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

**Twentieth anniversary of the Declaration of  
the Rights of the Child**

1. The PRESIDENT: Today, 20 November, marks a milestone in United Nations history. Twenty years ago, in this very hall, our Organization unanimously adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Child [*resolution 1386 (XIV)*], in the conviction that mankind owed to the child the best it had to give.

2. How far have we come in these 20 years? How much closer to meeting the physical, moral, material and emotional needs of those who, in another 20 years, will be taking the decisions upon which the peace and prosperity, perhaps the very survival of our world, will depend?

3. In the year that is drawing to a close our attention has as never before in United Nations history been focused on the child. In many countries, in many communities and in many homes around the world, people have been asking themselves why, 20 years after these principles were proclaimed, millions of children are still homeless, sick and hungry, why so many are neglected, exploited or abused, why their voices are so seldom heard, why their welfare is not at the heart of every development plan.

4. Only a month ago this Assembly, under agenda item 26, examined the further international action required to turn the Declaration into a global reality. Some Member States felt that, as a proclamation of principles, the Declaration had no binding effect and called for a mechanism for monitoring its implementation, while others considered it preferable to have the moral force of a universally accepted statement of intent rather than a convention requiring years to ratify. Still others held that the 10 principles contained in the Declaration should be expanded to correspond more accurately to present-day realities and practices.

5. Notwithstanding these differing points of view, there emerged through the Assembly's discussion an overwhelming recognition of the urgent need to extend assistance, on an emergency basis, to millions of children in all corners of the world who continue to suffer from hunger, disease, abuse and neglect. Indeed, in this International Year of the Child the world is aware, as never before, of the solemn promises we made here 20 years ago: that the child shall enjoy special protection and be given opportunities and facilities, by law and other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity.

6. Let us resolve this day to redouble our efforts to translate into universal reality the noble objectives set forth in the Declaration, so as to put an irrevocable end to the tragic consequences confronting the suffering children of the world.

## AGENDA ITEM 55

**Development and international economic co-operation  
(continued)\***

**(a) Report of the Committee of the Whole established  
under General Assembly Resolution 32/174**

7. The PRESIDENT: I should like to refer briefly to the draft resolutions under agenda item 55 (a), which were introduced at the 61st plenary meeting, on 9 November. The sponsors of the draft resolutions requested that five of the draft resolutions, namely, A/34/L.16 to A/34/L.20, which deal with special categories of developing countries, should be referred to the Second Committee for further consideration under item 55. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to refer those draft resolutions to the Second Committee?

*It was so decided.*

8. The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the Second Committee will be informed of the decision just taken.

## AGENDA ITEM 21

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

9. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting on draft resolution A/34/L.40 and Add.1. I would remind representatives that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and that they should make such explanations from their places.

10. Mr. ANDINO SALAZAR (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As at previous sessions of the

\* Resumed from the 68th meeting.

General Assembly, El Salvador supports any draft resolution designed to seek a satisfactory solution to the question of Cyprus. On this occasion, we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution, because we believe that it is well balanced in its various preambular and operative paragraphs.

11. We are concerned at the fact that, notwithstanding the efforts made by the General Assembly and the Security Council for many years, the serious problem in Cyprus remains without solution. It is encouraging to note that, under the auspices of the Secretary-General—who as always is tireless in his efforts directed at international peace and security—the 10-point agreement was arrived at this year. However, we are troubled and concerned that the terms of that agreement have not yet been implemented.

12. El Salvador steadfastly rejects the occupation of all or part of a territory by foreign troops and would very much welcome the withdrawal of those which have for a number of years been illegally on the territory of Cyprus. This is why we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution.

13. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): I am painfully aware of the fact that nothing that I may say at this stage of the proceedings is likely to have any effect on the voting with which we are about to proceed. Nevertheless, in explaining my vote I feel in duty bound to point out once more the pernicious consequences that the adoption of the draft resolution at hand is certain to have on the Cyprus problem.

