribution to the solution of the Cyprus question. The General Assembly can and must consider this matter from all points of view, taking into account the constructive proposals made, and it must adopt a resolution that would confirm the need for the most prompt implementation of the Security Council decisions on Cyprus and a resolution fully ensuring the defence of the interests of the people of Cyprus and their protection as an independent and sovereign State, calling for the immediate cessation of all forms of foreign military intervention and the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of the island, the restoration of a constitutional system and of the lawful constitutional Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

104. The Assembly must say "No" to any plans for the partition of Cyprus, no matter under what pretext they are advanced.

105. When considering the question of Cyprus, the General Assembly cannot fail to take account of the statement made by Mr. Günes, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey, who, in his statement in the general debate, emphasized:

"... On behalf of the Turkish Government, I condemn any idea of partition, whether in the past or in the future, and I look for the same condemnation of the idea of *enosis* from the Greek Government." [2241st meeting, para. 157.]

106. A similar statement was made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, Mr. Mavros, who said the following in the general debate:

"... I am glad to be given the opportunity to solemnly reiterate from this rostrum, that Greece

has no ulterior aims in Cyprus. As a signatory of the Nicosia agreements, it is . . . against *enosis* and against partition." [2239th meeting, para. 237.]

107. The restoration of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of that Republic, the guaranteeing of lasting peace for that people—these are the main tasks, which require urgent solution in the interests of the Cypriot people and of peace and security in Europe. Events have shown convincingly enough that this cannot be achieved within the narrow, closed circle of NATO. The correct and effective course to follow is that the solution of the international aspects—and I emphasize the word "international"—of this problem should be arrived at within the framework of the United Nations, accompanied by appropriate authoritative international guarantees. This is what the Soviet Union has advocated and continues to advocate.

108. The delegation of Cyprus has introduced a draft resolution [A/L.738] on the question of Cyprus which contains, among other things, an appeal to all States. Operative paragraph 1 reads:

"Calls upon all States to respect unconditionally the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts of aggression and intervention directed against it."

109. The Soviet delegation entirely endorses that appeal. The Soviet delegation will follow most closely further developments in respect of that draft resolution and others.

110. The Soviet delegation believes that, no matter how complicated the vicissitudes of fate, the people of Cyprus will win the struggle for its future, for its independence, for its sovereignty and the territorial integrity of its homeland. In this struggle, all peace-loving and progressive forces of the world stand on the side of the young Republic. They are its true friends.

111. In conclusion, I should like to quote an extract from the appeals published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on the occasion of the fifty-seventh anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which will be celebrated in a few days, on 7 November. These appeals, in a concise, concentrated form, reflect the policy and position of our Party, the Soviet people and the Soviet State on matters of domestic and foreign policies and on acute international problems. One of the appeals reads as follows:

"Peoples of the world! Demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of Cyprus, respect for its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence!"

112. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before I call on the representative of Bulgaria, who wishes to exercise the right of reply, I should like to recall the decision of the General Assembly, taken at its 2236th plenary meeting, that rights of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

113. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): I wish to exercise my right of reply in order to remind the representative of Great Britain of an old



Bulgarian saying that translated is roughly as follows: "Those who feel guilty start running even without being chased". It seems that there was something in my statement that he did not like. He had some rather harsh things to say about it. I believe he used the word "depressing". That is a very fine compliment, my statement not being to the liking of a country which bears such great responsibility for the tragedy in Cyprus.

114. As for our support of the correct and realistic proposals of the Soviet Union for the settlement of the Cyprus problem, such support is not "propaganda"; rather, it is a sacred right and duty of all those who cherish peace and security, freedom and independence for all States and peoples of the world.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year*, 1781st meeting, para. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Statement dated 22 August 1974. For the text, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11465.

<sup>3</sup> *Conference on Cyprus: Documents signed and initialled at Lancaster House on February 19, 1959*, Cmnd. 679 (London, HM Stationery Office, 1959).

<sup>4</sup> Treaty of Guarantee (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475); Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus (*ibid.*, No. 5476); and Treaty of Alliance between the Kingdom of Greece, the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus (*ibid.*, vol. 397, No. 5712).

<sup>5</sup> Draft resolution submitted by the USSR on 29 July 1974. See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11391.