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2179th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 14 December 1979, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. CHEN Chu (China).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2179)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/13672 and Add.1)

The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/13672 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mavrommatis (Cyprus), Mr. Katapodis (Greece) and Mr. Eralp (Turkey) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to recall that, in the course of consultations which took place yesterday, members of the Council agreed that, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, the Council would extend an invitation to Mr. Nail Atalay, in accordance with the usual practice. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council decides to invite Mr. Atalay under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure.

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 1 June to 30 November 1979 [S/13672 and Add.1]. In addition, the Council has before it a draft resolution [S/13690] which was drafted during consultations among Council members.

4. I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none.¹

One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I now call on the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement.

6. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have noted the action just taken by the Council, by which it extended once again the stationing of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for a further period of six months and requested me to continue my mission of good offices. As indicated in my report to the Council, I consider that the continued presence of UNFICYP remains indispensable in helping to maintain calm in the island and thus facilitating the search for a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem, based on the legitimate rights of the two communities.

7. I wish to assure the members of the Council that I shall make every effort to get the intercommunal talks resumed early next year, on the basis of the 10-point high-level agreement of 19 May 1979 [S/13369, para. 51]. I shall initiate consultations with the parties to this end at an early date. I hope that they will join in supporting the approach to a viable negotiating process described in my report so as to get around the difficulties that were encountered last June and get down to concrete negotiations on the substantive aspects of the Cyprus problem. Given the co-operation of the parties, I hope we shall be able to achieve meaningful progress in that direction. The future of the intercommunal talks may well depend on our success in this endeavour.

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The first speaker is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

9. Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): When we met in mid-June last—almost six months to the day [2150th

¹ See resolution 458 (1979).

meeting]—for the very same reason, that is, a further renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, an almost unreal atmosphere of elation permeated the short proceedings. The reason was the first hopeful tidings in months coming from Nicosia regarding the 10-point Kyprianou-Denktaş agreement of 19 May 1979, a colossal feat for the Secretary-General and a triumph for reason in its own right.

10. Today, an almost palpable gloom pervades the whole length and breadth of Cyprus, both north and south of the demilitarized zone that marks the shameful fact of occupation in this era of principles and human rights, a gloom that should have its echo in this chamber whence action to safeguard what is sacred in the quest for preserving world security must originate.

11. The reason this time is the fact that, a short week and four frustrating meetings after the resumption of the intercommunal dialogue, it had to be recessed, almost *ad infinitum*, because the Turkish side opted to interpolate ideas alien to both the 10-point agreement and the well-known four guidelines [S/12323 of 30 April 1977, para. 5] in order to pre-empt a “never to be encountered anywhere” solution of the Cyprus problem. Is it surprising, then, that the Cyprus Government had to turn to the Commonwealth at Lusaka and to the non-aligned movement at Havana and, finally, to the whole international community in New York to seek from its own world succour and sustenance for the country’s survival? And the friends of Cyprus have once more lent us not only their ear but also their moral and general support, so necessary if we were not to sink in the abysmal depths of despair, end all hope and surrender to faits accomplis. Is it surprising, then, that even the indefatigable Secretary-General, who daily faces every conceivable type of threat to world peace, in his report referring to the intercommunal talks, said:

“However, we must face the fact that after nearly five years of intermittent talks, the credibility of this negotiating method hangs in the balance.” [S/13672, para. 66.]

12. And yet the Secretary-General, the interested parties and the whole world share the view that the intercommunal talks under the Secretary-General’s auspices represent the best available method for negotiating a just and lasting political settlement, provided that they are properly used. And “properly used” they never have been in so far as Ankara is concerned, either because of domestic political difficulties or using them as a pretext or excuse for not really wanting a solution. Each time we have embarked upon the dialogue it had to be discontinued because of an Ankara fiat.

13. Is it a mere coincidence that the ink had hardly dried on the 10-point agreement when defections from the ruling party of the then incumbent at Ankara made his Government’s survival problematic—in fact, following the summer parliamentary recess it had to resign—and when the talks opened in Cyprus two extrinsic pre-conditions were submitted and the talks were wrecked? Could it be a coincidence when the very same thing has happened time and again in the past, with an almost mathematical accuracy and when, as everybody knows, sustained talks to maintain a given

momentum have as a prerequisite concessions? However, concessions run not only counter to delusions of grandeur that came in the wake of occupation and notions of territorial aggrandizement—and please remember that the occupied part of Cyprus is referred to as district 10 of the Turkish Mersin province—but, also, who knows, might even cause loss of votes?

14. On 15 June 1979, I had this to say in connexion with the reported motives of Turkey’s acceptance of the 10-point agreement:

“We do not want to believe that the recent agreement was brought about by ulterior motives of a short-term nature, but if that was the case, then soon the whole matter will become crystal clear and every *bona fide* person will know and should speak out.” [2150th meeting, para. 20.]

Well, Turkey did manage to overcome obstacles in the way of securing massive aid, mainly from the West, and soon after reverted to its old tactics regarding Cyprus.

15. That is why the members of the Council should—soon, in my humble opinion—speak out if the present unsatisfactory state of affairs continues. They should also at the same time apportion blame and decide on the necessary remedial action.

16. I ask the indulgence of the Council in order to give a very brief outline of the results of the latest efforts to solve the Cyprus problem. The talks were resumed on 15 June 1979, and from the very outset the Greek Cypriot side made concrete proposals based on the 19 May agreement. The Turkish side immediately thereafter demanded, by way of pre-conditions, unconditional acceptance of bi-zonality and security for the Turkish Cypriot community, thus not only ignoring agreed priorities and deviating from the four guidelines but also destroying the very notion of federation. When, by way of a compromise, it was suggested that these terms could be discussed at an appropriate later stage, the Turkish side insisted on immediate and unconditional acceptance. As a result the Secretary-General’s representative had no option but to recess the talks, a recess that continues until today.

17. Despite the intransigence and the difficulties that were encountered every time the intercommunal dialogue was resumed, we gave yet another proof of our goodwill when, as recently as 11 December 1979, the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou, declared that we were ready to resume the dialogue on the basis of the 19 May agreement immediately, but without pre-conditions. I am authorized to reiterate my President’s statement today before the Council, and I do so now.

18. Perhaps I may also be allowed a brief reference to General Assembly resolution 34/30. That resolution reflects the fact that the international community is losing patience as a result of Turkish intransigence and has accordingly decided to serve notice on the Turkish side of its intention no longer to allow time-wasting tactics and non-compliance with its resolutions. Hence, *inter alia*, the creation in paragraph 13 of that resolution of an *ad hoc* committee and the reference in the preamble to an interna-

tional conference. However, the General Assembly quite rightly decided to afford the Turkish side yet another chance by making the establishment of the committee conditional upon a lack of progress in the intercommunal dialogue by 31 March 1980.

19. As far as the Government of Cyprus is concerned, we shall, as we always have in the past, do our level best to assist in making the resumed talks a success, and we sincerely hope that the Turkish side can do likewise. After all, since they have so violently opposed the creation of the *ad hoc* committee, it is in their best interests to help to achieve progress.

20. Paragraph 11 of the above-mentioned General Assembly resolution is addressed to the Security Council, recommending that it

“examine the question of the implementation, within a specified time-frame, of its relevant resolutions and consider and adopt thereafter, if necessary, all appropriate and practical measures under the Charter of the United Nations for ensuring the speedy and effective implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations on Cyprus”.

21. We have no doubt that, as and when the need arises, the Security Council will eventually live up to the expectations of the vast majority, if not of almost the totality, of Member States. For the aforesaid reasons, given in connexion with the establishment of the *ad hoc* committee, we have decided to repose our hopes in the resumption and successful continuation of the talks, at least for the time being, and therefore we have not at this stage asked the Council to act under paragraph 11 of the General Assembly resolution. We shall certainly do so as and when the need arises.

22. Following the adoption of that resolution, we had once again to face the cacophony of a succession of statements by both Turkish and Turkish Cypriot leaders, threatening the establishment of an independent Turkish Cypriot State. They did so despite universal opposition thereto and despite the agreement of 19 May 1979. The timely reactions of almost every State, as well as that of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, have during the last few days forced them to change their minds, at least for the time being, albeit in a manner that is not completely unequivocal. Let us hope that this is the forerunner of a genuine intention to return to the negotiating table without unacceptable pre-conditions and to work, in a continuing, sustained and result-oriented manner, avoiding any delay, for a solution.