14. The draft resolution was introduced by the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries on the basis of a draft submitted to them by the Greek Cypriot delegation. The contact group saw fit to adopt the Greek Cypriot draft as a working paper and pursue its contacts. The draft resolution is more or less a replica of the resolution adopted at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Havana, with a few even more nefarious additions. The contact group was in touch with the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot delegations in New York, which in itself indicates that the only way towards a solution is by negotiations and agreement between the two communities in Cyprus. Of course, the delegation of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was not in any way bound by a resolution adopted at Havana, the Conference having given a hearing to only one side of the dispute. Consequently, they refused to negotiate on the present draft, which is a child of the Havana resolution, and have declared that they will not be bound by a resolution to be adopted here on that basis.

15. The purposes of the Greek Cypriot delegation in coming forth with such a draft are manifest, as I have pointed out on several occasions. They are to avoid any progress towards a solution of the Cyprus problem, to internationalize the issue and to bolster the shaky régime of Mr. Kyprianou at home by a show of international support. Mr. Rolandis has frankly admitted to all and sundry that his clique needed a new element of support in the form of a committee of the General Assembly to assuage Greek Cypriot public opinion, which is beginning to feel frustrated with and annoyed at the deleterious tactics of the Kyprianou régime. It is a régime which prefers to shy away from the negotiations, to parade in international forums in the feathers of the

representatives of a sovereign State and to heap vilification on Turkey and the Turks of Cyprus.

16. Let me stress once again that the Greek Cypriot delegation, which claims to speak for the "Government of Cyprus" represents only the Greek Cypriot community and cannot in any way speak for the whole of the peoples of Cyprus.

17. My delegation has great respect and esteem for the members of the Contact Group both individually and collectively, and we would have hoped that they would have put aside all considerations of non-aligned solidarity and seen through the scheme of the Greek Cypriot régime. As it is, the Assembly is being asked to lend support to the intransigents. I ask the Greek Cypriots: "Why be difficult, when with a little more effort you can be impossible?"

18. I should like to mention briefly and specifically certain obnoxious items in the draft before us: first, the mention of an international conference in the preamble, a conference which can serve no useful purpose; secondly, the call for appropriate and proper measures by the Security Council for the implementation of various resolutions; thirdly, the creation of a committee of the General Assembly with a vague and impossible mandate, since the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus has declared that it will have nothing to do with such a committee or with any recommendations that may emanate from it.

19. Operative paragraph 11 of the draft resolution represents a renewed effort to alter the delicately balanced framework of the Security Council's present involvement in the question of Cyprus through peace-keeping and the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General. That paragraph, read in conjunction with the fifth preambular paragraph, which contains a judgement inconsistent with the political realities surrounding the Cyprus questions, is clearly unacceptable to the Turkish delegation.

20. As has been recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 3212 (XXIX), the conflict is between the two communities. It is in view of this fact that since 1974 there has never been a reference to the so-called "Government of Cyprus" in the General Assembly resolutions on the Cyprus question. Any reference to the "Government of Cyprus" in the context of a General Assembly resolution on the Cyprus question would be tantamount to denying to the Turkish community the right to negotiate on an equal footing, a principle which the General Assembly itself established long ago. It is inconceivable to expect the Turkish community of Cyprus to negotiate from a position of inferiority. Such a reference also runs counter to the fact that, as a result of the developments that took place after the notorious coup of 15 July 1974, there exist today in Cyprus two distinct administrations. This reality was recognized on 30 July 1974 by the three guaranteeing Powers—Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom—at the first Geneva Conference on Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> For the Declaration of the Conference, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11398.

12 February 1977<sup>2</sup> established the basis of an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal, bi-zonal federal republic and provided for the merging of the two separate Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot administrations.

21. Operative paragraph 13 of the draft envisaged the appointment of a committee with a vague mandate in the event of a lack of progress in the negotiations. Is it at all conceivable that the Greek Cypriots will lend themselves to any progress in the negotiations by 31 March? They will obviously drag their feet to bring about the setting up of the committee, which is destined to be still-born inasmuch as the Turkish community cannot possibly be expected to deal with such a committee.

22. As far as the procedural aspect of the debate on the question of Cyprus is concerned, once again the debate proper took place under conditions where one of the two negotiating parties, namely the Turkish Cypriot community, could not participate in the deliberations on an equitable basis.

