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

**AGENDA ITEM 110**

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

1. Mr. WEIDINGER (Austria): My delegation has listened with great attention to the debate so far and, in particular, to the statements of the representatives of the two Cypriot communities.

2. As is well known, my delegation has repeatedly spoken in the debate on the question of Cyprus in the Security Council, has addressed itself to all issues which form part of the over-all problem, and has taken an active part in the elaboration of several resolutions that were subsequently adopted by the Security Council. We are speaking again in this debate in the General Assembly to demonstrate our genuine interest in the fate of this small island and to renew our deep commitment to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

3. We feel that the debate on the question in the General Assembly should be conducted with a high sense of responsibility and a constructive spirit, bearing in mind the basic and most important objective we are all aiming at, to restore peace and tranquillity on the island of Cyprus. In particular, the resolution we are going to adopt will be crucial in this respect. While one, of course, cannot forget or undo what happened in Cyprus after 15 July 1974 as well as before, we must leave accusation and counter-accusation and acrimonious recrimination behind us and there should only be one victor as the result of our deliberations: the people of Cyprus.

4. For Austria, which more than once in its history has paid a heavy price for its freedom and independence, the absolute rejection of any form of the use or threat of force and of outside interference in the internal affairs of a State is a fundamental question. This position has been repeatedly made clear by my delegation. The principle of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States of the international community is particularly important and valid in the case of Cyprus, a young republic, never removed from the threat of outside interference in its internal affairs.

5. After the weapons were silent in Cyprus, the immense tragedy and suffering of the population of the island within both communities was revealed in frightening dimensions. A great number of men, women and children belonging to both communities have lost their lives or been wounded, and a third of the entire population, Greeks and Turks, have been displaced from their homes and turned into refugees who live in the most miserable conditions; all this apart from the enormous amount of destruction and the devastating blow to the economy of the small State.

6. These are the questions of a humanitarian nature to which the international community—besides seeking ways and means for the peaceful political settlement of the problem—must address itself urgently and decisively. We sincerely welcome the fact that these humanitarian problems figure prominently and, for the time being, even predominantly in the consultations and negotiations of the heads of the two communities. We regard those talks as being of crucial importance for the future destiny of the island and we feel that the results achieved so far mark a propitious starting-point for further development in a broader context.

7. Although we recognize the fact that the problem of the refugees, and in particular the question of their repatriation, is closely linked to the political and constitutional problem, let me nevertheless state clearly that we are deeply saddened to witness once more in the history of mankind refugees being used as an instrument of politics, their fate being calculated and exploited in terms of gaining political advantage, and the fundamental alleviation of their plight being tied to numerous other problems which by their nature defy quick solutions.

8. Austria has never failed, in a spirit of friendship and solidarity, to provide Cyprus in time of need with such assistance as is required to permit peaceful development on the island. Austria was amongst the first countries to provide contingents for UNFICYP. We have done so for a decade now under considerable material and recently also human sacrifice. Furthermore, my country was among those which responded to an urgent appeal by the President of the Republic of Cyprus for emergency aid for the population of Cyprus, and decided to provide such aid, particularly medicine and medical equipment, in the amount of one million Austrian schillings. Furthermore, in response to a subsequent urgent appeal by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Austrian Government decided only a few days ago to make available an additional sum of one million Austrian schillings for the population of Cyprus.

9. I think at this point it is more than appropriate to express the highest praise for and pay tribute to the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General personally, to his staff, to UNFICYP and to the International

Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC], as well as to numerous other organizations in the battle against human misery and suffering on Cyprus.

10. Apart from the purely humanitarian aspect, which is now the major preoccupation of UNFICYP, we have always felt that the United Nations presence on the island—both politically and militarily—was of great importance not only to prevent the outbreak of open hostilities between the two communities but also to assist in the furtherance of the intercommunal talks in which all of us have placed considerable hope. The continued presence of the United Nations will—especially in the present circumstances—be indispensable in contributing to maintenance of the calm which is a paramount prerequisite for building genuine and lasting peace.

11. The three big problem areas facing Cyprus and indeed the whole international community today, are well known. I have already touched on one: the humanitarian side. The others are the guarantee of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, as well as the building of a constitutional order acceptable to both communities. I think in all these areas a small Member State of the Organization is entitled to receive help, assistance, support and encouragement from the international community, although it will be mainly for the States directly concerned to guarantee the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the island, as it will have to be for the two communities themselves to choose a constitutional order under which they could live together in peace.