23. In his report, the Secretary-General gives a brief outline of what has been done in the exercise of his mission of good offices, and in paragraph 68 in particular he deals with the proposed establishment of the committee on missing persons. Once again I should like to express the warm appreciation of the Government and the people of Cyprus, and in particular of the relatives of the missing persons, for the Secretary-General's untiring and continuing efforts to have this purely humanitarian issue resolved.

24. As on so many other occasions in the past, my Government did accept both the resolutions of the General Assembly on this issue and a number of ideas of the

Secretary-General. Again, it was the other side that either refused to co-operate or reneged. I am very much heartened by the last sentence in paragraph 68, in which is registered the Secretary-General's hope that the formula of 19 May 1979,

“which should satisfy the legitimate concerns of both parties, will in the end, and in the light of appropriate clarifications, gain the support of all concerned”.

As is well known, it has already, from the very first moment, gained the support of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, and I sincerely hope that it will gain the support of the Turkish side so that, at long last, we shall be able to embark upon the road that can lead to the tracing of and accounting for all missing persons in Cyprus, thus putting an end to the most tragic chapter of the Cyprus drama.

25. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus has already given its consent for the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months, and the Security Council has just decided on that renewal. We believe that the presence of UNFICYP in Cyprus is now more than ever essential for the maintenance of conditions conducive to the success of the dialogue. That is why we should like once again to register our appreciation for the excellent job of work done by the various contingents under the able leadership of Major-General James Joseph Quinn, and we should similarly like to thank the Governments of the countries that provide those contingents and the Governments of the countries that provide funds in connexion therewith.

26. Before concluding, I should like once again to thank the Secretary-General for his indefatigable efforts in connexion with the Cyprus question and also to thank his very able collaborators, Mr. Brian Urquhart, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, Mr. Galindo Pohl, Mr. George Sherry, Mr. Rémy Gorgé and Mr. Picco.

27. Last, but not least, I should thank you, Mr. President, and, through you, the members of the Council, for giving me this opportunity to address the Council on a very important issue concerning my country and to express my appreciation for the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP. Doing so under your experienced and most effective presidency has been a particular pleasure and an honour.

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Greece, on whom I now call.

29. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece): Mr. President, allow me, first of all, to present to you the sincere congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. Your outstanding ability and experience have already become manifest in the way you guided the Council during the consultations and deliberations which led to the unanimous adoption of resolution 457 (1979). An additional cause of satisfaction to us is the fact that you represent a country with which mine entertains excellent relations, as became apparent from the successful visit of Prime Minister Caramanlis to Beijing last November.

30. In the six months since the last extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, the situation in Cyprus has gone through various stages, few of them, unfortunately, encouraging. The agreement of the two communities, on 19 May 1979, to initiate sustained and result-oriented negotiations, avoiding any delay, permitted the resumption of the intercommunal talks on 15 June. However, those talks were suspended soon afterwards *sine die*, despite the commendable efforts of Under-Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar, who presided over them. The suspension of the talks, and the ensuing stalemate were due to the attempt of the Turkish Cypriot interlocutor to pre-empt two basic issues and to reverse the priorities established by the agreement of 19 May. The two issues raised by the Turkish Cypriot side, namely, the concept of bi-zonality and that of the security of the Turkish Cypriot community, fall clearly within the framework of the agreement, and in fact constitute the essence of the problem itself. Asking the other side to accept in advance the interpretation given to these very serious matters by the Turkish Cypriot leadership was both unfair and unrealistic, especially since such an interpretation can be founded neither on the agreement itself nor on the Makarios-Denktaş guidelines which, along with the United Nations resolutions, were agreed upon by the parties as a basis for reaching a just and equitable solution of the problem.

31. The stalemate that resulted from the intransigence of the Turkish Cypriot side still persists. The Secretary-General and his collaborators, in their effort to break the deadlock, have sounded the two sides on various ideas which might make possible the resumption of the talks. In our view, the suggestions put forward, and for that matter any formulas which would depart from the wording of the agreement of last May, risk upsetting its delicate balance, which was arrived at only thanks to the negotiating skill of the Secretary-General and the spirit of co-operation shown by the parties at the time. We believe that if the two communities are really willing to conduct sustained and result-oriented negotiations, they will have the opportunity, in the course of those negotiations, to raise all pertinent matters that are of particular importance to them, with a view to finding mutually satisfactory solutions.

32. This brings me to two other important aspects of the talks: the question of priorities and the element of time. Point 5 of the agreement of 19 May spells out clearly the priorities according to which the talks must proceed. It is obvious that they constitute an integral part of the agreement and cannot be ignored or reversed, as the Turkish Cypriot side has consistently tried to do in the last six months. It should be noted, in that respect, that the importance of adhering to the priorities is underlined by the Secretary-General in his report.

33. However, point 9 of the agreement stipulates, as I have already stated, that the intercommunal talks must be carried out without delay. One additional reason is that, in accordance with paragraph 12 of the latest resolution of the General Assembly on Cyprus [resolution 34/30], the Secretary-General must present a report by 31 March on the progress, or lack thereof, of the talks. Should the Secretary-General come to the conclusion that no real progress has been achieved by that date, new mechanisms will be set in motion, as provided for by the resolution, with the view of

assisting the parties in their endeavour to find a negotiated solution.

34. It is clear from what I have stated so far that the prospects for a speedy settlement of the problem of Cyprus do not look very good as things stand. This renders the continued presence of UNFICYP on the island absolutely necessary. We must not lose sight of the fact that 40 per cent of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus is still occupied by Turkish troops. These troops, whose withdrawal has been asked for in vain by a long series of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, constitute a permanent threat to the free part of the republic. UNFICYP, illustrating as it does the concern of the United Nations for one of its Members which became the victim of aggression, gives a feeling of security to the inhabitants of the free zone, 200,000 of whom have lived there as refugees since the invasion of 1974.

35. Furthermore, UNFICYP plays another very useful role, despite the fact that its freedom of movement is being increasingly restricted, as stated in paragraph 14 of the Secretary-General's report. It provides the 1,400 Greek Cypriots still in the north with certain elementary facilities, including means of communication with their relatives in the free area. Therefore, we welcome the decision of the Council to extend its mandate for another six months, although we are conscious of the fact that this should not induce the parties to perpetuate the *status quo*, which is detrimental to the people of Cyprus as a whole.

36. Finally, I should like to express the deep appreciation of my Government to the countries contributing contingents and/or funds to UNFICYP, as well as to its commanding officer, officers and men, for the spirit of dedication and self-denial with which they carry out their difficult and delicate task. Our thanks go also to the Secretary-General and his collaborators for their untiring quest for a fair solution to one of the most serious and complex problems with which the Organization is faced.

37. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is Mr. Atalay, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

38. Mr. ATALAY: I have requested to be allowed to participate in these deliberations of the Security Council to express the views of the Government of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus—the sole representative of the Turkish Cypriot community—on the question of the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP for another six months.

39. Mr. President, before I begin to make my statement, allow me to express our appreciation, on behalf of myself and on behalf of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, to you and to all members of the Council for having invited me to participate in this debate.

40. May I take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on the assumption of your duties as President of the Security Council and also express our gratitude through you to the Government of the great Chinese people for their impar-

tiality and for the constructive role China has played throughout in connexion with the question of Cyprus.

41. I should like at the same time to express the gratitude and appreciation of the Turkish Cypriot side to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts and invaluable contributions to the search for a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem. I fully share the view of the Secretary-General that the continuing intercommunal talks are the best and in fact the only way to solve the Cyprus problem. I should like to assure the Secretary-General that my Government will do its utmost to ensure that his efforts are crowned with success.

42. We are also grateful to Mr. Galindo Pohl, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, and his Deputy, Mr. Gorgé; the Under-Secretaries-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar and Mr. Urquhart; to Mr. Sherry and Mr. Picco for the exemplary, impartial and efficient manner in which they have discharged their important duties. I should like to take this opportunity also to express our gratitude to the Force Commander, Major-General Quinn, and to all the officers and men of UNFICYP, as well as to all those countries that have contributed men and funds to the Force.

43. I must confirm once again at the outset, before this body, that the sincere hope of the Turkish community in Cyprus is that the Greek Cypriot leadership will without further delay come to the negotiating table with the resolute intention of developing the bi-zonal federal system in Cyprus in a spirit of partnership and in keeping with the principles arrived at during the 1977 and 1979 summit meetings. The Turkish community and the Government of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus have been doing and will continue to do their utmost in order to achieve such a solution.