23. These are a few examples out of the whole counter-productive context of the draft. The setting up of a committee, for example, is in total disregard of the call of the Secretary-General for a moratorium of one year on the creation of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly [A/BUR/34/3, para. 13 (b)]

24. Finally, my delegation will vote against draft resolution A/34/L.40 and Add.1 and I hereby formally request a separate recorded vote on operative paragraph 11 and on the three operative paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 together.

25. I make this final appeal, at least to those delegations who do not have definite instructions, to vote against the draft and thus refrain from lending their support to the machinations of the Greek Cypriot régime.

26. Mr. Hamidullah KHAN (Bangladesh): Bangladesh has consistently supported the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. We are aware that the search for a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem has been complicated by a deep-rooted problem of a highly complex and inter-related nature touching on constitutional, security, military, humanitarian, economic and emotional factors. Given this situation, it has been our confirmed belief that the only recognized and realistic course open to the world body, in its 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 the agreements that they themselves have reached in recognition of existing realities. These agreements, namely, the Denktas-Makarinos four-point guidelines of 12 February 1977 and the Denktas-Kyprianou 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979 [A/34/620 and Corr.1, annex V], aimed at the establishment of an independent, territorially integrated, bi-communal, non-aligned federal republic of Cyprus, have indeed been welcomed and hailed by the overwhelming majority of the world

community. Bangladesh, therefore, believes that it is the duty of the world community to maintain and promote this momentum towards an agreed solution by building on the positive factors and encouraging the resumption of intercommunal talks.

27. The draft resolution before us unfortunately deviates from this purpose in some respects. It contains elements which complicate rather than promote our common objective of encouraging forward momentum towards an agreed solution. Thus, operative paragraph 11 obviously constitutes an imposed time-constraint which would have the effect of vitiating rather than promoting progress, predicated as it is on a punitive premise. Operative paragraph 12 would have the same effect, linked as it is in sequence. The proposal to broaden the scope of negotiations beyond the essential base of intercommunal talks would likewise compound the negative constraints sought in the draft resolution. This flows logically from the fact that the Secretary-General himself is to pursue the intercommunal talks, as he has mentioned in his report [A/34/620 and Corr.1, para. 32] where he expresses his readiness to reconvene the talks on the basis of the 10-point agreement no later than January 1980. The proposals in operative paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 would therefore seem to detract from the effectiveness of the Secretary-General's initiative, since those paragraphs are conditioned by the assumption that those moves will fail.

28. It is for these reasons that Bangladesh is not in a position to vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

29. Mr. ZAIMI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The draft resolution under consideration contains ideas and principles to which my delegation fully subscribes. We have always staunchly supported the right of the Republic of Cyprus to full sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity. Nevertheless, we believe that the adoption by the General Assembly of this draft might place obstacles in the way of the negotiations between the two communities of the island and pointlessly postpone a positive outcome to this situation.

30. The international community welcomed with great satisfaction the 10-point agreement of 19 May last achieved thanks to the laudable efforts exerted by the Secretary-General and the goodwill of the two sides. My delegation sincerely believes that the General Assembly is in duty bound to encourage the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere conducive to the continuance of the talks between the two Cypriot communities and not to compromise the chances of a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus. That is why my delegation will abstain on this draft resolution.

31. Mr. SCHMID (Austria): During the discussion of the question of Cyprus at previous General Assembly sessions, my delegation had ample opportunity to reiterate Austria's full support for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. In spite of certain reservations concerning the formulation of individual paragraphs, my delegation has consistently voted in favour of the draft resolutions presented to this Assembly which sought to attain these goals.

32. As one of the countries contributing substantially to UNFICYP by putting at the disposal of the United

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-Second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1977*, document S/12323, para. 5.

Nations troops, police forces and hospital personnel, Austria has translated these words into action; a number of Austrian soldiers have given their lives in fulfilment of the peace-keeping role of the United Nations on the island. I believe that my country's commitment to the general aims of the draft resolution before us has thus been established beyond any doubt.

33. We continue to believe firmly, however, that the best way to re-establish the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus is through the continuation of patient diplomatic efforts, such as those exerted by the Secretary-General and his able collaborators, to bring together the two communities that inhabit the island. Without the consent of its population there can be no lasting peace in Cyprus.

