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President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania)

In the absence of the President, Mr. Koh (Singapore), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work (*continued*)*

FOURTH REPORT OF THE GENERAL
COMMITTEE (A/34/250/Add.3)

1. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 2(a) of its report, the General Committee records its decision to recommend the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Question of the islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Noya, Europa and Bassas da India", and in paragraph 2 (b) the General Committee records its recommendation that the aforementioned item should be allocated to the Special Political Committee. Taking duly into account the report of the General Committee and the statements made in that Committee, may I consider that this item should be included in the agenda and allocated to the Special Political Committee?

It was so decided (see decision 34/402).

2. The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the Special Political Committee will be informed of the decision just taken.

3. Paragraph 3 of the report refers to the exchange of views held in the General Committee regarding the organization of work. In this connexion, the President of the General Assembly expressed his concern and requested that special measures should be taken to conclude the work by 18 December 1979, the date set by the Assembly. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of paragraph 3?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 21

Question of Cyprus: report of the
Secretary-General (*continued*)*

4. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to stress at the outset the particular importance that the Romanian Government has always attached to the matter which is now before the General Assembly for consideration. As we have frequently said, Romania always has been and always will be in favour of an immediate political solution and an equitable and lasting settlement of the situation in Cyprus. We have always felt that the basis for such a settlement is to be found only in full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus. This is in keeping with the principles of the Charter and is also in accordance with the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations. At the same time, it must be said that it is only through negotiations between the representatives of the two communities that we can find the right road to such a political solution, and that only the two communities themselves can ensure peaceful coexistence and co-operation and the economic and social progress of the country.

5. As far as the Romanian delegation is concerned, the urgency of finding a solution to this problem derives from the need to put an end to a conflict that continues to constitute a serious source of tension, instability and threat in the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. Romania is firmly in favour of the development of co-operation and understanding among all the Balkan States, and we also support the idea that the Balkans should be made an area of peace, friendship and good-neighbourliness, without any nuclear weapons or foreign military bases. We are, of course, directly interested in the just and lasting settlement of the Cypriot situation. We are particularly anxious to see a settlement in that for a long time we have had friendly relations with the Republic of Cyprus and other countries in the region. However, above and beyond any other considerations, the urgency of this problem is determined, we feel, by the need to defend the supreme national interests of all Cypriots and their right to live in peace and harmony in a free, independent and sovereign country. As we see it, it is quite obvious that the indefinite continuance of the *status quo* in Cyprus, far from helping to solve the problem, can only deepen the misunderstandings between the two communities in the island and exacerbate the current situation and the threat to peace and security in the region. Accordingly, we feel that it is absolutely essential that the parties concerned, together with the United Nations, should act with more determination and perseverance with a view to extricating themselves from the current stalemate.

* Resumed from the 46th meeting.

* Resumed from the 68th meeting.

6. As we have stressed more than once, it is our deeply-felt conviction that the only realistic approach to a just and viable solution of the problem of Cyprus is by way of negotiations between the parties directly concerned, carried on in a spirit of good faith and good will. We fully support the view of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as reflected in his report of 8 November last, when he said:

“There is no alternative to a concrete and effective negotiating process if a mutually acceptable, just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem is to be achieved.” [A/34/620 and Corr. 1 para. 33.]

7. I should like to take this opportunity to express our deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for the tireless efforts he has devoted to the achievement of a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus situation.

8. It is all the more necessary and appropriate to begin serious and intensive negotiations without further delay in that, as distinct from the situation in other conflicts, there already exists in the case of Cyprus an agreement between the parties, which is actively supported by the international community. This agreement refers both to the fundamental elements of a solution to be negotiated and to the framework within which such negotiations could be carried on. It has been agreed that the basis for negotiations on a settlement of the situation in Cyprus would be the Makarios-Denktaş guidelines of 12 February 1977,¹ the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979 [*ibid.*, annex V]. It is also agreed—and this has been mentioned in General Assembly resolutions—that the framework within which a solution to the Cypriot problem can be found is that of intercommunal talks carried out under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Here we should like to endorse the statements contained in the replies addressed to the Secretary-General by the Government of Cyprus and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community. In his note verbale of 5 October last [*ibid.*, annex III], the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Cyprus stated that his Government wished to reaffirm its full commitment to the 10-point agreement and to meaningful and constructive talks. The leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, for his part, confirmed again, in his letter of 24 September last [*ibid.*, annex I], that the Turkish Cypriot community regarded the intercommunal talks as the only way of reaching a solution of the Cyprus problem, and that the community was willing to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General with a view to the resumption of those talks and the attainment of a definitive solution. It is our most ardent desire that the intercommunal negotiations should be resumed as soon as possible and that they should produce appropriate and mutually acceptable agreements. We express the hope that the General Assembly will be able in this debate to contribute to ensuring the necessary conditions for the resumption as soon as possible of those talks and for their success.

9. In keeping with its policy of actively encouraging negotiated solutions of disputes, Romania welcomed the inter-Cypriot summit meeting last May and the 10-point agreement concluded at that time as an impor-

tant step forward in efforts to find a peaceful settlement of the situation in Cyprus.

10. On the occasion of the official visit to Bucharest last June by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, Romania once again reaffirmed, through its President, Nicolae Ceaușescu, its support for a peaceful solution of the problem of Cyprus, a solution that would guarantee the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country and encourage peaceful co-existence between the two communities and progress for the people of Cyprus.