44. However, in the face of repeated assertions by the Greek leadership that sovereignty in Cyprus belongs exclusively to them, the Turkish community has also to assert the fact that in reality the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus could only be the outcome of an equal partnership between the two communities. And we must warn all concerned that each time the Greek community rejects this partnership in deeds or in words, each time it violates the inalienable rights and status of the Turkish community, my community will, as a last resort, feel free and in fact in duty bound to do everything possible to defend its rights of partnership.

45. The concept of partnership is inherent in the sovereignty and independence of Cyprus, and, in view of the record of Greek violations of this basic principle since 1963, the Turkish community will be justified in taking the necessary measures to defend its rights. The ultimate responsibility in this matter belongs to the Greek Cypriot leadership.

46. At this point allow me to take the opportunity also to state categorically that General Assembly resolution 34/30 is totally unacceptable to us. That resolution as a whole, and in particular paragraphs 13 to 15, in connexion with the formation of an *ad hoc* committee, and paragraph 3, which refers to the so-called "Government of Cyprus", constitute

serious obstacles to the continuation of the intercommunal talks. Therefore it is our understanding that, if and when the negotiations start, such obstacles will be considered non-existent.

47. The third preambular paragraph of the resolution that the Council has just adopted makes a reference to the so-called "Government of Cyprus". The members of the Council are well aware of our position with regard to the so-called "Government of Cyprus". Therefore, since that reference has been made to this non-existent entity, it is obvious that we cannot accept this resolution. Nevertheless, I have been authorized to give my consent, on behalf of the Government of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, to the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP until 15 June 1980. We shall continue to co-operate with the Force in Cyprus and help to make its operation a success.

48. I have listened to the presentation of the representative of Greece. It is impossible for me to comprehend his behaviour and political motives. The fact that the word "diplomacy" has its origin in the Greek language should not give the representative the licence to manipulate the facts. It is an established and undeniable fact that Greece is the only country responsible, whether under democratically elected Governments or junta régimes, for all the calamities which have befallen the island of Cyprus since the 1880s—a century ago. The annals of the United Nations are full of accounts of Greek atrocities in Cyprus against my community—the Turkish Cypriot community. Therefore I shall refrain from answering his baseless and false accusations in detail. Let history be the judge. But I would suggest that they clean their own hands before accusing others. I doubt whether all the perfumes of the world would suffice.

49. Although I had no intention of taking up the valuable time of the Council, I find it necessary to answer some of the false and baseless accusations of my counterpart, the representative of the Greek Cypriot administration. He accused us, the Turkish Cypriot side, of setting pre-conditions for the continuation of intercommunal talks. That is not true. The Turkish Cypriot negotiator merely requested his counterpart to confirm the concepts of bi-zonality and security of the Turkish Cypriot community, which were among the concepts constituting the basis of the Denktas-Makarios four-point guidelines. It will be recalled also that during a press conference given by the Secretary-General on 16 February 1977, as reported in Press Release SG/T/752, Mr. Waldheim stated, in answer to a question, that what was implied by the term "bi-communal" was a bi-zonal federal constitution. Furthermore, the then Greek Cypriot Foreign Minister, Mr. Christophides, had referred to the concept of bi-zonality before the Security Council [2026th meeting] and the General Assembly² on 31 August 1977 and 7 November 1977 respectively. Therefore, these are not pre-conditions. These are the principles underlying the four-point guidelines of 12 February 1977.

50. In connexion with the missing persons, I should like to state the following. Here, unfortunately, we have witnessed once again that what is an humanitarian issue for the Turkish Cypriots is a political one for the Greek Cypriots. Indeed it

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 60th meeting.

is simply due to the fact that the Greek Cypriot side has chosen to politicize and exploit this issue for its narrow-minded propaganda purposes and that because of this it is still unresolved and is being prolonged at the expense of the families concerned.

51. It is a well-known fact that the formation of the investigatory committee within the framework of General Assembly resolution 32/128 of 1977 was prevented by the Greek side. Furthermore, my counterpart intentionally made significant omissions: he never mentioned the third member of the investigatory committee or its functions. No mention was made of the fact that the International Committee of the Red Cross, when consulted, refused to take part in any voting, thus confirming the Turkish Cypriot side's position that all decisions should be taken by consensus. Nor was there any mention in his statement of the fact that the legal opinion sought from the United Nations in this respect states that in the absence of the explicit consent of both parties the General Assembly cannot confer upon the Secretary-General, or for that matter upon his representative, the role of a compulsory arbitrator, that there is no precedent for conferring such a role upon the Secretary-General in the absence of the consent of both parties and that established international practice in the matter of settlement of disputes attaches primacy to the consent of both parties.

52. In any case, as I stated at the high-level meeting of 19 May 1979, my President, His Excellency Mr. Denktaş, had transmitted the Secretary-General's new proposals in that respect to the Prime Minister of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in writing on 21 May. The Council of Ministers, after carefully studying the new proposals, decided to insist on the formation of the investigatory committee in accordance with resolution 32/128. As members are all well aware, and as I indicated in my letter of 13 December 1978 addressed to the Secretary-General [S/12967], the Turkish Cypriot side has always expressed its readiness for the formation of a committee, with the participation of the International Committee of the Red Cross, to investigate the issue within the framework of that resolution, avoiding any further delay.

53. For those who insist on the precipitate withdrawal of Turkish forces from Cyprus in the absence of a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem, I should like to recall the following facts. The late Archbishop Makarios, on 9 April 1966, in his address to some of the 20,000 Greek mainland troops sent surreptitiously to Cyprus, greeted the soldiers from Greece in this way:

"In the person of you all, I greet our mother country. I greet eternal Greece, whose presence in Cyprus is becoming a reality. The Greek Cypriots and the entire Greek nation are struggling so that this island of Cyprus may be united with Greece. Long live the nation; long live the King; long live the army; long live enosis."

In his speech at Magosa on 17 May 1970, Archbishop Makarios had this to say about his brethren from Greece:

"Brethren from Greece fought on Cyprus soil for the freedom of the island, for the one and indivisible Greek

freedom. . . . The flag of the struggle for a happier national future shall not be lowered and the national course"—which means enosis—"shall not be halted."

I am sure that, as everybody knows, by "brethren from Greece" Makarios meant Greek Army troops from Greece who had fought the Turkish Cypriots.

54. The fact that Greek Cypriots do not regard Greece as a foreign country or Greeks as foreigners is best illustrated by the following passage from a statement to the press made on 21 June 1966 by the present Greek Cypriot leader, Mr. Kyprianou:

"Concerning relations between Cyprus and Greece, as I have stressed on other occasions, I do not place them within the framework of our relations with foreign countries, and I shall refer to them later on in connexion with the handling of the Cyprus issue. . . .

"The Cyprus Government's stand on the question of Greco-Turkish talks has always been clear. We do not object to discussions between the two countries, provided the basis and object of such talks will be enosis, the union of Cyprus with Greece, because any agreement between Greece and Turkey on another solution of the Cyprus problem would be not only unacceptable but also without any meaning."

Now Mr. Kyprianou pledges that the recent General Assembly resolution on Cyprus, which all Turkish Cypriots have branded as unjust and unacceptable, has strengthened the national cause of the Greek Cypriots. What is that national cause? It is the Hellenization of Cyprus, that is to say the rebirth of the Greek nation.

55. And the United Nations is asked to consider the Turkish peace force in Cyprus as foreign troops, and their action of preventing the complete annihilation of the Turkish Cypriots and of helping Turkish Cypriots to stop Greece from invading the whole of Cyprus as an act of invasion by Turkey. Is it not obvious which foreign troops have eternally had the intention to invade Cyprus and stay there? In the face of these facts, to brand the Turkish troops as invaders is a travesty of logic and a corruption of facts. The Turkish troops were sent to the island, in accordance with treaties, to prevent the annexation of the island to Greece and the persecution of the Turkish community, and they will be withdrawn as soon as there is a mutually acceptable solution.

56. A Greek Cypriot columnist, Mr. Alecos Constantinides, in an article published in the newspaper *Simerini* on 17 October 1979, wrote: "The Cyprus deadlock will last as long as the Kyprianou administration is in power in southern Cyprus". I fully share the view of Mr. Constantinides. Furthermore, although we had exchanged populations in accordance with the Vienna agreement of August 1975 [S/11789, annex], under the auspices of the United Nations, in order to pave the way for the establishment of a bi-zonal federal republic, now Mr. Kyprianou insists on an integrated State. We know, and the whole world knows, this cynical term: it means a unitary State under the exclusive control of the Greeks.