34. In our opinion, some of the elements contained in this draft resolution are not conducive to that end. In particular, my delegation is opposed to the creation of any new committee, as called for in operative paragraphs 13 to 15. We feel that such a body would hinder rather than facilitate the difficult process of re-establishing mutual trust and co-operation between the parties to the dispute. Consequently, we shall vote against those paragraphs in the separate vote which has just been requested. Should they remain in the draft resolution, we should have to abstain on the draft resolution as a whole.

35. Apart from this major objection, we have certain misgivings on operative paragraph 11, concerning action by the Security Council, on which we shall abstain. Finally, we doubt the usefulness of convening an international conference on Cyprus at the present time, especially as there is no reference in the fourth preambular paragraph to the participation of all parties concerned.

36. Mr. HUMAIDAN (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The United Arab Emirates has always voted in previous years in favour of draft resolutions on the Cyprus issue, in conformity with our belief that those drafts contained the necessary basis for a peaceful and just solution of the Cyprus issue that would guarantee the rights of both the Turkish and the Greek community and enable them to coexist in peace on Cyprus, while ensuring the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the island and its non-aligned status.

37. If our vote this year is different, it is only because we believe that some paragraphs in the draft resolution submitted now, in particular operative paragraphs 13 to 15, present certain difficulties which, in our view, would prevent the reaching of a negotiated solution and might even hamper the efforts of the Secretary-General to reach the desired solution.

38. For this reason, with regret, we shall abstain in the vote on the draft resolution submitted. But we wish to emphasize what we already said at the beginning, namely, that our vote must not be taken as indicating a change in our attitude of principle on this issue.

39. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): The Republic of Zaire has always supported the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a successful conclusion of negotiations between the two communities in an effort to make it possi-

ble for Cyprus to recover peace, unity and stability. For reasons of principle and philosophy, we are against the international settlement of local problems, and in particular against any intrusion into local problems by foreign elements which have a tendency to exacerbate internal differences and are motivated more by selfish interests than by a desire to find solutions in keeping with the aspirations of the peoples concerned.

40. The convening of an international conference on Cyprus would open the door to the internationalization of the conflict. As a matter of principle also, we feel that we cannot, within the framework of the negotiations between the two communities in Cyprus, impose an approach or method that has already been rejected by one of the parties to the conflict. It appears that the creation of an *ad hoc* committee that would be called on, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to bring about a successful conclusion of the negotiations between the two communities, promote the implementation of all relevant General Assembly resolutions on Cyprus and recommend measures to that effect, has not been accepted by one of the two parties. How can we imagine a committee established in such circumstances being able to carry out its task effectively?

41. The concern for effectiveness in our proceedings on this extremely delicate matter requires that everyone should be realistic in his consideration of the various proposals put before us. Furthermore, the line of demarcation between the actions expected of the Secretary-General, the President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly and the *ad hoc* committee that it is proposed to establish does not seem to us to be clearly defined. This confusion in itself could hurt our efforts to produce an effective solution.

42. While the efforts of the proposed *ad hoc* committee are given priority over those of the Secretary-General, it is at the same time recognized that it would be difficult for that committee to do without the assistance or the contribution of the Secretary-General in the accomplishment of its task. And all this seems to us to lead to a formula which, in the very near future, is probably going to create still more problems for the Cypriots, which is something they really do not need.

43. Moreover, there seems to us to be a kind of contradiction between operative paragraph 11, which recommends that the Security Council should consider and adopt all appropriate and practical measures under the Charter for ensuring the speedy and effective implementation of United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, and paragraphs 12 to 15, which speak of calling upon the *ad hoc* committee to facilitate the successful conclusion of the negotiations between the two communities in the event that the Secretary-General reports lack of progress in the negotiations based on the agreement of 19 May 1979.

44. In the view of my delegation the choice is clear-cut. Either we feel that the Security Council should go ahead and take the measures provided for in the Charter, in which case it would not be necessary to set up an *ad hoc* committee, or, if we do set up an *ad hoc* committee to facilitate the successful conclusion of the negotiations, then during those negotiations we should not call upon the Security Council to adopt appropriate and practical measures under the Charter.