12. In building such a constitutional order, it is understandable that the security needs of both communities will have to form an important part; only a system which takes this fundamental question properly into account will have the strength to stand the test of time. Furthermore, whatever solution finally emerges, it should, in our view, be oriented towards one goal, and that is the preservation of the territorial integrity of Cyprus.

13. The two communities should be given the chance to build this framework for their future without the pressure of a military presence which—from whatever side it is exerted—can only be detrimental to the ultimate attainment of that goal.

14. When I say that Cyprus is entitled to the help of the international community, I feel that the international community, in turn, is entitled to expect reason, a spirit of conciliation and indeed a statesmanlike attitude on the part of both communities in proceeding to shape their common destiny.

15. We understand that, in view of what happened both recently and over a long period, what we ask here is indeed a great deal; but we are deeply convinced that it will be the only chance and the only way not to repeat the errors of the past, and to build a future that will ensure tranquillity, happiness and prosperity for Cyprus as a whole. We have great confidence in the inherent strength of the people of Cyprus to proceed with this task without the need of outside interference.

16. Let me conclude by expressing our profound hope, and indeed expectation, that the resolution this Assembly is going to adopt will not place obstacles in the way of understanding, but rather mark a renewed

point of departure for all the parties concerned. Only then will the Assembly have met the challenge and lived up to the great hope and expectation which a small Member country so rightly deserves.

17. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): He who has been to Cyprus even once can hardly forget the natural beauty of that island country, and the vitality, open-heartedness and friendliness of its inhabitants, Greek and Turkish alike. It is all the more distressing to know that the people of Cyprus have for a long time been denied the quiet enjoyment of the blessings of peace. As a sad consequence of open foreign interventions that have taken place in recent months, the very existence of the people of Cyprus and the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the country are gravely imperilled.

18. What happened in Cyprus was not an inevitable tragedy of destiny; it was not the doing of uncontrollable forces entailing incalculable consequences. The exertions and the forces hidden behind them are only too well known to us here. We might say they represent one—we hope the last—of the anachronistic attempts of the cold-war policy of force to stop the advance of international *détente* and to contain the forces of progress.

19. Who in this hall does not remember that as far back as 1947 Mr. Truman assigned the Mediterranean basin a strategic role against the Soviet Union and the nascent socialist countries? Who does not know of the countless subsequent plans and conceptions of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] all of which intended the so-called southern-southeastern flank to play a particular role? Some NATO countries gave those plans still greater attention after Israel had been assigned an increasing part in the imperialist strategy against the progressive Arab countries in the Middle East.

20. Never for a moment have the strategists of NATO given up their plan to bring Cyprus, on one pretext or another, under their influence, and to integrate the island into the network of their military bases. And the imperialist, cold-war circles, considering that the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus and the progressive policy of non-alignment which the Government and leadership of Cyprus have always consistently followed were obstructing their plans, made successive attacks against it, both overtly and behind the scenes. It was one of those attacks which last summer opened a new chapter—the gravest yet—in the Cyprus conflict, with whose tragic consequences the United Nations again has to deal.

21. It has already been pointed out during the general debate by many speakers that the onslaught on the constitutional order of the Republic of Cyprus had been organized and launched by those who were sworn enemies of international *détente*, of better co-operation between States in Europe, and in general of friendly relations between the peoples. The Greek military junta and its leaders, whose illegal, anti-democratic rule had long been viewed by world public opinion with contempt and disapproval, should bear a heavy responsibility in the eyes of history for the revolt against Archbishop Makarios and for all those criminal acts that have resulted in the tragic situation of today.

22. The Greek military junta was toppled by the very plans contrived by that junta and its masters. There is no reason why the people of Cyprus should suffer for the crimes of the Greek military junta; and one can only welcome the fact that the present Government of Greece deplores the consequences, and what is happening today in Cyprus.

23. We cannot condemn strongly enough the actions of those who have long been intent upon undermining the independent statehood of Cyprus by scheming in every possible way to kindle enmity between the two sections of the population of the island country, the Greek and Turkish communities. We know full well that racial, religious or national hatred does not originate with the ordinary working people; it has always and everywhere been instilled into the masses from above or from outside.