57. In order to prove that Mr. Kyprianou has an unbroken record of intransigence, I shall quote from some of his statements:

"The return of all"—and I repeat "all"—"refugees to their homes and lands is an inalienable right as well as national duty."

"We want an urgent solution. But because the context of the agreement is far more important for us, we do not attach so much importance to the time factor."

"We want a Cyprus with an integrated State and people."

58. The only condition for peace is simply that the Greek Cypriots must accept the realities and give up their ambition of usurping the power and territory of Cyprus exclusively.

59. If the record is studied and recent events looked into it will be realized that the Greek Cypriots have not wavered from their *megali* idea—their ultimate ambition of ruling Cyprus alone—by even one iota. They have become more intoxicated by their unfulfilled desires.

60. In his address, as I have said, Mr. Kyprianou insisted on the following: the return of all refugees is a right and duty; time for him is not important; he wants a really free and independent Cyprus with all refugees returned and with an integrated State and people. Those factors are the true reflection of the Greek Cypriot desires and intentions, and that is what we have been trying to explain to friend and foe for years. Would one expect Mr. Kyprianou to be more blunt and state openly: "I do not want peace. I want the whole of Cyprus so that I can place it in the lap of Greece?" Will one then, together with the whole world, understand what they want?

61. If the return of all refugees is a right and a duty and if it is seen as such, why are we negotiating then? Are we waiting for them to state, "We have given up our right, we shall not do our national duty?" And if time is not important and the context of the agreement is, and if they put forward the condition of "a really free and independent Cyprus with all refugees returned to their homes within an integrated State and people", what are they waiting for?

62. It is our conviction that the Cyprus question has not been taken up by the Greek Cypriots with the required seriousness. Had it been the contrary, how could Mr. Kyprianou have found the courage to utter those words after signing the 19 May agreement based on the Denktas-Makarios accord and signed in the presence of the Secretary-General?

63. If no one is serious and everyone is putting his own interest before right, reality and justice, then we must take the necessary measures.

64. The well known trick used for years to cover the bitter pill of enosis with a sugar coating is now being played on this issue of the so-called "national desires".

65. It is impossible to find any correlation between Mr. Kyprianou's stated position on "an integrated State and people", vis-à-vis "the bi-communal, bi-zonal and non-

aligned federation" concepts which he had previously accepted and for that reason it would be useless and pointless to continue the intercommunal talks unless Mr. Kyprianou, together with his collaborators, reaffirms that indeed he accepts the principle of the 19 May agreement along with the Denktas-Makarios guidelines in their real meaning, because it appears that Mr. Kyprianou's Government has two policies towards the solution of the Cyprus problem, one for internal consumption and one for international consumption. To state on the one hand, "I want a bi-communal federation" and on the other hand, "I want a Cyprus with an integrated State and people" and to put that before the public as an unalterable condition is an act of political immorality which should be transparent to all concerned.

66. Finally I hope—and I say it is my ardent hope—that the Greek Cypriot leadership will revise its approach. We want a leadership which will not fool its people with promises impossible to fulfil, but a leadership of realism and common sense which is courageous enough to sign an agreement on the principles of bi-nationality, bi-zonality and non-alignment, in short, an agreement of honour and peace for both sides.

67. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Turkey.

68. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): I should like, at the outset, to extend to you the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. In thus congratulating you, I wish to express the satisfaction we feel in seeing as President of the Council a representative of a country with which Turkey enjoys continuously developing friendly relations. We feel sure that, with your widely appreciated diplomatic skills and vast experience, you will guide our deliberations to success. May I also add how appreciative we are of the discretion, objectivity and wisdom you have consistently displayed during the consultations.

69. We are gratified to note that the Secretary-General has once again stressed in his report to the Council the indispensable and irreplaceable role of the intercommunal talks in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem. In fact, in paragraph 66 of the report, he states the following:

"I continue to hold to the view that the intercommunal talks held under my auspices . . . represent the best available method for negotiating a just and lasting political settlement of the Cyprus problem based on the legitimate rights of the two communities."

I was extremely gratified to hear the Secretary-General this morning reiterate that view before this body. That view of the Secretary-General is identical with that of my Government.

70. I should like now, if I may, to state the position of my Government on the resolution which the Council has just adopted.

71. In the third preambular paragraph there is, as in previous resolutions on the same subject, an irrelevant refer-

ence to a Government of Cyprus. The Council must be familiar with our basic unchanged position in that respect. The events which were precipitated by the Greek military coup of 15 July 1974, for the purpose of annexing Cyprus to Greece, have resulted in the setting up of two distinct administrations. That reality was recognized on 30 July 1974 by the three guarantor Powers, namely Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom, at the first Geneva conference on Cyprus. A reference to the so-called Government of Cyprus, an entity which in our view does not exist either in law or in practice, is all the more misleading since the Denktas-Makarios framework agreement of 12 February 1977 established the basis of an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal and bi-zonal federal republic and provided for the merging of the two separate Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot administrations. Consequently, any compliance or co-operation with the United Nations peace-keeping effort in Cyprus on our part would be conditional upon the exclusion of the concept of a Government of Cyprus.

72. The resolution contains three operative elements. In paragraph 1, it gives UNFICYP a mandate for another six months. We concur in that extension, having heard Mr. Nail Atalay, the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, who informed the Council of the consent of his Government in that respect. Paragraph 2 contains a call on the two communities for the continuation of the intercommunal talks within the framework of the 10-point agreement. We hope that the incessant efforts of the Secretary-General will result in overcoming the difficulties that have arisen in the talks and will eventually lead to the resumption of negotiations. My Government is determined to encourage all efforts designed to achieve a viable solution within the framework of the Denktas-Makarios four-point guidelines, and the Denktas-Kyprianou 10-point agreement which, in our view, have laid the foundations for a solution based on the fundamental and legitimate rights of the two communities within an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal and bi-zonal federal republic. In paragraph 3 the Council reiterates the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General as established in paragraph 6 of resolution 367 (1975). As has already been stated on numerous occasions, the Turkish Government fully supports the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General.

73. I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate, on behalf of my Government, our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his determined and indefatigable efforts in the search for a solution to the Cyprus question through intercommunal talks. In the fulfilment of his mission of good offices, the Secretary-General and his staff have been extremely active during the period under review. The Secretary-General has explained both in his report³ to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, as well as in the current one to the Council, the difficulties he has encountered in this endeavour. But we maintain the hope that he will be able to overcome the existing obstacles and to give a new impetus to the search for a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem. We regard his firm conviction in the intercommunal negotiating process as a guarantee for concrete progress in this arduous exercise.

³ A/34/620 and Corr. 1.

74. I should also like to express once again our deep appreciation of the constructive efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, and his Deputy, Mr. Rémy Gorgé, in the search for a peaceful settlement. Our thanks are also due to the Under-Secretaries-General, Mr. Brian Urquhart and Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, and to Mr. Sherry, Mr. Picco and their staff, for the devotion and competence they have shown in the discharge of their respective duties.

75. I should like to express once again the appreciation of my Government to the Member States which have contributed to UNFICYP. Last but not least, I wish to thank the Force Commander, Major-General James Joseph Quinn, and the officers and men of UNFICYP for the devotion they have shown in the fulfilment of their duties.

76. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): I hope that you will accept, Sir, the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the office of President of the Council. We have already accomplished important work under your guidance and we look forward to working with you throughout the balance of your term of office.

77. I hardly need to express again the deep admiration and respect of my Government and delegation for the leadership that was provided to the Council last month by your predecessor, the representative of Bolivia. I wish once again to record the view of my delegation about the extraordinary sensitivity and skill with which he approached the difficult problems of last month.

78. My Government welcomes the decision of the Council to renew the mandate of UNFICYP. We agree with the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report that the continued presence of UNFICYP remains indispensable, both in helping to maintain calm in the island and in facilitating the search for a peaceful settlement.

79. We note with approval that the resolution which has just been adopted urges the parties to resume the intercommunal talks on the basis of the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979. I take this opportunity to reaffirm that my Government strongly supports the good offices mission of the Secretary-General. We particularly welcome his expressed readiness to reconvene the intercommunal talks no later than January 1980, and the approach he is pursuing with that aim. The United States urges the parties to the Cyprus dispute to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and to agree forthwith to resume sustained and serious talks.