11. In our opinion, a just and lasting settlement in conformity with the principles that I have just mentioned should include the withdrawal from the country of all foreign troops that are now there, the adoption of the necessary measures to re-establish and strengthen mutual confidence and co-operation between the two communities and respect for the inalienable right of the Cypriot people to decide their own fate themselves without any outside intervention, pressure or interference. Such a settlement would be in the highest interests, present and long-term, of all Cypriots and in the interests of peace and co-operation in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean, in Europe and in the world as a whole.

12. I should like to assure the General Assembly that Romania will continue in future most actively to support any effort or action that might effectively contribute to a just and lasting settlement of the question of Cyprus and to the resumption and success of negotiations to that end.

13. Mr. TIAN Jiu (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The question of Cyprus is a problem left behind by the prolonged colonial rule of imperialism. After the independence of Cyprus, a good beginning was made for a step-by-step solution of the question of Cyprus through the talks between the Greek and Turkish communities on an equal footing. In recent years, however, some twists and turns and obstacles have appeared on the road towards a solution of the question. Failure to solve the question of Cyprus has brought damage to the national interests of the Cypriot people and has also increased the factors contributing to the turmoil in the area. We are seriously concerned over the present situation in Cyprus and deeply sympathize with the plight of its people.

14. The development in Cyprus shows that super-Power interference has seriously hampered a smooth settlement of the Cyprus question. In particular, the super-Power which claims to “support” the Cypriot people has, in its quest for world hegemony, been switching tactics in its meddling with the question of Cyprus and in expanding its influence in the Mediterranean, thereby rendering the situation even more complicated. It is, therefore, imperative to do away with such outside interference before a real solution to this question can be found. All parties concerned should take into account the interests of the two Cypriot communities. In their statements at the present session of the General Assembly, many representatives have appealed to the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities to attach paramount importance to the over-all national interests of Cyprus and to solve the Cyprus question by themselves through peaceful negotiations on the basis of equality. We support such a view.

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1977*, document S/12323, para. 5.

15. The two Cypriot communities which have a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism share common aspirations and fundamental interests. Both of them want to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and both wish for an early solution of the problem through intercommunal talks free from super-Power interference, so that they can rebuild their country. We are pleased to note that, as a result of the concerted efforts of both sides and under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, leaders of the two communities reached an agreement at their meeting last May and that the intercommunal talks were resumed in June after a suspension of more than two years. This gratifying progress has been widely supported by the Cypriot people and welcomed by the people of all countries. In our view, despite the numerous obstacles that still exist on the road ahead, the two Cypriot communities, through patient negotiations, will certainly be able to overcome their differences gradually and find a just and reasonable solution.

16. The Government and people of China have always cherished friendship for the Cypriot people. We have consistently held that the affairs of a country should be settled by the people of that country. The sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and its non-aligned status should be respected. The super-Powers should cease their interference in the affairs of Cyprus. We sincerely hope that the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities will continue their efforts on the basis of the progress already achieved, to effect a break-through in the present deadlock and, through mutual understanding and accommodation, arrive at a peaceful settlement of the dispute and live together in harmony so as to join efforts to build a prosperous Cyprus and contribute to the stability of the eastern Mediterranean and to international security.

17. Mr. NEIL (Jamaica): Once more the General Assembly is considering the question of Cyprus against the background of a situation which has remained substantially unchanged after the passage of yet another year. Jamaica must record its deep concern and dissatisfaction at what appears to be the indefinite continuation of the *status quo* of foreign occupation, a refugee problem and intercommunal division in Cyprus. There can be no doubt that the persistence of this state of affairs is a dangerous source of conflict and tension affecting the prospects for peace and stability in the area.

18. The report of the Secretary-General, contained in document A/34/620, shows that, although there has been much diplomatic activity, the situation in the area has not changed significantly. Much of the effort over the past year has been directed at the resumption of the intercommunal talks. We all welcomed the agreement which was reached between the parties on 19 May 1979 on guidelines for the resumption of the talks, and we very much regret that the talks have not moved forward and have been in recess since June.

19. We believe, however, that great possibilities exist for building on the agreement reached on 19 May as a basis for constructive and meaningful negotiations. In that regard we express the hope that the skilful and persevering efforts of the Secretary-General towards the resumption of the talks will succeed and that the parties will make constructive use of his good offices. We also continue to urge on the parties that the grievances and

antagonisms of the past should be laid aside to provide a more favourable atmosphere for fruitful negotiations to restore harmony and peace in Cyprus.

20. Other steps can be taken which could contribute to the creation of such an atmosphere. One such step is the withdrawal of foreign troops from the island and the termination of the military occupation of part of the Republic. There can be no doubt that the persistence of foreign occupation has made more difficult the search for an effective and just solution. Resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council since 1974 have repeatedly called for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the cessation of all foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus. Jamaica attaches great importance to the need to ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. These remain compromised as long as there is foreign military occupation. We therefore consider that an essential requirement for any workable and just solution is the termination of the military occupation of the territory of Cyprus. At the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the President of Cyprus proposed the total demilitarization of the island.² Jamaica believes that that is a constructive proposal which could contribute towards a lasting solution of the problem. It is important for all such initiatives to be pursued to bring an end to a crisis which has persisted for too long.