24. The basic interest of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots has been and continues to be one and the same: to safeguard the independence of Cyprus and to make their country prosper.

25. The relations of the Hungarian People's Republic with the Republic of Cyprus have steadily been developing on the basis of the principles of equality, sovereignty and mutual advantages and, I might as well say, on the basis of the lofty principles of peaceful coexistence. We have always looked with great respect on the Government of the island country and on its leaders, in whom the Hungarian people saw the defenders of the unity of Cyprus and its non-aligned status. This is why our people and our Government have from the very early days of the crisis followed the course of events in Cyprus with close attention.

26. We still uphold the position which the communiqué of the Information Bureau of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic issued on 1 August 1974 formulated in the following terms:

"The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic condemns the activities aiming at the liquidation of the independent statehood of the Republic of Cyprus, at the partition of the island, activities tending to transform Cyprus into an appendage of NATO. The Council of Ministers does not regard the tripartite Geneva accord as being in full conformity with the relevant Security Council resolutions and does not consider it satisfactory. It considers it indispensable to remove all foreign military forces from Cyprus. It deems it contrary to the interests and rights of the people of Cyprus that some wish to take decisions about the future of Cyprus behind the back and without the participation of the legitimate representatives of its people.

"The Hungarian Government lends its support to the proposals submitted to the Security Council by the Government of the Soviet Union concerning the settlement of the situation in Cyprus. It deems it necessary and reiterates its demand to guarantee the full independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus . . ."

27. Nobody can deny that the old system of so-called guarantor Powers has proved completely unable to guarantee the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Moreover, nobody can really expect member States of NATO—that is, the

guarantors—to ensure the non-aligned status of that small non-aligned country.

28. The proposal made by the Soviet Union for the convening of an international conference under United Nations auspices<sup>2</sup> is aimed at finding a more stable, more effective way of guaranteeing the independent, sovereign, non-aligned status of Cyprus. In the light of the recent developments, that proposal has not lost its importance.

29. We know full well that the clash of agitated feelings and conflicting—real or imaginary—interests makes it difficult also at this time to bring about a quick settlement of the Cyprus crisis. We are nevertheless firmly convinced that a settlement must not be put off. Today's international relations do not brook the burning of any flame of war or the existence of any state of "neither war nor peace" in any corner of the world. The remaining forces of the cold war must not be permitted to go into counter-attack against the growing trend of international *détente* and co-operation. We think that the vast majority of Member States support the only feasible solution which is equally acceptable and useful to the national communities living in Cyprus and to all those who feel responsible for the peace of the island country and for the well-being and the rights of its population.

30. That solution cannot be anything else but the restoration of the unity, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Cyprus, with a constitutional Government ready to stand up for all that. We believe that the Cypriot communities are capable of arranging their life and future on their own in an integral independent State. Therefore, it is necessary to withdraw immediately all foreign military forces from the land of Cyprus, to put an end to all forms of foreign intervention and tutelage. Let the people of Cyprus at long last, after so much warring and suffering, enjoy the deserved blessings of peace. That is in the interest not only of Cyprus but also of the international community.

31. Mr. TSHERING (Bhutan): The Chairman of my delegation observed during his general statement in the Assembly [2265th meeting, para. 75] that Bhutan viewed with serious concern the critical events that had overtaken the Republic of Cyprus. My delegation has been concerned particularly with the tragic developments which took place in Cyprus on 15 July and the hostilities that shortly followed them, hostilities in which foreign armed intervention was also involved.

32. We have listened with keen interest also to the views expressed by the representatives of the two communities; that indeed gave us an opportunity to enlighten ourselves on many important aspects of the recent developments in Cyprus.

33. As representatives are aware, several Foreign Ministers and other representatives have made reference in their statements to the situation in Cyprus. A perusal of the remarks on Cyprus reveals one common point of interest, on which there appears to be no divergence of views. Most speakers have expressed the view that all the energies of this body should be bent towards finding a peaceful and constitutional solution and, above all, a solution respecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.



34. The inference is very clear. There is an all-round desire to protect the existence of a Member State which has fully subscribed and adhered to the purposes and principles of the Charter. It is therefore natural to look to this great Organization to perform its role when it is most needed as a protector, which is so vital especially for the smaller and less powerful nations. The tragic developments in Cyprus threatened international peace and security, and at that stage an enormous responsibility fell upon the Security Council. The Council rose to the occasion and unanimously adopted resolution 353 (1974).