80. The officers and men of UNFICYP are to be commended for the exemplary manner in which they have performed their duties. The Member States, and members of the Council particularly, owe a great debt to the troop-contributing countries. These unselfish nations—Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom—have borne an inordinate and unfair share of the burden for maintaining their contingents on Cyprus.

81. We particularly urge all nations to support fully the recent urgent appeal of the Secretary-General for additional

voluntary contributions for UNFICYP [S/13692], which have consistently fallen short of needs. The accumulated deficit of more than \$62 million represents, in our view, a collective financial responsibility of all Member States which should be reduced immediately. We greatly regret that many countries in a position to do so, including permanent members of the Council, have still not responded to repeated appeals by the Secretary-General. We hope that they will respond affirmatively to his latest appeal, and thus manifest their support for the important role played by the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

82. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I hope that you will accept the warmest congratulations of the United Kingdom delegation on your presidency of the Security Council. These are not empty words. Nearly half of your month of office has passed, and we have had a great experience of the skill, charm and efficiency with which you, and indeed your whole delegation, have handled our affairs. Equally, I wish to pay a tribute of esteem from my delegation to my friend and colleague, the representative of Bolivia, for the expertise, patience and statesmanship with which he conducted a very difficult period in the Council during November. Our feelings towards him alternated between sympathy and admiration and, at the end of the month, the latter emotion certainly predominated.

83. The Council last renewed the mandate of UNFICYP less than a month after the high-level meeting convened by the Secretary-General at Nicosia in May. The agreement reached at Nicosia that the intercommunal talks should be resumed and that they should be carried out in a continuing and sustained manner gave rise to a little optimism. Unfortunately, that optimism turned out to be unfounded. As the Secretary-General says in his report, the momentum generated by the high-level meeting was not sustained when the intercommunal talks resumed on 15 June, and they went into recess shortly afterwards.

84. The talks have remained in recess ever since. My Government hopes that they will be resumed shortly on the basis of the approach set out in the Secretary-General's report. We hope that they will in future be conducted on a sustained, business-like and practical basis leading to early and positive results.

85. My Government also agrees with the Secretary-General that the credibility of this negotiating method is in the balance. It may be further impaired if the parties fail yet again to get down to concrete negotiations, or if they reach agreements only to unravel them when the time comes to implement them.

86. I should like to congratulate the Secretary-General on his comprehensive and lucid report on UNFICYP operations and on the exercise of his good offices. The report makes clear that the failure to sustain the intercommunal talks is not due to any lack of effort by him, by his Special Representative in Cyprus or by members of the Secretariat here in New York. I pay a tribute to their unremitting efforts. We are also grateful to the officers and men of UNFICYP for their dedication to their task.

87. My Government supports the Secretary-General's recommendation that the mandate of UNFICYP should be

extended by a further six months. We hope to continue to contribute to UNFICYP at approximately the present level for the next six months. We accept that UNFICYP has played an essential role in maintaining peace in Cyprus. That does not, however, absolve the parties from the need to resume negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

88. Before closing, I refer to the Secretary-General's latest appeal for voluntary contributions [*ibid.*]. As his report shows, the already serious deficit in UNFICYP financing has continued to widen. The present situation places a disproportionate financial burden on those Governments which contribute troops to the Force. That is most unsatisfactory and must be remedied. We therefore hope that the Secretary-General's appeal will meet with a generous response.

89. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like first of all to express my gratitude to the President of the Security Council for November, the representative of Bolivia, for his skilful guidance of our proceedings during that month and for the successful work of the Council under his leadership. At the same time, I should like to express the hope of my delegation that under your leadership in December, Mr. President, the Council will succeed in performing its task and will bring about a positive result on the questions under discussion.

90. The delegation of the Soviet Union did not object to the extension by the Security Council of the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for a further six-month period, in the light of the fact that the Government of the Republic of Cyprus gave its consent to such an extension. We proceeded from the understanding that the financing of the Force would continue to be carried out on a voluntary basis.

91. In connexion with the decision just taken by the Council, the Soviet delegation believes it to be necessary to reconfirm the position of principle of the Soviet Union with regard to a settlement of the Cyprus problem.

92. More than five years have gone by since the tragic events in Cyprus in the summer of 1974 when that small island State, as a result of foreign intervention, was plunged into a profound crisis. To this very day the situation in Cyprus is abnormal and dangerous, has served to exacerbate the situation in the eastern Mediterranean and has subjected the Cypriots to a painful ordeal. In essence, the island is split into two parts.

93. While the situation remains unresolved in the island, attempts are being intensified by certain quarters to put the Republic of Cyprus under their diktat and to convert it into a strategic bridgehead of NATO in the eastern Mediterranean and in the Middle East. In fact, those designs constitute the root cause of the disasters and upheavals from which Cyprus has been suffering.

94. It is quite natural that the continuation of the dangerous tension in Cyprus has aroused the serious concern of the international community. That is confirmed by the results of the discussion of the Cyprus question at the current

session of the General Assembly. In its resolution 34/30, adopted by an overwhelming majority on 20 November, the Assembly once again reiterated its full support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and called for the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs. The Assembly also demanded the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence from the Republic of Cyprus. It expressed its support for the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979 and called for the urgent resumption in a meaningful, result-oriented and constructive manner of the intercommunal talks.

95. The Soviet Union is in favour of a peaceful settlement of the Cypriot problem by the Cypriots themselves, with due protection for the interests of both the Greek and Turkish communities. To that end, we must put an end to external intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus and to all attempts to foist on the people of Cyprus plans which have been prepared without their participation and in a manner alien to their interests.

96. The Soviet Union has firmly and consistently favoured the preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus as well as strict respect for its policy of non-alignment. We are in favour of the demilitarization of Cyprus, with no foreign troops or bases remaining on its territory.

97. A sensible taking into account of the interests and rights of both communities in Cyprus, with unconditional respect for the principles which I have enumerated, would promote the attainment of a just and long-term settlement of the Cyprus problem. A constructive intercommunal dialogue could play a positive role in that regard.

98. In the view of the Soviet Union, the possible positive results of the intercommunal talks should be embodied either in decisions of the Security Council or in the convening of an international conference within the framework of the United Nations. We continue to believe that the convening of such a conference could be an important factor in bringing about a just settlement of the Cyprus problem and the strengthening of peace in the eastern Mediterranean.

99. The Soviet Union believes that the United Nations should play a decisive role in a Cyprus settlement which would ensure the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, as is provided for in the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. We are convinced that those decisions should be carried out immediately and fully.

100. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to join with those who have expressed satisfaction at seeing you preside over the Security Council this month. You have already given proof of your experience and your talent, and the way in which you have guided our work thus far bodes well for the success of our future meetings. You represent a great country with which France enjoys ever more satisfactory relations of co-operation and friendship.

101. I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Bolivia. During the month of November,

which was so charged with events of a particularly delicate nature, he showed a wisdom, a skill and a sense of responsibility that earned him the admiration of the French delegation.

102. In the report he submitted to the Council, the Secretary-General recommended the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months. In supporting that recommendation, to which the parties have agreed, my delegation wishes to recall that France does not consider the renewal of the Force as a mere technical operation destined to prolong a situation which, although it has remained relatively calm, nevertheless continues to give cause for concern.

103. The position we have adopted today is primarily intended to stress my country's attachment to the concept of a negotiated peaceful settlement to the question of Cyprus. In this regard, we welcomed with satisfaction the agreement reached on 19 May last at Nicosia. The resumption and then the interruption in the talks between the representatives of the two communities show how necessary it is for the parties to make continued and sustained efforts to arrive at a solution. More than ever before, it is by showing qualities of openness of heart and spirit that it will be possible to progress to a settlement—which will obviously be beset with difficulties but will, we are confident, prove profitable and beneficial to all. I need not recall that the indispensable condition for successful negotiations must be the political will of the parties to reach a settlement. The settlement must of course be consistent with justice and must conform to international law; it cannot be obtained unless the parties concerned make an attempt to compromise.

104. The French authorities wish to thank the Secretary-General for the constant efforts he has made thus far. We should also like to express to him our support for his efforts to achieve a rapid resumption of the intercommunal talks.

105. In reviewing our confidence in the Secretary-General, we should like also to express our appreciation to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, and to Mr. Galindo Pohl, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus. We wish also to thank Major-General Quinn and the officers, soldiers and civilians of UNFICYP. They have all shown exemplary devotion to the United Nations peace effort.

106. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Czechoslovak delegation has taken note of the facts contained in the report submitted by the Secretary-General, from which, unfortunately, it becomes clear that, in spite of the continued intensive diplomatic activity that has taken place during the period in question, no perceptible progress has been made in solving the Cyprus problem. The 10 points of the May agreement continue to remain on paper, and the relations between the representatives of the two communities are still marked by a lack of understanding and of trust. Foreign troops are still on the island and, because of the *de facto* partition of the country, the sufferings of the tens of thousands of Cypriot refugees are continuing.

107. A solution to that situation can still be sought only by the application of the fundamental principles of a settlement, as confirmed in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations since the very outset of the Cyprus conflict, namely, respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; withdrawal of all foreign troops from the whole territory of the island; and cessation of all foreign intervention in Cypriot affairs. Respect for those principles continues to remain a prerequisite for the success of any international diplomatic efforts aimed at bringing about a solution to the Cyprus problem in order to ensure the existence of Cyprus as an independent and single State.

108. A political settlement of the internal aspects of the conflict undoubtedly can be brought about only by the restoration of a spirit of mutual trust and fruitful co-operation between the Cyprus communities, Greek and Turkish. In the final analysis, it is only they who are going to have to live together on that beautiful island. In this context, therefore, my delegation believes not only in the possibility, but also in the necessity of continuing the search for a just and viable solution acceptable to both communities.

109. The intercommunal dialogue about which so much has been said here in the Security Council should, however, be based upon the sensible taking into account of the interests and rights of both communities, which could obtain constructive results if they jointly strive to achieve a single goal—the preservation of a single Cypriot State and the overcoming of the obstacles which have been placed in its path by foreign interests.

110. The Czechoslovak people has deep sympathy for the people of Cyprus, which, in spite of the attempts of foreign interests to convert that country into a strategic point of NATO in the eastern Mediterranean, continues to defend the independence and unity of its country.

111. The Czechoslovak delegation has again voted for the further extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, taking into account the consent to that extension by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

112. Before concluding my statement, we should like to pay a tribute to the representative of Bolivia, Mr. Palacios de Vizzio, for his presidency of the Security Council in November, and to wish you, Mr. President, success on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month.

113. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of December. I need not emphasize that my delegation will give you maximum support in the discharge of your duties. It cannot be otherwise since our two countries enjoy the best mutual relationship. With your wealth of diplomatic skills, I am confident that we shall deal successfully with the matters before the Council.

114. In the same vein, I should like to express our appreciation to the representative of Bolivia who, during the month of November, very ably handled with skill the thorny problems of that month.

115. I wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his detailed report. My delegation commends the Secretary-General for the continuing role which his Office has performed in trying to find a negotiated settlement to the problem of Cyprus.

116. It is evident from the information available that, although difficulties have been encountered in finding a solution to the problem before us, there seems to exist a spirit of willingness on the part of both Cypriot communities to continue the negotiations in order to find a peaceful solution.

117. In the light of this observation, my delegation appeals to the Secretary-General to continue to use his good offices in bringing about a negotiated settlement of the problem of Cyprus. It is in the interests of the world, and of Cyprus in particular, that a negotiated settlement be found. My delegation accordingly urges the parties to the conflict to agree on the continuation of the intercommunal talks based on point 2 of the 19 May 1979 agreement which, as has been reported, states that the basis for the talks should be the Makarios-Denktaş guidelines of 12 February 1977 and the United Nations resolutions relevant to the Cyprus question.

118. It is my delegation's opinion that the international community should contribute greatly in averting the threat to international peace and security that the problem of Cyprus poses. In this regard, my delegation supports the Secretary-General's recommendation for the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP for a further six months. Furthermore, our approach to this issue is guided by the principles of non-alignment, non-interference and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It is on the basis of these principles that we continue to follow the search for a peaceful solution to the problem under the aegis of the United Nations.

119. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate my appeal to the Secretary-General to continue to use his good offices in order to help the two Cypriot communities to resume their intercommunal talks to find a negotiated settlement to the problem of Cyprus.

120. Mr. Waliur RAHMAN (Bangladesh): Mr. President, my delegation joins previous speakers in expressing sincerest appreciation and admiration of the excellent way in which you have conducted the deliberations of the Security Council. We are confident that you will conduct the deliberations of the Council for the rest of the month with your well known diplomatic skill and sagacity.

121. May I also take this opportunity to convey the gratitude of my delegation to the President of the Council for the month of November, the representative of Bolivia, for his adroit handling of the deliberations and debates of the Council under very delicate circumstances.

122. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution that once again extends the mandate of UNFICYP another six months. In doing so we fully endorse the Secretary-General's conclusion that

“the continued presence of UNFICYP remains indispensable, both in helping to maintain calm in the island and

in facilitating the search for a peaceful settlement”
[S/13672, para. 69].

The resolution itself takes cognizance of the concurrence of the parties with the Secretary-General's recommendation.

123. Bangladesh has consistently supported the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. We are deeply conscious that the search for a just and lasting solution has been complicated by deep-rooted problems of a complex and interrelated nature, touching on constitutional, security, military, humanitarian, economic, religious and emotional factors.

124. Given this situation, it has been our confirmed belief that the only realistic course open to the Council in the search for a solution is the continued encouragement of intercommunal talks, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, based on the fundamental and legitimate rights of the two Cypriot communities in accordance with agreements that they themselves have reached in recognition of existing realities. Those agreements—namely, the Denktas-Makarios four-point agreement of 12 February 1977 and the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979 aimed at the establishment of an independent, bi-communal, non-aligned Federal Republic of Cyprus—have been welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the world community. Bangladesh therefore believes that it is the duty of the Council to regenerate the momentum towards an agreed solution by building on the positive factors and encouraging the resumption of intercommunal talks.

125. This position fully conforms with the view reiterated by the Secretary-General in paragraph 66 of his report. My delegation takes this opportunity to express our gratitude and to pay a tribute to him for the dedication and perseverance that he has displayed in promoting progress under very difficult conditions indeed.

126. In conclusion, I wish to express our thanks to the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, to the Commander of the Force, Major-General James Joseph Quinn, to the officers and men of UNFICYP, and to the troop-supplying Governments for their contribution in maintaining this important peace-keeping operation.

127. Mr. PALACIOS de VIZZIO (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I am pleased at the outset to congratulate you on behalf of my delegation on your skill in presiding over the Council's work during this month. At the same time I would express my thanks to those representatives who have been good enough to address kind words of congratulation to me.

128. My delegation feels constrained to express its disappointment that the intercommunal talks that began so encouragingly have thus far not resulted in substantive negotiations. However, Bolivia wishes once again to reiterate its conviction that negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General constitute not only the best but the only way of achieving a mutually satisfactory peace. We therefore most sincerely urge both parties not to cast aside or lose sight of this only viable way of achieving a constructive and lasting peace in the Republic of Cyprus.

129. In that hope, and bearing in mind the fact that the presence of UNFICYP remains indispensable, “both in helping to maintain calm in the island and in facilitating the search for a peaceful settlement”, as the Secretary-General points out in paragraph 69 of his report, my delegation voted in favour of the resolution calling for the renewal of the mandate of the Force for a further six months.

130. My delegation wishes again to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his indefatigable efforts, so effectively assisted by Mr. Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, his Special Representative in Cyprus, and Major-General James Joseph Quinn, Commander of the Force.

131. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): Mr. President, at the outset I should like to express to you the sincerest appreciation of my delegation for your efforts in this difficult month. You have demonstrated an admirable skill and an extremely attractive and almost unmatched ability in conducting the business of the Council. We wish you good luck and pledge our support to you.

132. I wish also to express, on behalf of my delegation, our sincerest thanks to the outgoing President, the representative of Bolivia, for the excellent manner in which he presided over the work of the Council during November. In fact, he brought to the Council the customary wisdom of the continent he represents.

133. The delegation of Kuwait joined other members of the Council in voting for the resolution just adopted. My Government is one of the very few that always responds most favourably to the appeal of the Secretary-General for financial contributions for the maintenance of UNFICYP. We always maintain the position that, while it has been providing a sense of quiet, the Force has not played the role initially envisaged for it, that of an interim force that would encourage the parties towards a meaningful and peaceful solution of the problem. As I have said in previous statements, instead it has provided a good shelter behind which the parties entrenched their positions and consolidated their policies. The situation, therefore, as it is at the present, is not acceptable. In paragraph 64 of his report, the Secretary-General stated: “the momentum generated at that time was not sustained when the intercommunal talks resumed on 15 June”. We regret this fact. When each side insists on the achievement of what it thinks is right, the desired compromise never becomes a reality. The two sides must know that the United Nations Force in Cyprus cannot continue as hostage of the present deadlock. There must be an incentive to a meaningful negotiation. If there is negotiation, then the continued presence of the Force becomes justifiable, but if the Force is made a part of the deadlock, its presence becomes counter-productive.