45. Considering all this vagueness and all these contradictions, we are convinced that the draft resolution which is about to be put to the vote would not help speed up the efforts for an appropriate settlement of the question of Cyprus. For all these reasons, the Republic of Zaire will abstain from voting on the draft resolution as a whole.

46. Mr. ABOUL-NASR (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution on the Cyprus issue adopted by the General Assembly at its last session. This attitude was dictated by our respect for the principles of the Charter, according to which interference in other States' internal affairs and the seizure of land by force are inadmissible, and by the international community's support for the sovereignty, unity, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus, and its call for the cessation of all foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

47. Although we should have liked at this session to vote in favour of the draft resolution, which embodies many of the aforementioned principles, we feel that it contains certain paragraphs that might complicate and even block the negotiations between the two communities. For this reason, our delegation is compelled, with regret, to abstain from voting on the draft.

48. Mr. ROLANDIS (Cyprus): Why do I ask representatives to vote for Cyprus? I will give a very simple, but at the same time a very basic, reason: Cyprus is a country under occupation; Cyprus is an invaded country. That occupation took place against international law and against international justice. Therefore, by condemning Turkey's invasion and occupation of Cyprus the Assembly will actually be endorsing justice. But there is another benefit to be derived from such a vote. What happened to Cyprus could happen one day to any one of the countries represented here. Thus, by condemning injustice and invasion, representatives will actually be creating a deterrent to the possible invasion of one of their own countries one day.

49. But let me touch on another point. The other day, the Assembly heard the representative of Turkey [72nd meeting] try to create the impression here that we are pleased with the situation and that we do not want a solution—that we are pleased with the presence of the Turkish army in Cyprus. That was his "logic". He also tried to suggest that the invasion force in Cyprus was simply a peace-keeping or police force. Those are the points before the Assembly, which now has a sample—a taste—of Turkish logic. That is what we are confronting in the intercommunal talks; that is the type of logic we are faced with. With such logic it is no wonder we have had no progress in the intercommunal talks. If somebody were to tell any representative here that he would be pleased to have 40 per cent of his country occupied, how would he take it? This is the predicament of Cyprus.

50. In conclusion, I make one last plea to all representatives to vote for Cyprus, to vote for this draft resolution. By voting for Cyprus they will actually be voting for justice.

51. The PRESIDENT: Before the Assembly takes a decision on draft resolution A/34/L.40 and Add.1, I would refer to operative paragraph 13 which authorizes

"...the President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, in the event of the Secretary-General reporting lack of progress in the above-mentioned negotiations, to appoint an *ad hoc* committee composed of no more than seven Member States".

I have been informed that the appointment of such an *ad hoc* committee would not in itself have financial implications as regards its activities and services at Headquarters. Should it become necessary for the committee to travel, however, there might be additional costs in an amount which is yet to be determined. Any additional appropriations which might become necessary in this regard would be reported to the General Assembly in the context of the performance reports of the 1980-1981 budget.

52. We shall now proceed to the vote. Separate votes have been requested on paragraphs 11 and 12, individually, and on paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 together.

53. There being no objection to proceeding with the voting on these paragraphs separately, we shall start the voting with paragraph 11, on which a recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Bangladesh, Djibouti,<sup>3</sup> Indonesia, Israel, Maldives, Mauritania, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Portugal, Qatar, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Yemen, Zaire.

<sup>3</sup> The delegation of Djibouti subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as an abstention.



*Operative paragraph 11 was adopted by 87 votes to 10, with 40 abstentions.*

54. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on operative paragraph 12 of draft resolution A/34/L.40 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Bangladesh, Djibouti,<sup>4</sup> Indonesia, Maldives, Mauritania, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Central African Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Portugal, Qatar, Samoa, Senegal, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire.

*Operative paragraph 12 was adopted by 94 votes to 8, with 34 abstentions.*

55. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to a vote on operative paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 of draft resolution A/34/L.40 and Add.1 taken together. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger,

Nigeria, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Maldives, Mauritania, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Djibouti, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Gambia, Israel, Japan, Malaysia, Morocco, New Zealand, Oman, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Suriname, Thailand, Togo, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Yemen, Zaire.