35. Cyprus being a non-aligned Member, the Group of Non-Aligned Countries also has been concerned with the situation. In this connexion, the representative of Sri Lanka succinctly described the concern of a non-aligned Member, which, with your permission, I would quote:

“The agony of Cyprus is the agony of the non-aligned movement; the deliverance of Cyprus is the deliverance of non-alignment; the betrayal and abandonment of Cyprus is the betrayal and abandonment of the principles of the Charter.” [2263rd meeting, para. 74.]

36. It remains now for the General Assembly to consider what techniques should be employed in resolving the crisis. Respect for and compliance with Security Council decisions is the essential basis for United Nations peace-keeping operations. The common people of both communities have suffered and are suffering enormously. Thousands of people have been uprooted; the agrarian economy has been ruptured and disrupted. The very existence of a small, defenceless, non-aligned State is being threatened.

37. Many proposals have been advanced in this Assembly. However, what one has failed to appreciate, in our judgement, is the role of the people of Cyprus. If the people of Cyprus had been associated with the peace talks from the very beginning the course of events might have taken a better turn. To put the matter in straightforward terms, the problem of Cyprus is essentially a problem for the two communities to solve. A climate should be created for this purpose so that they can start a dialogue, open negotiations and exchange free and frank views without any outside interference. In order to create such a climate for negotiations between the two communities, it will be necessary for all foreign troops to leave that country. UNFICYP, with a renewed and enlarged mandate, may be a sufficient guarantee to allay the fears of the minority community, and should be retained until both communities reach a constitutional settlement, for the purpose not only of strengthening the United Nations Charter and saving the principle of non-alignment, but also of restoring internal stability and guaranteeing human rights and fundamental freedoms to the people of the two communities.

38. If the crisis in Cyprus continues and the situation is allowed to drift, then there will certainly be a threat to international peace and security. This Assembly should therefore reiterate its policy of peace, justice and progress, and call upon all States to respect, without any conditions or reservations, the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

39. It is indeed heartening to note from the statements of the representatives of Cyprus and Greece that they have abandoned *enosis*. The policy of *enosis* was not conducive to an acceptable solution of the problem; nor can military interference by any party, for any reason, be justified. My delegation is opposed to any attempt to impose a military solution on a defenceless non-aligned State. Bhutan is opposed to any intervention in the internal affairs of a Member State of this great Organization.

40. The Assembly should urge the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military personnel from Cyprus to allow both communities to decide freely the future of their Republic. Moreover, the safe return of the refugees to their homes should be facilitated. In this connexion, the Secretary-General should also be given ample powers to exercise his good offices and maintain UNFICYP in a manner that will lead to the creation of an independent atmosphere in which the two communities can talk peace and settle their differences without fear of any external interference. Let them be the architects of their own common destiny.

41. We appreciate the extraordinary efforts shown by all concerned in the interest of maintaining international peace and security. The efforts made by the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus in arranging the movement of refugees to their homes is a good augury. My delegation hopes sincerely that these activities will mark an auspicious beginning of a fruitful dialogue in quest of a lasting settlement and peace in Cyprus.

42. Mr. GILANI (Pakistan): We all heard the representatives of the two communities of Cyprus on 29 October in the Special Political Committee. That Committee submitted its report to this Assembly yesterday [A/9820]. During earlier discussions of the question of Cyprus, we had been informed about the plight of the Greek Cypriots as a result of the recent events in the island. We have now heard the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community.

43. My delegation feels that we should take serious note of the grievances recounted to us—not only those reported to be of recent origin, but also those of much longer standing.

44. My delegation feels that the genuine fears and apprehensions of the Turkish Cypriot community, arising from earlier ejections from its ancestral homes, and from its life of deprivation and despair in camps, must also be borne in mind, just as the privation and suffering of every human being deserves equal sympathy. It would, in our opinion, be wise to remember that a people living in deprivation tends to be impatient with the *status quo*. *Status quo* cannot provide the basis for any settlement. Let me quote what Mr. Bhutto, when he was Minister for Foreign Affairs, said at the nineteenth session of the General Assembly:

“It would be a delusion of the most dangerous kind to believe that the world as it is today, . . . can be maintained on the basis of makeshift solutions and a precariously balanced *status quo*. . . . The United Nations must not be allowed to become the instrument of injustice and inequality. That is the way not to peace and security, but to the

quicksands of expediency and the maze of power politics. If this Organization is not to go the way of the League of Nations, it must never lose sight of its very first purpose: to secure settlement of international disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law."<sup>3</sup>

45. Pakistan has followed the developments in Cyprus with grave concern. These, in our opinion, constitute a great threat to peace in the region. We believe that the present crisis is an outcome of the long chain of tragic events that have spanned the preceding 10 years or more. Turkey's desire to resolve this crisis by negotiations and not by force was more than manifested by its willingness to go to Geneva. Its subsequent intervention to safeguard an ethnic minority that had led the life of refugees in its own homeland, ejected by fear or coercion from their hearths and homes, must be viewed against the background of the history of the past 11 years and its declared support for the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus.

46. The people of Pakistan sympathize with all those rendered homeless in Cyprus now or earlier. Our hearts go out to them in view of our own historical experience.

47. The Government of Pakistan welcomes the commitment of all parties concerned to the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus. We earnestly hope that current initiatives, both inside and outside the United Nations, will help move this tragic conflict nearer to a just and durable solution.

48. We feel, however, that the success of negotiations depends largely on the readiness of the two sides to understand other points of view. An unrealistic, unfair or biased solution, which does not enjoy the approval of the principal protagonists, that is, the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, cannot endure.

49. Given goodwill on both sides, it is not impossible to negotiate an honourable agreement that will secure basic human rights and interests on a basis of equality of the two national communities in Cyprus and conform to the principles of justice and independence for Cyprus.

50. My delegation urges all States that share Pakistan's concern for peace and tranquillity in this region, already seized of the tragedy of our brothers of Palestine, to exert their influence to tip the scales in favour of justice to both national communities, which have lived together in Cyprus for centuries and will, we hope, continue to share a common future.

51. Pakistan will participate in the discussion in this very spirit—to resolve issues, not to perpetuate them. We are confident that this will be the direction in which this Assembly will direct its serious and responsible efforts.

52. Mr. RAE (Canada): The agony of events in Cyprus over the past months has been followed with deep concern by Canada. The situation has been seen first of all as a human tragedy, with its toll of bloodshed and suffering of peoples who have long yearned for peace and security. With the approach of winter we share widespread concern about the plight

of over 200,000 refugees from both communities who have had to leave their homes and who are living in precarious circumstances.

53. These events, although distant from Canada, are no less real to us. A considerable number of Canadians trace their origins back to this part of the world.

54. Canadians are also deeply concerned about events in Cyprus through our participation as a troop contributor to UNFICYP. This is the tenth year in which Canadian military personnel have served in the peace-keeping force established by Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964. Through these years, over 16,000 men of Canada's armed forces have in succession served in UNFICYP as a measure of Canada's commitment to the cause of peace on the island. There is no doubt in our minds that UNFICYP has played a useful and indeed indispensable role year after year in helping, in the words of resolution 186 (1964),

“... to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions.”

It was not able to prevent the hostilities and bloodshed that followed on the military coup in July and on the subsequent Turkish military intervention, but it continues, in our view, to be a necessary element in any efforts to stabilize the situation and to enable the parties to begin to work towards a political settlement. For this reason, Canada responded promptly to the request of the Secretary-General to reinforce our peace-keeping contingent in Cyprus. The personnel of the Canadian contingent was increased from 487 to 945 and continues to constitute the second largest national contingent in UNFICYP.

55. The role and the functions of UNFICYP have evolved in a flexible and pragmatic way on the basis of the mandate of 1964 [*Security Council resolution 186 (1964)*] and a succession of Council resolutions, including especially resolutions 353 (1974) and 361 (1974). As reported by the Secretary-General and approved by the Council, its main tasks continue to be to assist in the maintenance of the cease-fire, in the protection of and assistance to sections of both communities in need or in distress and in a variety of humanitarian tasks. Successive reports of the Secretary-General contain many examples of these essential activities, which are aimed broadly at facilitating conditions on the island that will permit negotiations for a lasting peace settlement to resume. We wish to pay tribute to the devoted efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff here in New York and in the field, to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz, to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to ICRC—all working in close concert with UNFICYP in the alleviation of human suffering.