134. In paragraph 69 of the report of the Secretary-General, there is a reference to the indispensability of the presence of the Force in the present circumstances. My delegation supports that conclusion. We must be sure, however, that the Force will not be a victim of the present impasse. The Council must support the efforts of the Secretary-General in continuing his talks with the parties concerned on the basis of the 10 points accepted by all sides. We are committed to the preservation of the independence, territorial integrity, non-aligned character and unity of

Cyprus. We are also committed to assisting in any efforts directed towards the achievement of a just and comprehensive solution of the problem.

135. As I said in June 1979 [2150th meeting], there is no rhyme or reason in saying that the question of Cyprus is an internal matter in which the majority would decide or could decide the affairs of the Republic. It has always been the position of my Government that the Turkish Cypriots have the right to participate fully in the decision-making affairs of the island and that, at the same time, they should seek the coexistence that can be obtained from co-operation rather than getting it on the basis of a *fait accompli*.

136. It is in the interest of the people of Cyprus to encourage the efforts of the Secretary-General. It is not in their interest to push for the establishment of committees that serve domestic propaganda but never contribute to the needed momentum towards meaningful talks. The parties, therefore, must realize that without goodwill and flexibility the impasse will continue with disadvantages to both sides. Hence, the Council must do its best to assist the Secretary-General and his dedicated staff in their efforts to eliminate suspicion, reduce mistrust and obliterate fear.

137. Finally, I should like to pay a sincere tribute to the countries that contribute troops, to the officers and soldiers and to all those who are working hard for the achievement of a just and durable peace in Cyprus.

138. Mr. N'DONG (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is with particular pleasure that I offer you the congratulations and the wishes for your success of the delegation of Gabon on the occasion of your assuming the Presidency of the Council for the month of December. Our pleasure is the more sincere since your great country and mine enjoy very rewarding relations of co-operation and friendship.

139. I should like also to associate my delegation with the very well-earned tributes that preceding speakers have paid to the representative of Bolivia for the diplomatic wisdom and skill he showed during the last month, which was especially crowded and difficult.

140. My delegation has studied with great interest the report submitted by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus. It emerges clearly from that report that the immense hopes to which the 10-point Kyprianou-Denktaş agreement of 19 May 1979 gave rise have not been realized. And the suspension *sine die* of the intercommunal talks that has ensued cannot but be of the deepest concern to my delegation, since it prevents the Cypriot people from living quietly and busying itself with its honourable occupations. To this must be added the fact that Cyprus is in a particularly sensitive area and that any delay in the search for a negotiated, just and lasting solution is one further threat to international peace and security.

141. In the face of the stalemate created by the suspension of the intercommunal talks and the non-implementation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, and because of their dangerous effects on international peace, the Council, as though following an established 15-year-old ritual, has once again been called

upon to extend the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for six months. In so doing, the Council is fully endorsing the idea expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 69 of his report.

142. However, I should like it to be understood that, as far as my delegation is concerned, the procedure of renewing the mandate of UNFICYP should not serve as a pretext for delaying the search for an over-all solution to the Cypriot problem, nor for losing sight of the fact that the Force has an essentially temporary status. Therefore, it is urgent for the parties to create favourable conditions that would permit of its complete and final withdrawal.

143. My delegation continues to believe that direct inter-communal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General constitute the best possible approach for arriving at a just and lasting settlement of the complex problem of Cyprus. However, that method, to be credible, requires on the one hand the adherence, the political commitment and the effective participation of the two parties and, on the other hand, respect by other States for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and non-interference in the internal affairs of that State. Furthermore, nothing should be done to upset the already delicate situation in the region, so as to prevent the exacerbation of feelings and the reopening of hostilities.

144. It is in the light of all these concerns that my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution that the Council has just adopted.

145. In conclusion, I should like to reiterate to the Secretary-General my delegation's appreciation and thanks for the unflagging efforts he has constantly made, within the terms of the relevant resolutions of the Council, to find an appropriate framework for a just and lasting settlement of the problem of Cyprus acceptable to the two communities. My delegation fully endorses the efforts of the Secretary-General and wishes to assure him of its total support in the very delicate task entrusted to him.

146. I should like also to thank Major-General James Joseph Quinn and his officers and men for the efficiency and dedication they have shown in discharging the duties assigned to them by the Council.

147. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): Mr. President, my delegation has on a previous occasion expressed its congratulations to you on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council and its confidence that you would bring to this task your wisdom and your high qualities of statesmanship. Your conduct of the affairs of the Council in these very difficult times has more than justified that confidence. My delegation also wishes to express to the representative of Bolivia our thanks and our congratulations for the dedication and patience he displayed and for his untiring efforts as President of the Council for November in dealing with issues of extreme sensitivity and of an unusual character.

148. My delegation fully supports the decision to extend the mandate of UNFICYP for an additional period of six months. The continued presence of the United Nations Force in Cyprus has been an important factor in maintaining calm in the island, as well as in facilitating the search for a peaceful settlement.

149. The report of the Secretary-General shows that, although there has been much diplomatic activity, the situation in the area has not changed significantly and that, as a result, the momentum generated earlier this year by the signing of the 10-point agreement on 19 May was not sustained in subsequent intercommunal talks. My delegation, among others, welcomed the important agreement that was reached between the parties at that time on guidelines for the resumption of the talks, and we very much regret that the intercommunal talks held under the auspices of the Secretary-General have not moved forward but have been in recess since June.

150. We continue to believe, however, that great possibilities exist for building on the agreement of 19 May as a firm basis both for constructive negotiations and for a just and lasting settlement. In this regard, we fully endorse the initiatives and efforts of the Secretary-General to secure an early reconvening of sustained intercommunal talks. We would urge the parties concerned to make constructive use of the good offices of the Secretary-General and to continue to contribute to the creation of a favourable atmosphere for fruitful negotiations by laying aside the grievances and antagonisms of the past. We continue to hope that the skilful and untiring efforts of the Secretary-General towards the resumption of the talks will succeed, without undue delays.

151. I should like to stress once again that Jamaica attaches great importance to the need to ensure continuing respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned position of Cyprus. The continuing efforts of UNFICYP to live up to its mandate and to bring about the required conditions will undoubtedly contribute to the peace and security of the region. They deserve our very deepest gratitude.

152. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): Mr. President, permit me to take this occasion to extend to you my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for this month. You have already demonstrated your skill and talents during the important meetings the Council has had so far in December and I can assure you that you can count on the continued co-operation of my delegation. Allow me also to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the President of the Council for the month of November, the representative of Bolivia, for the wisdom, patience and, may I add, gentle firmness he displayed while presiding over the meetings during an extremely busy month.

153. My delegation joined in the Council's decision to extend the mandate of UNFICYP for another period of six months. The continued presence of UNFICYP is necessary both to maintain calm on Cyprus and to facilitate the search for a peaceful settlement.

154. The Norwegian Government welcomed the 10-point agreement arrived at on 19 May 1979 at Nicosia. The intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General offer the best possibility for negotiating a just and lasting political settlement of the Cyprus problem. Therefore we regret that these talks have been in recess since 22 June. We urge the parties to resume the talks without delay.

155. My delegation would like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his persistent and untiring efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem. We should like also to pay a tribute to the Commander of UNFICYP, Major-General James Joseph Quinn, to his staff and to the officers and men serving in UNFICYP, as well as to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

156. In conclusion, I should like to join the others who have spoken here today in support of the Secretary-General's appeal for added financial support for UNFICYP.

157. Mr. MATHIAS (Portugal): Mr. President, allow me to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate you upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. Your wisdom and your diplomatic skill will prove invaluable in the guidance of the Council during the challenges it faces at this time. Similarly, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Palacios de Vizzio, who presided over our consultations, negotiations and deliberations last month with a unique blend of determination and the required spirit of compromise.

158. When we met in June to discuss the subject that brings us here today, my delegation expressed the hope that the two Cypriot communities would approach the resumption of the intercommunal talks then taking place with the political will to bridge the differences that separated them. Unfortunately, as the Secretary-General states in his most informative report, the parties were unable to take up the substantive aspects of the Cyprus problem, thus leading in the short term to the recessing of the talks.