21. The United Nations presence in Cyprus has been an important factor in maintaining calm in the island, but it is urgent that renewed efforts should be made towards reaching a permanent solution which will render unnecessary the maintenance of a United Nations peace-keeping force. Jamaica continues to believe that the resolutions of the United Nations provide the valid framework for a solution, namely: first, the speedy withdrawal of foreign armed forces from Cyprus and the cessation of foreign interference in the internal affairs of the island; secondly, the adoption of measures to enable refugees to return to their homes in safety; and, finally, the proceeding of intercommunal talks aimed at reaching an acceptable political settlement between the two parties. Renewed efforts should be made towards ensuring the implementation of the United Nations resolutions in all their aspects. Jamaica believes that the issues involved in this question go to the very heart of the role of the United Nations in world affairs and it is vital that the Organization should not prove to be impotent in dealing with this question.

22. Mr. TOLLAI (Hungary): An air of tension and uncertainty continues to linger over the eastern Mediterranean. We greatly regret to note that despite the intensive efforts of the international community and the heavy involvement of the United Nations the situation in Cyprus has remained unsettled for the sixth consecutive year with the relevant United Nations resolutions still to be implemented.

23. It was not for the first time that we felt some encouragement and a certain degree of optimism when we learnt that a 10-point agreement between the two Cypriot communities had been worked out under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in Nicosia last May. That optimism notwithstanding, we

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 2nd meeting, para. 145.*

have to agree with the observation of the Secretary-General in his earlier report, when he said, *inter alia*:

“ . . . the agreement of 19 May . . . does not resolve—and indeed was not meant to resolve—the substantive differences confronting the parties”.³

24. All of us here are aware that the intercommunal talks are again at an impasse. The Hungarian delegation's approach to the current debate on the question of Cyprus is influenced mainly by the earnest desire that our discussion should contribute to the early resumption of the negotiations and intercommunal talks. We consequently maintain the position expressed more than once that the General Assembly should act in a constructive and reasonable manner to promote the conciliation of the parties directly involved. It is in that spirit that we wish to offer our remarks on the question of Cyprus at this session of the Assembly.

25. We cannot and will not remain indifferent to the fact that the statehood of the Republic of Cyprus is still at stake. As one of the founding members of the non-aligned movement, the Republic of Cyprus has enjoyed the firm support of the Hungarian people and its Government, and that support will never dwindle.

26. One of the latest developments in the international arena towards support for the Republic of Cyprus is positively reflected in the relevant part of the political declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana just two months ago [A/34/542, annex, Sect. I, paras. 197-205]. We welcome the spirit of the declaration in that regard. We have consistently expressed the view that the Republic of Cyprus needs and deserves the full support of the non-aligned movement and as time goes by we feel more and more justified in saying so.

27. Hungary has never pursued selfish interests and has always been against imposing a solution either on the question of Cyprus or on the long-suffering people of Cyprus. The continuing tragedy of the Cypriot people, whether Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot, has always had our deep sympathy and we view the people of Cyprus as Cypriots, without any preference or discrimination whatsoever. May I add that we shall never do otherwise.

28. It is our firm conviction that our statement of position of principle regarding the feasible and, in reality, the only possible solution for the problem of Cyprus could be a contribution to the successful outcome of this debate.

29. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches great significance to the quest for a just, viable and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus. Such a solution must be based, in our opinion, on full respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as the non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. We continue to believe that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations provide a good and sound basis for settling this question in a mutually acceptable way. We would like to reiterate our position that in our well-considered judgement the forum of intercommunal talks is the most appropriate

framework for the tackling and resolution of the substantive issues involved.

30. In this respect, we wish to appeal to the parties directly involved to refrain from pressing for prerequisites for the initiation of substantive negotiations. The two communities of the island should realize the responsibility they carry in this particular aspect of the wide range of problems deriving from the unsettled situation in Cyprus.

31. We wish to express our concurrence with the view, reaffirmed by the parties themselves, that the solution of the question of Cyprus must be based on the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, as well as on the Makarios-Denktaş guidelines of 12 February 1977 and on the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979 reached between the President of the Republic of Cyprus and the leader of the Turkish Cypriots.

32. Accordingly, the Hungarian delegation reaffirms its full support for the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus and calls for scrupulous respect for its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We continue to stress the point that the long-standing unresolved issues of a domestic nature fall within the competence of the negotiations between the two communities of the island. While expressing this conviction, we cannot fail to point out that public opinion is sometimes puzzled by the diversion of attention from the substantive issues to secondary procedural matters, and therefore we join those who urge that the intercommunal talks should be resumed in a meaningful, result-oriented and constructive manner without any delay. There should be no doubt that a just and viable settlement of the outstanding issues must take into account the legitimate rights and interests of both communities, the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot alike.

33. We have consistently deplored any foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus and have also condemned the ill-advised efforts to impose strategic arrangements on the long-suffering people of Cyprus. We wish to reaffirm this position once again at this time.

34. The Hungarian delegation demands the withdrawal of all foreign troops and military personnel and every other military presence from the Republic of Cyprus. In the same spirit, we welcome the proposal for the demilitarization of the island.