*Operative paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 were adopted by 83 votes to 23, with 30 abstentions.*

56. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution A/34/L.40 and Add.1 as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Bangladesh, Djibouti,<sup>5</sup> Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritania, Morocco, Netherlands, New

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*

Zealand, Norway, Oman, Portugal, Qatar, Somalia, Spain, Sweden, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire.

*The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 99 votes to 5, with 35 abstentions (resolution 34/30).<sup>6</sup>*

57. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the vote.

58. Mr. CHEBELEU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The Romanian delegation has explained, during the debate on the question of Cyprus, the position of the Government of Romania regarding an equitable, lasting solution, through peaceful means, of the situation in Cyprus, on the basis of guarantees of the independence and integrity of Cyprus and of the peaceful co-existence of the two Cypriot communities.

59. As we have stressed during the debate, the Romanian Government is firmly convinced that the only realistic path towards a just and viable solution to the question of Cyprus is that of negotiation between the parties directly concerned, conducted in a spirit of good faith and good will. These negotiations have a good basis for success, that is to say the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979, which Romania welcomed as a major step forward in efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement in Cyprus.

60. The resolution just adopted by the General Assembly, which was drafted by a group of non-aligned countries, contains an appeal for the speediest possible resumption of the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General. We also consider that it is particularly important that the General Assembly has, in the same resolution, reaffirmed its full support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, as well as its support for the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979.

61. For the reasons I have just mentioned, the Romanian delegation voted in favour of this resolution. We voice the hope that the talks will be resumed as soon as possible and that they will result in mutually acceptable agreements. This would be in line with the vital interests of the Cypriot people as well as with those of the cause of co-operation and peace in the Mediterranean, in the Balkans and in Europe as a whole.

*Mr. Naik (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

62. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The position of principle that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always maintained on the question of Cyprus is well known. At the present time, our delegation would merely like to recall some of the considerations which guided us in our vote on draft resolution A/34/L.40 and Add.1.

<sup>6</sup> The delegation of Malta subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution. The delegation of the Ivory Coast subsequently stated (see para. 93 below) that, if it had been present when the vote was taken, it would have voted in favour of the draft resolution.

63. The Albanian delegation maintains its previous reservations with regard to some of the wording of the texts of resolutions adopted in past years, inasmuch as that wording is repeated in the present resolution.

64. We should like to reaffirm that the people and Government of Albania have always hoped, and continue to hope that the problem of Cyprus may be resolved as soon as possible, in a just and final manner, in conformity with the interests of the Cypriot people of the two communities and with the need for peace and stability in the region. We are firmly convinced that the Cypriot people alone can and must manage their own affairs, without any outside interference. We think that the establishment of mutual understanding, trust and harmony between the two communities would be a sure way towards the settlement of the question of Cyprus. This is why we welcome any initiative which will contribute to that end.

65. It is in this spirit that the Albanian delegation wishes to state that it cannot endorse the idea of internationalizing the question of Cyprus implied in the text of the resolution. We are opposed to such an internationalization. We should also like to state that Albania has always favoured and continues to favour settlement of the problem of Cyprus by the parties directly concerned, to the exclusion of any interference on the part of imperialist Powers.

66. It is for these reasons that the Albanian delegation did not participate in the vote on the draft resolution.

67. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): Australia is deeply concerned at the tragic situation which has continued for so long in Cyprus. This concern has been reflected in practical ways by our participation in UNFICYP and by our contributions to the relief of displaced people.

68. I should add that my country has a particular interest in the problem of Cyprus because of the presence in Australia of large numbers of Cypriot, Greek and Turkish settlers.

69. We have followed with close attention and interest the intercommunal talks which have been conducted under the good offices of the Secretary-General. We should like to pay a tribute to the work of the Secretary-General and his officers in their patient and painstaking efforts to help to resolve this complex and difficult problem. We believe that in the present situation, those efforts provide the most realistic means to a settlement.

70. My delegation abstained in the voting on operative paragraphs 11, 12, 13 to 15, inclusive, and on the draft resolution as a whole. We did so because of the importance Australia attaches to an early resumption of the intercommunal negotiations through the good offices of the Secretary-General, and because of our hope that both sides will approach these talks in a constructive manner which will lead to real progress being made towards communal coexistence within the framework of the country's independence and integrity.