159. However, it is our view that the agreed framework for the intercommunal negotiations provides an adequate basis for the achievement of peace in the island. We therefore fully support the efforts the Secretary-General has been persistently and patiently pursuing to encourage resumption of the talks. We expect that this aim will be accomplished by the beginning of next year, and we call on the parties to show their eagerness to negotiate a just political settlement of their problem, as we feel that no one besides them can provide a true solution to the question.

160. It is gratifying to know that UNFICYP has been able to maintain calm in Cyprus. The search for a peaceful solution requires its continued presence in Cyprus. For that reason, Portugal has just voted in support of the renewal of its mandate for a further period of six months. We hope very much indeed that the remarkable work done by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, as well as by the officers and men serving in UNFICYP, will be reciprocated by the two Cypriot communities, united by the same determination to search incessantly for a negotiated settlement a spirit of conciliation and mutual understanding.

161. Mr. ADEYEMI (Nigeria): My delegation has already extended its congratulations to you, Mr. President, but compliments cannot begin to be superfluous as long as they are paid with sincerity and without any tinge of hypocrisy. We therefore join others in extending our warm felicitations to your good self in recognition of the erudite manner and

the sagacity you have demonstrated in the handling of the affairs of the Council in a particularly difficult month. We are confident that, under your wise guidance, our task will be easier.

162. We should also like to express our appreciation for the excellent performance of your able predecessor, the representative of Bolivia, in his piloting of the affairs of the Council during the equally difficult month of November.

163. The question of the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP has once again been brought before the Security Council in view of the expiration of the Force's current term tomorrow, 15 December. My delegation has examined in detail the report of the Secretary-General bringing us up to date on the record of activities of UNFICYP pursuant to its mandate laid down in Security Council resolution 186 (1964) and subsequent resolutions of the Council concerning Cyprus, including most recently its resolution 451 (1979).

164. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution on the question of the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP which we have just adopted. In having done so, we are conscious of our responsibility and indeed of the wider obligation of the Council to help to contain the potentially dangerous situation which continues to prevail in Cyprus. We are also concerned that the fragile peace between the communal groups should not degenerate to give way to another round of intercommunal strife and violence, with serious implications for peace and security in the whole region.

165. My delegation, however, continues to feel great anxiety over the precarious state of the cease-fire on the island. According to the Secretary-General's report, landmines are still being planted all along the 180-kilometre cease-fire line. The seriousness of the landmine hazard in the area between the cease-fire lines was illustrated in October when a Greek Cypriot farmer was seriously injured as a result of his tractor detonating an anti-tank mine. Although UNFICYP has remedied the situation by placing improved markings and barriers around suspected minefields, and has undertaken a programme of inspection and records control, nevertheless threats from landmines and other unspecified threats to the peace remain potential *agents provocateurs*, always undermining the fragile peace on the island. UNFICYP has again requested the National Guard and the Turkish forces to provide charts or diagrams of their minefields in the buffer zone. My delegation is pleased to learn that the Turkish forces have sent replies to this request and I hope that a reciprocal gesture from the National Guard will not be long in coming.

166. All the same, it seems clear as well that the demilitarization of the island would be a big step in the right direction. Indeed, in the view of my delegation, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the island will make the task of UNFICYP easier and should facilitate current negotiations to resolve the perennial crisis there. In this regard, my delegation continues to subscribe unequivocally, as we always have done in the past, to the principle of non-interference and non-intervention in the affairs of Cyprus, and we call upon all interested parties to respect this principle. We believe that the sanctity of the

independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be upheld at all times, and we therefore deplore any attempt, from whatever quarter, to undermine these principles.

167. In the final analysis, the singularly intransigent impasse in Cyprus can only be resolved if all sides approach the negotiations with mutual trust and goodwill and the requisite determination to succeed on the basis of the 10-point agreement. The intercommunal talks must be resumed without delay within the framework of that agreement, and we urge all parties to the current conflict to pursue the objective of bringing long-sought peace to Cyprus. Their strategies must not be mutually contradictory.

168. While it is desirable that talks should be held in a frank manner so that the peace arrived at is lasting, the manner of negotiation must be result-oriented. The leaders of both parties owe it to themselves, to their respective communities and even to posterity to demonstrate the requisite political will to succeed. Time is running out and it is suicidal to delay for too long.

169. While the Security Council—at colossal cost, now running to a deficit of \$73.6 million—may continue through UNFICYP to preserve the present fragile peace on the island, it is also patently clear that UNFICYP cannot reasonably be tied down to a futile exercise of preserving peace when the principal actors continue to address themselves to the burning issues on the island with blatant indifference or gross insensitivity to the harm being done to their respective communities. Is it fair to continue to ask troop-contributing States to bear the colossal burden of propping up UNFICYP when a political agreement remains elusive or unobtainable?

170. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to place on record its appreciation of the indefatigable efforts of the Secretary-General and also to pay a tribute to Major-General James Joseph Quinn and the valiant men of UNFICYP for their dedication, courage and sacrifice in the contribution which they have made individually and collectively. It is our hope that such tremendous efforts have not been made in vain.

171. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The representative of Cyprus has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I now call on him.

172. Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): It was never my intention to reply to the Turkish Cypriot pretender, and I shall not deign to do so now. An added reason for this is that if I were to do so I should be unwittingly lending support to his solitary effort to derail the present proceedings. However, as a Member of the Organization, we have a vested interest in setting the record straight. When an individual is given permission to appear as an individual, he should do so and not pretend to be anything else at all, for otherwise he forfeits any claim to appear again.

173. Let me also refer to the statement by the representative of Turkey regarding the Government of Cyprus and supply the other half of the reply regarding my

Government, since he himself supplied the first half; that first half is to be found first in the resolution on which the Council voted today and secondly in a succession of previous resolutions of both the General Assembly and the Council; the other half is also the recognition of the Government of Cyprus by every single country represented in the United Nations and by countries outside it.

174. Before concluding I should like to repeat my thanks to you, Mr. President, and also express appreciation for the admirable way in which the present proceedings have been conducted by you, a conduct which is so consonant with the best traditions of your great country, with which mine has excellent relations. Those of us who have followed the very important proceedings of the Council during the past month have been left with nothing but admiration for your predecessor.

175. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The representative of Turkey has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

176. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): I shall be very brief at this late hour and I do not consider the representative of the Greek Cypriot administration as a valid interlocutor for me; his interlocutor was the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, who has replied at some length to, and refuted, all the false allegations and recriminations but, in so far as what has been referred to as the intransigence of my Government, perhaps I should add that that is an entirely false and uncalled for allegation. On the contrary, we have always encouraged the intercommunal talks and we have always seen them as the only way out of this very difficult position.

177. The representative of the Greek Cypriot administration has blamed Turkey and the Turkish side for undermining the dialogue and that is absolutely untrue. This afternoon we have heard every member of the Council speak on this subject and not one of them has used a word of blame against either Turkey or the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus for undermining that dialogue. The latter has said time and time again that it was ready to go into the dialogue with the best of intentions, and what the representative of the Greek Cypriot administration has said

about laying down pre-conditions is untrue. As Mr. Atalay, the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, has said, those were not pre-conditions, but merely requests for a reaffirmation of concepts which had been accepted before.

178. Coming back to the very first words of Ambassador Mavrommatis in his first statement saying that there was an air of gloom prevailing in Cyprus today, perhaps that air of gloom is due to the fact that an impossible and unimplementable resolution has just been passed by the General Assembly. However, I hope that gloom will have been dispelled by the statement of the Secretary-General early in the proceedings this morning.

179. It has been obvious to one and all that the side that has run away from the negotiating table has been the Greek Cypriot administration. Instead of understanding, concord and the reaching of an agreement, they have sought what they call the way of long-range struggle; they have sought to go to international forums and obtain from such forums resolutions which are entirely one-sided and which have been taken in the absence of one of the parties concerned.

180. Finally, objection was made to my reference to the legitimacy of a so-called Government of Cyprus. May I mention that, in the addendum to his report, the Secretary-General does not mention the Government of Cyprus and says:

"I indicated that I would report to the Council on my consultations with the parties concerned on this subject" [S/13672/Add. I].

The parties concerned have been defined before by the Secretary-General as the two communities on the island and Greece and Turkey.

181. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): There are no further speakers. The Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

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