35. We should like to express the hope that this year's debate on the question of Cyprus in the General Assembly will contribute to the earliest possible resumption of the intercommunal talks aimed at settling the outstanding issues and that the two communities will respond to the call of the international community in a responsible manner.

36. We therefore definitely urge the strict and consistent implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, since this is indispensable if we are to succeed in our endeavours and in our decisions. The Secretary-General of the Organization deserves our deep gratitude and appreciation for his dedicated and untiring efforts for the resumption of meaningful and substantive negotiations between the two communities. We should like at this time to assure him of our full confidence as he carries out his difficult missions.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369, para. 63.

37. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): My Government is greatly distressed by the prolonged deadlock between the two parties over a solution to the Cyprus problem. We highly commend the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his dedicated staff over the past year to break this deadlock and promote a comprehensive settlement on Cyprus. We believe that all friends of Cyprus should give strong support to these efforts. We were encouraged by the constructive attitude of compromise which led to the 19 May 10-point summit agreement in Nicosia. We, along with many other Member States, felt that the agreement and the resumed intercommunal talks which resulted would impart a sense of progress and momentum to the long search for a just resolution of the Cyprus problem. Therefore, we deeply regretted the interruption of those talks and believe that both sides share responsibility for this unfortunate turn of events. As the Secretary-General has said in his report to the General Assembly, the parties, by not addressing themselves to the substance of the Cyprus problem in accordance with the priorities set forth in the 19 May agreement, failed to capitalize on the new opportunities that that agreement provided [A/34/620 and Corr. 1, paras. 29-30].

38. The United States is firmly committed to the objective of a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus. We believe the efforts of all interested parties should be aimed at encouraging an early and successful resumption of intercommunal talks without the attachment of conditions by either side. We call on all nations to support, as we do, the proposal of the Secretary-General to reconvene the talks no later than next January, on the basis of the 19 May 10-point agreement. We fully concur with the Secretary-General's conclusion that pursuance of an effective negotiating process is the only alternative to the indefinite continuance of the *status quo*, with all its instability, frustrations and dangers. And we agree with him that the approach he has been following as outlined in his report has lost none of its validity.

39. In his address to the General Assembly, the President of the Republic of Cyprus suggested the formation of a committee on Cyprus [15th meeting, para. 47]. While we are fully aware of the rationale the Government of Cyprus advances in support of this proposal, we do not believe that the formation of such a committee would enhance the prospects for reaching a just and lasting settlement which would meet the needs of all Cypriots. On the contrary, we fear that such a committee could unduly interfere with the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General to persuade the parties to resume intensive, direct intercommunal negotiations.

40. As in the case of many other issues that face us in the Assembly, those directly concerned hold strong views and emotions run high. If we are to play an effective and constructive role in finding a solution to the Cyprus problem, however, it is essential that we avoid polemics and address the issues in a sober and positive manner. Only in this way can we enhance prospects for a negotiated settlement. All parties by now must perceive the futility of shallow rhetorical victories.

41. In conclusion, we strongly urge the parties to look again to their true interest in a peaceful and stable Cyprus and to make a genuine political commitment to working for meaningful compromise through negotiations. We fervently hope that the intercommunal talks can be resumed without delay and that, once they are

under way, the parties will be prepared to engage in a sustained and productive negotiation that will finally lead to the goal that we all seek—a peaceful and lasting settlement that will benefit all Cypriots.

42. Mr. ZAIMIS (Greece): Once again the Cyprus question appears on the agenda of the General Assembly. This in itself is sufficient proof that no progress has been made towards the solution of a problem the roots of which are to be found in one of the most flagrant cases of violation of the Charter since the United Nations was founded.

43. In the more than five years that have elapsed since the Republic of Cyprus was invaded by Turkish troops in July 1974, the General Assembly has adopted five resolutions on Cyprus and the Security Council four times as many. None of these resolutions, which were adopted unanimously or by an overwhelming majority, have come even near to implementation, and for a very simple reason: the party to which they were addressed chose to ignore them, going so far as to state that it would never be bound by the will of the international community if that will differed from its own views.

44. This attitude is best exemplified by comparing last year's General Assembly resolution—33/15—with the actual situation in Cyprus. In it the Assembly, after expressing regret that its previous resolutions had not yet been implemented, first, reiterated its full support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and called for the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs. Nevertheless, the Government of Cyprus exercises sovereignty over only 60 per cent of the territory of the Republic, the remaining 40 per cent continuing to be under the occupation of Turkish troops.

45. Secondly, the General Assembly also asked for the immediate and effective implementation of its resolution 3212 (XXIX), adopted unanimously and endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974) of 13 December 1974, and of the subsequent resolutions of those two bodies, which provide the basis for the solution of the problem of Cyprus. However, the phrase "immediate and effective implementation" remains a dead letter, owing to the curious claim of Turkey that United Nations resolutions should become effective only after an agreed settlement has been reached by the parties.

Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) took the Chair.