71. Mr. CAMPBELL (Ireland): The nine member States of the European Community abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/34/L.40 and Add.1. They cannot support operative paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 of the draft resolution, which provide for the appointment of an *ad hoc* committee of the General Assembly.

72. In his statement in the debate on Cyprus, Ambassador Keating of Ireland, speaking on behalf of the nine member States said:

“We have consistently put forward our common view that only direct negotiations between the parties concerned can lead to a settlement which guarantees the territorial integrity, the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus.” [71st meeting, para. 26.]

73. The nine members welcomed the renewal of direct negotiations during the past year, which the Secretary-General was instrumental in achieving, and they have signified the great importance they attach to the continued good offices of the Secretary-General within the framework already established. The proposal to appoint a committee outside this framework is, in the view of the nine members, a retrogressive step helpful neither to the principle of direct negotiations nor to the resumption of the suspended talks in a “meaningful, result-oriented and constructive manner,” to quote the draft resolution itself. It is in the light of our strong support for the resumption of intercommunal negotiations that our vote should be seen. We recognize the good will with which the sponsors and supporters of the draft resolution made their proposals and express the hope that the Secretary-General’s efforts, as described in the relevant section of his report to the General Assembly [A/34/620 and Corr.1 paras. 27-33], will be supported with firm resolve.

74. We all share a common concern for a speedy solution to a problem which entails such severe hardship for Cypriots of both communities, and we have as a primary objective the achievement of such a solution. The nine members of the Community vote that, in introducing the draft resolution [72nd meeting], the representative of Algeria made it clear that the proposal referred to in operative paragraph 10 is that put forward by President Kyprianou, which calls for the demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus. They further note that the matter of demilitarization is also contained in point 7 of the communiqué of 19 May 1979 [A/34/620 and Corr.1, annex V].

75. The nine members also abstained on operative paragraph 11, which they regard as inappropriate; they abstained on operative paragraph 12, not with regard to the merits of the paragraph in itself, but having regard to the succeeding paragraphs 13 to 15 which they are unable to support.

76. Mr. HUSSON (France) (*interpretation from French*): France, which has heretofore always voted in favour of United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, has unfortunately not been in a position to do so on this occasion. Many of the points contained in the draft resolution adopted today are, we feel, likely to compromise the future of a negotiated settlement of the question of Cyprus. In this connexion, we have reservations concerning the new procedures inserted in the text submitted to us. My Government has always expressed its willingness to consider any procedures that might facilitate the solution of the problem, but obviously all interested parties must agree to such procedures.

77. The creation of an *ad hoc* committee on Cyprus is not, at this stage, likely to lead to significant progress towards a settlement. Is it not much more likely that

such a committee would impinge on the mandate entrusted to the Secretary-General and thereby lead to a total stalemate in the negotiations? France remains attached above all to a negotiated settlement between the two communities. Such a settlement must, as we have noted on many occasions, guarantee the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. We continue to regard that as essential. In this connexion, the word “unity,” which appears in operative paragraph 1 of the draft, means to my delegation that there can be only one single Cypriot State, whatever its future constitutional structure.

78. For those reasons, my delegation was today obliged to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

79. That being said, we regret that the Turkish side has failed to make every effort to resume the intercommunal talks. We note, indeed, that following the agreement reached between the two communities on 19 May, it set up obstacles to further discussions.

80. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): New Zealand has supported the Cyprus resolutions in the past. Regrettably, however, New Zealand was obliged to abstain this year on the draft resolution in question. We did this because we did not believe that the introduction of the new proposals in operative paragraphs 13 through 15 provided a constructive approach to finding a solution in Cyprus.

81. My delegation has consistently maintained that the three main principles set out in General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX)—the withdrawal of troops, the return of refugees and the negotiation of a settlement—provide the framework for a just solution to the problem in Cyprus. We have also consistently expressed the view that the best hope of finding a negotiated settlement lies primarily in direct and substantive negotiations between the two communities in the island. My Government commends the Secretary-General’s efforts in this regard.