56. Canada was deeply disturbed by the outbreak of large-scale fighting in July and August, at which time units of UNFICYP, including the Canadian contingent, were threatened by and indeed subject to direct attack. The Canadian contingent was amongst those that suffered casualties at the time and in subsequent incidents. Clearly, if UNFICYP is to play an effective role it can only be on the basis of co-

operation and support from parties directly concerned. We look to them for full co-operation in ensuring the safety and the security of UNFICYP personnel. We look to them for co-operation to enable the Force to function unimpeded in all areas of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. In his report to the Security Council on 15 August 1974, the Secretary-General said:

“It is obvious that under its present mandate and at its present strength UNFICYP could not interpose itself between two armies engaged in full-scale hostilities.”<sup>4</sup>

He pointed out, however, that UNFICYP had made a maximum effort to limit the consequences of the hostilities and to be of whatever assistance it could to the civilian population. Canada's concern is that the Force should be permitted to carry out its important, humanitarian and peace-keeping tasks in an effective and safe manner in the best interest of all the people of Cyprus. We therefore call upon the parties concerned to continue to co-operate to this end.

57. In his statement in the general debate on 25 September 1974, the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, the Honourable Allan J. MacEachen, stated:

“If United Nations peace-keeping is to be fully effective it must be accompanied by a parallel effort on the political level, especially by the parties most directly concerned, to convert the temporary peace that a peace-keeping force is asked to maintain into something more durable.” [2242nd meeting, para. 95.]

58. Canada supports the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. This can best be assured through negotiations, and therefore we support the earliest resumption of talks between the parties concerned in any format that offers the prospect of success. Among the important questions to be taken up urgently in the course of such talks are the reduction and withdrawal of foreign forces present otherwise than under the authority of international agreements, and the resolution of the problem of the refugees. In the view of the Canadian delegation, the relevant Security Council resolutions would appear to provide a valuable framework within which the people directly concerned can begin the process—which may be long and arduous—of working out constitutional and other arrangements whereby the communities can live in peace with each other, confident that their security, interests and rights will be respected and protected.

59. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Ten years ago the United Nations, at the request of the Government of Cyprus, was seized of the question we are called upon to debate today.

60. In 1964, concentrations of armed forces on the Turkish coast, and overflights and displays of naval force within the territorial waters of Cyprus threatened the territorial integrity of the small Republic and the lives of its inhabitants.

61. In the eyes of the international community, the threat was very real, since Turkey, in spite of the formal renouncing of all claims that was included in the Lausanne Treaty of 1923,<sup>5</sup> had laid claim to the

whole or at least part of the island, from the time when the colonial régime was drawing to its end. The 1960 agreements<sup>6</sup> had temporarily curbed these aspirations but, by the end of 1963, the partition of the island had once more become a favourite rallying-cry in Turkey. In the face of the threat hanging over one of its Members, the United Nations took Cyprus under its protection. A special representative of the Secretary-General at Nicosia was appointed and an international peace-keeping force was dispatched to Cyprus. This force subsequently became the finely wrought instrument of the will of the United Nations as an irreplaceable stabilization factor. The cost of UNFICYP to date has exceeded \$140 million. The Security Council, by a series of resolutions, barred the road to any armed intervention by reminding Turkey and all other Member States of their obligations under the Charter. Thus, from 1964, Cyprus owed its survival as an independent State largely to the protective shield raised by the United Nations against Turkish ambitions. Furthermore, there was hope that the efforts of Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktas, who were entrusted with the intercommunal talks at Nicosia, would ultimately lead to a permanent solution of the problem.

62. Unfortunately, Cyprus today presents a very different picture. The United Nations Force is still there, but it has been pushed back by the invasion army and rendered powerless to play even a purely humanitarian role in the occupied section. Equipped with the most modern means of destruction, which had been supplied to Turkey for very different purposes, 35,000 Turkish soldiers invaded the island and occupied a large part of the territory of the Republic, the richest and most productive part.

63. “It is a peace-keeping force that we are dispatching to Cyprus, in order to protect the Turkish community”, declared Ankara. A peace-keeping force indeed, that exposed the Turkish community to the fury of a civil war, turned 200,000 Greek Cypriots, 40 per cent of the population, into refugees, and dislocated the economic structure of the country for many years to come. Cyprus is today a scene of wretchedness and destruction.