46. Thirdly, the General Assembly further asked for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence from the Republic of Cyprus. Again, this clause is interpreted in a curious way by the Turkish Government, which has repeatedly made such a withdrawal conditional upon a solution amounting in fact to the partition of the island. Last year, and again yesterday [68th meeting], the representative of Turkey objected to the term "occupation army" applied to the Turkish army in Cyprus. He preferred to call it an army of peace, which guarantees the security of the Turkish Cypriots. Peace in Cyprus is however guaranteed by the United Nations Force, not by an occupation army. It will perhaps suffice to cite one example of how the Turkish army sees its peace-keeping role. Five years after the invasion, the Turkish Cypriot press of 18 October 1979 criticized a "law"

passed in occupied Cyprus under which approximately 85 per cent of northern Cyprus is declared a military zone, to which non-Turks are allowed access only during the daytime. Furthermore, Turkish Cypriots themselves need a special permit to come within five miles of the confrontation line. That is the kind of normality and peace that reign in occupied Cyprus. Turkey also makes a point of the number of troops it has withdrawn from the island as a "gesture of good will". It is of course difficult to verify the figures given, but it is obvious that the troops still in Cyprus—30,000 men by conservative estimates—continue to pose a threat to the Republic and to have a negative effect on the efforts to establish a constructive dialogue between the two communities.

47. Fourthly, the General Assembly went on to call for respect for the human rights of all Cypriots and the adoption of urgent measures for the return of the refugees to their homes in safety, if they wished to return. Unfortunately, no progress has been made on that matter either. To cite but a few examples: The children of Greek Cypriots living in the occupied areas who attend schools in the south were not allowed to visit their parents last summer. The dwindling Maronite community in the sector occupied by Turkish troops came under pressure a month ago to surrender a large part of its arable land to Turkish Cypriots and Turkish mainland settlers. Still more recently, the Turkish Cypriot administration stopped accepting Red Cross messages to Greek Cypriots and demanded that all letters and parcels from the occupied sector, previously carried by UNFICYP should bear Turkish Cypriot postage stamps, which have been declared illegal by the Universal Postal Union on 19 September 1979 at its last Congress, held at Rio de Janeiro.

48. I should also like to mention that not a single Greek Cypriot refugee has so far been permitted to return to the city or village in which he or she had been living until forced to flee before the advancing occupation army.

49. Let me now turn to the question of the intercommunal talks, which have been recommended in General Assembly resolution 33/15 and in all previous resolutions on the subject, and which undoubtedly constitute the only possible way to a just settlement.

50. When on 19 May of this year the President of the Republic of Cyprus and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, under the auspices and with the active participation of the Secretary-General, reached an agreement which was to serve as a framework for the resumption of the intercommunal talks, high hopes were raised that at last "the intercommunal talks [would] be carried out in a continuing and sustained manner, avoiding any delay" [see *A/34/620 and Corr. 1, annex V*]. The agreement included several key provisions. It adopted as a basis for negotiations the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the guidelines agreed upon by the late Archbishop Makarios and Mr. Denktas on 12 February 1977. It stipulated that priority should be given to the question of the resettlement of the inhabitants of Varosha. It listed the specific aspects of the problem which were to be the object of the negotiations. It contained the proviso that the two parties would abstain from any action which might jeopardize the outcome of the talks. The agreement in fact constituted a balanced and integral whole which could

produce within a reasonable time, if implemented in good faith, an equitable and permanent solution of the problem.

51. The atmosphere which prevailed at the Nicosia summit meeting was further enhanced by a parallel agreement between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktas on the investigation of the fate of some 2,000 persons missing as a result of the military operations which followed the invasion of Cyprus. This agreement gave the green light for the establishment of the investigative body provided for in General Assembly resolution 33/172, a body which had been unable until then to carry out its task because of the opposition of the Turkish Cypriot administration. Mr. Denktas stated at the time he agreed to that arrangement that it was subject to the approval of what he called his appropriate authorities.

52. It is unfortunate that the euphoria created by the 19 May agreement was dispelled very soon afterwards, first of all by statements of Mr. Denktas, who tried to distort the contents of the agreement by so-called interpretations of its provisions, and secondly, and more important, by the collapse of the talks themselves about one week after they had started. This collapse was due to the fact that, at the very beginning of the talks, the Turkish Cypriot interlocutor attempted to prejudge, outside their framework, two of the basic issues—the constitutional structure of the State, by his insistence upon the concept of bi-zonality, and the freedom of movement and settlement of its inhabitants, on the pretext of safeguarding the security of the Turkish Cypriot community. The Turkish Cypriot side made the acceptance of its views on these two subjects a prerequisite for the continuation of the talks.

53. These unreasonable demands created a stalemate which still persists. The Secretary-General and his collaborators in the Secretariat, in their effort to find a way out of the deadlock, explored various formulas which might permit the resumption of the talks. They put to the two sides a series of ideas, none of which constituted a formal proposal or was meant to replace the 10-point agreement or parts of it. The ideas in question took into account, in varying degrees, the Turkish Cypriot demands. This was only natural, since the Cypriot Government had never questioned the validity of the agreement itself; nor had it refused to go on with the talks as specified in it.

54. The intransigence of the Turkish Cypriot side and its manifest unwillingness to proceed with the talks left no option to the Government of Cyprus but to have recourse, once more, to various international forums in the pursuit of support for its just struggle. The first of these meetings was the Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government, held at Lusaka in the first week of last August, two and a half months after the signing of the 10-point agreement and one and a half months after the suspension of the intercommunal talks. The second such meeting was the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana one month later. It is not accidental that in their final documents both these meetings, the impartiality of which cannot be questioned, have once more vindicated the efforts and the demand of the people of Cyprus for the solution of their problems free from outside interference, the presence of occupying forces and the diktat of third parties.