82. New Zealand welcomed the 10-point agreement reached by President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktaş on 19 May and the subsequent resumption of intercommunal talks. It was highly regrettable that the talks broke down after only four sessions. Despite that, New Zealand continues to believe that the key to progress lies in the resumption of the intercommunal talks based on the 10-point agreement. It is, in our view, important that any new initiatives directed at finding a solution in Cyprus should not detract from the efforts of the Secretary-General or the resumption of the intercommunal talks.

83. Finally, my delegation wishes to reiterate that we doubt that the language in operative paragraph 11, with all its implications, will contribute usefully to finding a solution to the Cyprus problem.

84. Mr. BERG (Sweden): Sweden has over the years consistently supported the resolutions on Cyprus. We likewise support the main part of the goals and principles of the draft resolution considered by the Assembly. To achieve a political solution of the Cyprus problem it is, in our view, crucial to resume the interrupted talks between the two communities in the island. We have expressed this view on many occasions, the last being in our statement on the Cyprus question during the debate here in the plenary meeting last week [70th meeting].



85. The draft resolution presented to us, however, contains certain additions in comparison with earlier resolutions, additions which would seriously complicate the primary goal: resumption of talks. In particular, this applies to operative paragraphs 13 to 15, proposing the establishment of a committee. We fear that such a committee would be counterproductive and would risk undermining the Secretary-General's possibilities of using his good offices in order to bring about a resumption of the intercommunal talks. Therefore, we abstained in the vote on the draft resolution.

86. Mr. de PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/34/L.40 and Add.1, because there are some paragraphs which do not seem to contribute to a solution of the problem. We continue to feel that any settlement must be based on a resumption of intercommunal talks, along the lines of the efforts that the Secretary-General has been making, but we should like to make it perfectly clear that we firmly support the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus, and our abstention should not be construed as indicating any change in the position that my country has taken on the subject.

87. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): Finland has consistently supported resolutions adopted in previous years by the General Assembly on the question of Cyprus. We have done so because we endorse the goals affirmed in those resolutions: the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, the demand for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the Republic of Cyprus and the peaceful settlement of the question. Finland, for its part, has tried to make a tangible contribution to this end by its participation, from the beginning, in UNFICYP. We further believe that the best method to achieve a solution is through the intercommunal talks, assisted by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in the island, and the Finnish delegation wishes to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the persistent efforts deployed by the Secretary-General to keep the talks going.

88. As far as the resolution just adopted by the General Assembly is concerned, we entertain serious doubts whether the new instrument, in the form of an *ad hoc* committee, will prove helpful in the search for a peaceful settlement. That is why we had no alternative but to vote against operative paragraphs 13 to 15 and, since they were adopted, to abstain on the resolution as a whole. This vote, however, does not change Finland's firm commitment to all the other aims of the resolution and to the cause of the people of Cyprus.

89. Mr. MATHIAS (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): We already explained our position on the question of Cyprus during the debate before the vote. We stressed that in our view the talks between the two communities should be continued because we felt that they were the best means of ensuring harmony and co-operation between the two communities and the only framework which could best serve that goal and lead to a peaceful solution of the problem.

90. The resolution we have just voted on contains some new elements, however, whose political effect could, we feel, hamper the efforts undertaken. Our abstention on the resolution does not prevent us from voicing our concern at the situation which persists in the island and the lack of progress in the resumed intercommunal talks. We cannot but deplore the continued presence of foreign troops in the island.

*Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.*

91. Mr. EL-CHOEFI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Our delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted for our consideration because we are convinced that the Cyprus crisis has lasted only too long. We are sure that the two Cypriot communities have more uniting factors than dividing factors. We strongly hope that the two Cypriot communities can work together, with the good offices of the international community, to reach a just, equitable, peaceful solution which will guarantee their legitimate rights and preserve the unity and neutrality of Cyprus.

92. We voted in favour of operative paragraph 13 because we are convinced that such an international committee could introduce a new positive element which would help the Secretary-General in the discharge of his mission, and because we sincerely hope that the members of the *ad hoc* committee will be chosen on the basis of the trust that the two parties have in them so that the success of that committee in carrying out its mission can be ensured.

93. Mr. THIEMELE (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): I merely wish to say that if my delegation had taken part in the vote we would have voted in favour of the draft resolution. We support all the provisions of that resolution and we hope that progress will be made in the course of the year towards a solution of the problem of Cyprus.

*The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.*