64. Few foreigners have been allowed to enter the occupied zone. One of those visitors described what he saw in the following words:

“For the ‘liberated’ Turkish Cypriots life behind the Turkish lines in Cyprus is a strange and uncomfortable business. For the visitor the first impression is one of eerie emptiness—natural enough when one realizes that the area has been depopulated, 75 per cent of its former inhabitants having fled. In the neighbouring towns of Karavas and Lapithos, which had a joint population of almost 7,000 inhabitants, there now lives a single British couple, determined to protect their home from looting. Both Cypriot communities have been ravaged by what has happened; so have their natural environment, and the economic infrastructure on which the Greek and also the Turkish communities depend. For no good reason the Turkish Air Force burnt down hundreds of acres of cedars and pine trees on the Troodos Hills, which were far from any fighting. The unwatered fruit orchards in the Turkish-held area are slowly dying, and hundreds

of thousands of livestock are already dead. For the Greeks this is the price of war; for the Turkish Cypriots it is the result of their supposed liberation."

65. Evidence of this kind proves, if proof were needed, to what extent the invasion of Cyprus was a peace-keeping operation. On the contrary, it has created a problem of human suffering on a vast scale, a problem that will tend to become more and more explosive unless it is solved in the very near future.

66. At the ill-fated conference at Geneva the Turkish delegation stated: "Everything was tried in Cyprus but nothing worked. We are now proposing a new solution". The terms of this solution are known to the members of this Assembly. What remains to be seen is whether this solution is really a new one, or is merely the realization of a plan conceived and fomented at the time when what we term the problem of Cyprus first arose, whether it is a new formula put forward to resolve the problem in a rational way, or an old plan totally irrelevant to the country's demographic and economic conditions, that could be implemented only by armed force. Let us examine the whole problem more closely.

67. In 1964, the Security Council, wishing to complete its peace-making efforts, established a mediation procedure [*resolution 186 (1964)*]. On 18 April 1964, Mr. Sakari Tuomioja, the first United Nations Mediator, received from the Turkish Government a proposal that was worded as follows:

"Cyprus shall be a Federal Republic, composed of the Greek community and of the Turkish community, each one residing respectively in the Greek and Turkish areas.

"The creation of the Greek and Turkish areas shall be followed by a compulsory exchange of populations in the cases where such a solution proves necessary.

"The Turkish area shall cover the northern part of the island including the coast and shall be demarcated by a line starting from Yialia on the north-west, passing through the Turkish sector of Nicosia and terminating in the Turkish section of Famagusta. In order to create this Turkish area, approximately 10,000 Greek and Turkish families respectively shall be subject to compulsory exchange."

68. One year later, in 1965, Mr. Tuomioja's successor, Mr. Galo Plaza, the eminent statesman of Ecuador, received the same proposal from the Turks. In his report, Mr. Galo Plaza presented the following considerations:

"In the first place, the separation of the communities is utterly unacceptable to the majority community of Cyprus and on present indications could not be imposed, except by force. The opposition to it is in part political: Greek Cypriots see in the proposal a first step towards the partitioning of the island, although this is vigorously denied by the Turkish Cypriot leadership as well as by the Turkish Government. But to my mind the objections raised also on economic, social and moral grounds are in themselves serious obstacles to the propositions. It would seem to require a compulsory movement of the people concerned—many thousands

on both sides—contrary to all the enlightened principles of the present time, including those set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Moreover, this would be a compulsory movement of a kind that would seem likely to impose severe hardships on the families involved, as it would be impossible for all of them, or perhaps even the majority of them, to obtain an exchange of land or occupation suited to their needs or experience; it would entail also an economic and social disruption which could be such as to render neither part of the country viable. Such a state of affairs would constitute a lasting, if not permanent, cause of discontent and unrest.

"Moreover, the proposed federated States would be separated by an artificial line cutting through interdependent parts of homogeneous areas including, according to the Turkish Cypriot proposals, the cities of Nicosia and Famagusta. Would not such a line of division inevitably create many administrative difficulties and constitute a constant cause of friction between two mutually suspicious populations?"

69. It is worth bearing in mind the Mediator's comment that the separation of the communities by a compulsory exchange of populations could be imposed only by force. Mr. Galo Plaza's prediction could not have been more accurate; for it is by force that Turkey is now attempting to implement its plan of physically separating the two communities by trying to concentrate all the Turkish Cypriots in the northern zone that it now occupies and by pushing the Greek Cypriot population southwards.