55. Such was the situation when Mr. Denktaş, some time during the beginning of October, suddenly professed willingness to resume the intercommunal talks on the basis of proposals allegedly put forward by the Secretary-General on 23 August. In this connexion I should like to make several points. In the first place, the Secretary-General never submitted any formal proposals to the parties after the 19 May agreement. He made this clear on at least one public occasion and in his report to the General Assembly of 8 November [A/34/620 and Corr.1].

56. In the second place, the agreement in question is a clear and unequivocal text adhered to freely by the representatives of the two communities. It does not require any clarification, interpretation or renegotiation. It constitutes a framework for the resumption of the talks. Any tampering with it would only complicate matters and widen the gap between the two parties. The issues raised subsequently by the Turkish Cypriot leaders—namely, that of bi-zonality and that of the so-called security of the Turkish community—are clearly matters that should be discussed in the course of the talks proper, since they constitute aspects of the over-all problem. Any effort to prejudice these issues is unfair and contrary to the purpose underlying the agreement.

57. Thirdly, it should be pointed out that Mr. Denktaş originally rejected the ideas of 23 August. The reason he chose to change his mind shortly before the discussion of the problem of Cyprus by the General Assembly is all too obvious and should not deceive those who in the last five years have witnessed the persistent refusal of the Turkish Cypriot leaders to sit round the negotiating table and seek a solution that would take into account the legitimate interests of all the inhabitants of the island.

58. Finally, I should mention another discouraging development, that tends to confirm the serious doubts some of us have as regards the good faith of the Turkish Cypriot leadership. Mr. Denktaş has so far failed to confirm to the Secretary-General his final acceptance of the establishment of an investigatory body with regard to missing persons, despite the fact that, as I have already said, on 19 May he signed an agreement to that effect. Surely it cannot have taken him all of six months to convince those of his collaborators whom he terms his "appropriate authorities" of the need to proceed with the implementation of an arrangement whose sole purpose is to ease the agony of the families and the close relatives of those unfortunate persons.

59. It should be obvious to all those who are conversant with the Cyprus question that no progress can be achieved as long as one of the parties, which also happens to be the aggressor, is not willing to negotiate in good faith. But the international community and the United Nations, which embodies it, should not give up, because by so doing they would condone aggression and the violation of the most sacred principles of the Charter.

60. In pursuing our efforts to persuade Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot community to seek an equitable and durable solution of the problem in a spirit of co-operation, we should explore every new idea put to us. I have in mind, in particular, the proposal of President Kyprianou, when he addressed the General Assembly at the beginning of this session, to establish a committee of

Member States which would assist in the effort to break the existing deadlock. Other ideas may also prove workable. What we should avoid at all costs is resting content with the *status quo*, which with every passing day is in increasing danger of becoming permanent. We owe it to all the people of Cyprus to leave no stone unturned until an end is put to this tragedy.

61. Mr. B. C. MISHRA (India): India has always maintained a special interest in the question before us, in view of our traditional friendship with the Government and the people of Cyprus.

62. My delegation has been actively participating in the deliberations of the General Assembly and the Security Council on the question of Cyprus since it was first brought up in 1954, when the people of that country were struggling to overthrow colonial rule and to exercise the right of self-determination.

63. Cyprus, like India, is a founder-member of the movement of non-aligned countries, and we are committed to supporting fully the sovereignty, independence, unity, territorial integrity and non-alignment of that fraternal country. We have also demanded the immediate withdrawal of all foreign military forces from the Republic of Cyprus and the strict adherence by all the States concerned to the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in its internal affairs. In short, we remain committed to the implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was adopted by this Assembly in 1974 and endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974).

64. With regard to the internal aspects of the Cyprus problem, India has consistently encouraged negotiations between the two communities, on an equal footing, with a view to reaching a friendly and mutually acceptable political settlement based on their fundamental and legitimate rights.

65. Itself a multireligious, multi-ethnic and multilingual nation, India is deeply conscious of the need to assure the legitimate rights and aspirations of minority communities. At the same time, no community in any country has the right to invite armed intervention from outside and attempt to force a solution through the use of arms. By the same token, no country can legitimately intervene in the internal affairs of a sovereign State on behalf of one or other community.

66. It was therefore with considerable satisfaction that we received the news of the 19 May 1979 agreement concluded between the representatives of the two communities of Cyprus under the auspices of the Secretary-General. We had very much hoped that this agreement would lead to meaningful and constructive negotiations between the two sides that would resolve not only the internal aspects of the problem but also the external aspects, namely, the unlawful presence of foreign military forces in Cyprus. The movement of non-aligned countries has also welcomed and expressed its support for the 10-point agreement reached in Nicosia on 19 May 1979.

67. It was with deep disappointment that we learned from the Secretary-General's report to the General Assembly that the opportunities provided by that agreement have not been fully seized, and that "great difficulties have been encountered in sustaining the

momentum that had been created" [*ibid.*, para. 29]. It appears that the negotiations on the basis of the 10-point agreement remain deadlocked and there seems to be no concrete prospect of their resumption in the near future.

68. It would not be appropriate for us to comment on the differing positions adopted by the two sides during the negotiations, as to do so would be interfering in the internal affairs of Cyprus. We should like to say, however, that for the negotiations to succeed both parties must act with sincerity and honesty, casting aside the mistrust and the legacy of bitter memories which they have inherited from the past. For a start, they must at least faithfully implement point 6 of the 19 May 1979 agreement, that is, "to abstain from any action which might jeopardize the outcome of the talks" [*ibid.*, annex V], and thus promote goodwill and mutual confidence.

69. General Assembly resolutions since 1974 have demanded the immediate and effective implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX) and all subsequent resolutions. No doubt this year's resolution will contain the same provision. It is our considered view that resolution 3212 (XXIX) can only be implemented effectively through peaceful negotiations between the two communities. The Secretary-General's report itself states:

"There is no alternative to a concrete and effective negotiating process if a mutually acceptable, just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem is to be achieved." [A/34/620 and Corr. 1, para. 33.]

70. We therefore feel that, with the stimulus provided by the 19 May 1979 agreement, the General Assembly this year should, while reiterating the just and equitable principles for a solution of the Cyprus problem, encourage the resumption of the talks between the two communities. Those are the objectives which will guide my delegation in its work, both in the non-aligned contact group — which is attempting to draft a resolution on Cyprus — and in this Assembly.

71. Before concluding, I wish to pay a sincere tribute to our Secretary-General for his dedicated efforts in urging the parties to resume the intercommunal negotiations on the basis of the relevant General Assembly resolutions. Indeed, the 19 May 1979 accord was the result of his patient and skilful diplomacy. We realize that further success for the Secretary-General's efforts depends on the goodwill and the spirit of mutual accommodation which we hope will be displayed by the parties directly concerned.

72. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): During the year that has passed since the General Assembly last discussed the Cyprus problem, the Secretary-General has been engaged in intense efforts to bring the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot sides together. At one moment his efforts seemed to have been crowned with success. The intercommunal talks were resumed on 15 June on the basis of the so-called 10-point agreement of 19 May. However, the talks were interrupted after only one week.

73. The Secretary-General has thereafter continued to propose to the parties different ways to break the deadlock. Until now the two parties have, however, not been able to agree on any of the proposals of the Secretary-General for the resumption of the talks.

74. The Swedish Government in this context wants to express its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his persistent efforts to bring about a solution to the Cyprus problem.

75. The Secretary-General's report on the Cyprus question was published the other day. We find it a very interesting document, not least as regards the clarification given about the attitudes of the two contending parties.

76. The Secretary-General explains in the report in detail his different proposals on how to get the parties to agree to a basis for the resumption of talks. In describing one of his numerous attempts to get the parties together, the Secretary-General comments:

"It is indicative of the gulf that separates the parties, and of their mistrust of one another, that they unanimously rejected this approach when it was put forward." [*ibid.*, para. 31.]

77. In his report on the work of the Organization issued last September, the Secretary-General also points to a crucial problem when he underlines the difficulties the two parties face "in tackling the compromises and accommodations that are essential if the talks are to have any meaning" [A/34/1, section III].

78. In any successful negotiation both parties must be prepared to make compromises. This is a very simple truth which we should like the two sides in the Cyprus conflict to have in mind.

79. When studying the Secretary-General's report on Cyprus we certainly feel, as he does, that there exists a common ground to build on, should the two parties decide to make a sincere effort to tackle the important problems.

80. Sweden wants to make a serious appeal to the two parties, as we did last year, to take a more constructive approach towards a resumption of the intercommunal talks that could ultimately lead to a comprehensive settlement. Such a settlement should, in our view, be made in the framework of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which contains all the necessary and essential elements, such as the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and its right to continue its policy of non-alignment.

81. The Secretary-General has pursued his efforts based on the mandate given to him by the Security Council in its resolution 367 (1975). We are therefore not in favour of the idea at present under consideration of establishing another United Nations organ or committee to deal with the Cyprus question. We fear that such a new organ would risk being counter-productive and make it more difficult to resume the intercommunal talks, rather than helping the Secretary-General in his task.

82. Last year we expressed concern in the General Assembly as to the humanitarian problems in Cyprus, especially those related to missing persons.⁴ We learn from the Secretary-General's report on Cyprus that nothing has happened in this field during the year. Even here the Secretary-General has been very active and has

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 48th meeting, paras 147-154.

made several attempts without success to get both parties to implement the General Assembly resolution on setting up an investigatory body for the tracing of and accounting for missing persons of both parties in Cyprus [resolution 33/172].

83. As a country which has been contributing troops to UNFICYP for 15 years, Sweden has on numerous occasions underlined the fact that the time afforded to the two communities through the successive prolongations of the UNFICYP mandate must be used by them in a constructive way to reach a solution of the Cyprus problem through meaningful negotiations.

84. In a statement made on 7 November in the Special Political Committee on the agenda item relating to peace-keeping operations, the Swedish representative, on behalf of the five Nordic countries, declared:

“The presence of United Nations peace-keeping troops imposes a clear obligation on the parties to the conflict to make full and constructive use of the time put at their disposal to live up to this obligation by solving the underlying political problem. United Nations peace-keeping activities must not be allowed to serve as an excuse for inactivity in the quest for a settlement. Every effort should be made to avoid having the duration of a peace-keeping operation unduly protracted.”⁵

This statement applies in all its aspects to the situation of UNFICYP.