70. We are told that the Greeks and Turks cannot live together. It is true that those who launched this slogan more than 10 years ago had never wanted the two communities to continue living together, as they did for many centuries. They did not want it, because their separation would help in creating a purely Turkish zone which would serve as a prelude to the partition of the island, an aim that Turkey has pursued with a persistence worthy of a better cause.

71. What will be the results of such a separation? Tens of thousands of Turks will be uprooted from their ancestral homes in order to move from the south to the north. Naturally, they will move into the property of the Greeks who have fled to the south. And perhaps other Turks, those coming from Turkey, will come to colonize the occupied zone—for the zone is vast—and the considerable Greek property and assets. As for the 200,000 Greek Cypriots who had lived in the occupied zone and constitute one third of the population of the Republic, what will be their fate? They will be forced either to leave the island and swell the numbers of refugees in foreign countries or, like the unfortunate Palestinians, to live indefinitely in refugee camps.

72. The United Nations certainly cannot allow such an outcome of the Cypriot crisis. First, because it would be against the humanitarian principles that govern our international community. Secondly, because accepting that a minority of 18 per cent has the right to occupy 40 per cent of a State's territory in order to live in comfort by seizing the property of the majority, thus reducing it to extreme poverty,



would open a Pandora's box and upset the established order in all States that have ethnic minorities.

73. There is also another aspect to this problem, of interest to many members of this Assembly: the diplomatic orientation of Cyprus.

74. Since its independence, Cyprus has followed a policy of non-alignment and has occupied in the third world a place much more important than its size or power. This has been the achievement of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, the result of his brilliant personality. This policy could be adopted because Cyprus enjoyed full independence and indisputable sovereignty. It will not be able to pursue this policy under the massive presence of Turkish troops or under a régime that would, in fact, make Cyprus nothing more than the protectorate of an adjacent but alien country.

75. It is for these reasons that we would support any draft resolution based upon the principles essential to the survival of Cyprus as an independent and sovereign State. Such a draft resolution should call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the territory of Cyprus and for the cessation of all outside intervention in the affairs of Cyprus. Provision should also be made for the return of the refugees to their homes. These principles must be respected and acknowledged as the basis of any understanding the two Cypriot communities might reach.

76. It is not for us to dictate to the Cypriots the terms of their own constitutional arrangements. Cyprus is and must remain an independent and sovereign State in the maintenance of its territorial integrity. Any inter-Cypriot negotiation concerning the state structure that we encourage must be guided by this principle, which is not and cannot be negotiable. The Cypriots have not sacrificed their right to self-determination to see their country become a Turkish protectorate.

77. It may be pointed out that even Turkey is on record as favouring an independent Cypriot State. The representative of Cyprus, however, has described in detail some measures that the Turkish forces have already taken in the zone occupied by the Turkish troops, measures that tend to erase all Cypriot characteristics from the area and to transform it into no

more and no less than a Turkish province, or, to use a term dear to our neighbours, into a "prolongation" of the Turkish territory. This being so, what authority, what real powers would the Government of the Republic retain? And would one be able to speak of a truly independent State, or merely of a semblance of independence that would be whisked away by the wind blowing from the Anatolian coast.

78. All Cypriots, whether Greek, Turkish or other, must be able to control their own destiny in equity. Greece will endorse the results of negotiations between Cypriots, provided that such negotiations be conducted freely and not under the threat of arms that aims at paralysing their will and subjugating all sense of human dignity. It is in that direction that the members of the General Assembly are being called upon to give their valuable contribution.

79. The General Assembly expresses the conscience and aspirations of world public opinion. By establishing a new order in relations among States, through a series of resolutions, the General Assembly has profoundly influenced in the past the orientation of the international community and has justified the hopes of all the peoples for a better world. I am confident that the Assembly will strengthen these hopes in the case of Cyprus and of the tragic fate that has befallen its people.

*The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11416.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/11465.

<sup>3</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1319th meeting, para. 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year*, 1793rd meeting, para. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Treaty of Peace, signed at Lausanne on 24 July 1923 (League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XXVIII, 1924, No. 701).

<sup>6</sup> Signed at Nicosia on 16 August 1960.

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1965*, document S/6253, paras. 153-154.