85. As to the financing of UNFICYP, we continue to stress that it cannot be the task mainly of small groups of States, that is, the troop contributors, to assume a disproportionate share of the financial burden of this peace-keeping operation. The cost of the UNFICYP operation must be shared more equitably among the Members of the United Nations.

86. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The position of Ecuador on the question of Cyprus has always been clear-cut and our concern has been constant. For reasons of principle, we fully support the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. We further uphold the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and the need, which cannot be obviated, to withdraw foreign troops from the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. It can never be accepted that might makes right.

87. Our country continues to hold the view, which has been set forth since 1965 in United Nations reports, that a solution to the Cypriot problem must be based on justice and the interests of the inhabitants of that country, which is such a good friend of ours. The only solution which the United Nations would be willing to sponsor would be an understanding, in conditions of independence and equality between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, without pressure or foreign interference.

88. Accordingly, we reaffirm the view we have upheld in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and

we reaffirm the sentiments contained in Security Council resolution 365 (1974).

89. The Foreign Minister of Ecuador, Mr. Alfredo Pareja Diezcanseco, said in the general debate in this connexion:

“... Ecuador hopes that the occupation by force may cease to mar the coexistence of the sorely tried population of Cyprus and that the negotiations between the Cypriot groups concerned may progress, with the presence and co-operation of the United Nations”. [12th meeting, para. 219.]

90. Consequently, Ecuador will support any resolution of the question of Cyprus that is guided by the aforementioned principles, and we support the creation of a General Assembly committee whose task would be to contribute to the promotion of a search for a solution to the problem of implementing the recommendations of the United Nations concerning Cyprus.

91. Mrs. ITGEL (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The General Assembly has embarked upon the discussion of one of the important political items on its agenda: the question of Cyprus.

92. For several years now, this item has been on the agenda of the General Assembly as well as that of the Security Council. The United Nations has devoted a considerable amount of attention to this item, and the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted numerous resolutions and decisions aimed at a just settlement of this question. In this matter, the United Nations proceeds from the premise that the question of Cyprus is one that affects the interests of peace and security in the Mediterranean region and also throughout the world, and that its just settlement would remove this explosive situation of conflict in Cyprus and thus would have a positive influence on intensifying the process of relaxation of international tension. Apart from this, the speediest settlement of the problem is demanded and expected by the people of Cyprus, who have been divided by force and reduced to the status of refugees in their own native land and who are suffering most from this conflict.

93. For the aforementioned reasons, the Mongolian People's Republic has always attached great importance to the achievement of a rapid, just and lasting settlement of this problem. Like many other States, we still maintain that the only correct way to a solution of this problem is through the restoration and guarantee of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and full respect for its status as a non-aligned State. The way does not lie through the conversion of Cyprus into an imperialist military base, which would be a deadly threat to the Republic of Cyprus itself and to other States in the region.

94. The fundamental conditions for the holding of negotiations between the direct parties to the conflict are the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus, the removal of foreign military presence in the island and a halt also to any other foreign intervention in the internal affairs of that State. These conditions have been reflected in many resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the question of Cyprus, including resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly and subsequently en-

⁵ This statement was made at the 24th meeting of the Special Political Committee, the official records of which are published in summary form.

dorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974). It is quite natural, therefore, that the solution of the problem of Cyprus should require, first of all, full and direct implementation of these resolutions.

95. The most appropriate forum for discussing the whole complex of questions of the political settlement of the Cyprus issue, in our opinion, would be the one proposed by the Soviet Union namely, a special international conference held under the auspices of the United Nations. The convening of such a conference is supported by many States, including the Government of Cyprus, as was again stated recently from this rostrum by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou [15th meeting, para. 46]. Like many other States, the Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the convening of such a conference in the very near future.

96. Any approach to this issue that does not take into account or reflect the views of the two communities in Cyprus that make up the population of that island State cannot lead to a just and lasting settlement of the crisis. A just settlement of the intercommunal disputes is an important internal factor in settling the over-all Cyprus problem. This is why the Mongolian People's Republic welcomed the agreement reached on the resumption of the talks between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities that were suspended more than two years ago. Although there has not yet been agreement between the two Cypriot communities on the most important issues relating to an internal settlement, the

very fact that the leaders of the two communities have adopted a joint document reflecting the 10-point agreement reached between the parties regarding the basis for further talks is an encouraging development and opens the way for a just settlement of the internal disputes in the country.

97. One of the important pre-conditions for fruitful and successful talks on the settlement of the question of Cyprus is the establishment of a favourable political atmosphere; in other words, neither of the parties to the conflict should take any action that would have a negative impact on the talks. This refers primarily to such actions as would in the final analysis tend to strengthen the *de facto* division of Cyprus.

98. Our delegation has listened very carefully to the statement by President Kyprianou at the plenary meeting on 1 October 1979. We fully support his proposal for the demilitarization of the island of Cyprus, reiterated at that meeting [*ibid.*, para. 48], which is becoming increasingly important in the light of attempts by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] to deploy American medium-range missiles in the region. Mongolia continues to believe that complete demilitarization would be an important step forward towards a just and lasting settlement of the crisis and could also serve as a guarantee of its status as an independent State.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.