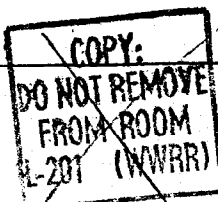




Security Council



PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2771

14 December 1987

ENGLISH

 PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
SEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 14 December 1987, at 4 p.m.

President: Mr. BELONOGOV

(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

Members: Argentina
Bulgaria
China
Congo
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Italy
Japan
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
United States of America
Venezuela
Zambia

Mr. PFIRTER
Mr. TSVETKOV
Mr. YU Meng Jia
Mr. KOUNKOU
Mr. BLANC
Count YORK von WARTENBURG
Mr. DUMEVI
Mr. BUCCI
Mr. KIKUCHI
Mr. SHIKIR

Sir Crispin TICKELL
Mr. OKUN
Mr. AGUILAR
Mr. ZUZE

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The meeting was called to order at 4.15 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN CYPRUS
(S/19304 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like 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 Council's agenda. In conformity 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 Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Zepos (Greece) and Mr. Turkmen (Turkey) took places at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to recall that in the course of the Council's consultations members of the Council agreed that an invitation should be extended to Mr. Ozer Koray in accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that the Council decides to invite Mr. Koray in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the appropriate moment I shall invite Mr. Koray to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

(The President)

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

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 1987, document S/19304 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them a draft resolution contained in document S/19338, which has been prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

Members of the Council also have before them a letter dated 11 December 1987 from the Permanent Representatives of Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland addressed to the Secretary-General, document S/19334.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Argentina, Bulgaria, China, Congo, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Italy, Japan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Zambia

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 604 (1987).

The first speaker is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): Allow me warmly to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December and to commend you for the skilful manner in which you have carried out the consultations on the draft resolution just adopted unanimously, renewing the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for another period of six months.

We are happy that the presidency of the Security Council is in the talented hands of a distinguished representative of the USSR, a country with which we are united by strong bonds of friendship. We are particularly happy that Your Excellency, a seasoned diplomat should be presiding over this meeting, which is important for my country.

Our warm congratulations are also extended to the President of the Security Council for the month of November, Ambassador Kiyooki Kikuchi of Japan, a distinguished representative of another friendly country, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the Council's work.

The renewal of the peace-keeping mandate of UNFICYP - to which my Government had given its prior consent - is in the circumstances imperative, owing to continuing Turkish aggression and occupation of part of Cyprus and the refusal of Ankara to withdraw its troops.

Allow me to restate at the outset that the problem of Cyprus is a grave problem of invasion and occupation of a small non-aligned country Member of the United Nations by a big and powerful neighbour, Turkey. It is not in essence a difference between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, as presented by Ankara for the purpose of eclipsing itself from the scene of the crime.

Taking advantage of a criminal coup aimed at the assassination of the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, Turkey invaded Cyprus under the pretext

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of protecting the Turkish Cypriot community - which, by the way, was in no way involved, as evidenced by the fact that not a single Turkish life was lost. Under the same pretext Ankara's troops refuse to leave the island.

Over the past 13 years, a host of United Nations resolutions and decisions were adopted on the question of Cyprus. They unfailingly demand, among other things, the withdrawal of all occupation troops and foreign military forces and personnel; respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus; and the cessation of all foreign interference in its internal affairs. Further, they call for the return of all refugees to their homes in safety, as well as for respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all Cypriots.

Turkey has absolutely and contemptuously disregarded all United Nations resolutions, and by its actions continues to defy the world Organization, especially the Security Council.

The domes of the United Nations still echo the wise statements by representatives of Member States on a number of world issues as to the need to respect and implement United Nations resolutions, thus making our Organization an effective instrument for peace. It is tragically sad that, at a time when a spirit of hope became discernible for strengthening the role of the United Nations, Turkey still finds it possible to continue to disregard its resolutions.

General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) on Cyprus, which was unanimously adopted and later unanimously endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974), and thus rendered mandatory, is a glaring example of such contemptuous disregard by Turkey and a provocation the magnitude of which threatens the whole edifice of the United Nations. In fact, all subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly,

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including the last on this subject - 37/253 of 1983 - and Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984) on the question of Cyprus are being met with Turkey's arrogant disregard.

Ankara's policy during these 13 years continues to be one of further tightening of its military stranglehold over its small victim; it ruthlessly seeks to implement its schemes of partition and segregation of our people, on the basis of their ethnic origin, and the "Turkification" of the occupied areas.

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This policy is manifested by an absolute denial of freedom of movement and settlement of our citizens forced upon the victims by the Turkish army of occupation, which now well exceeds 35,000 men and 300 tanks, reflecting its recent quantitative increase and qualitative improvement, as confirmed by the last three six-monthly reports of the Secretary-General.

In particular, the Secretary-General, in his report dated 2 December 1986, stated:

"General Greindl reported that, from open observation, UNFICP believed that there had been an increase in the strength of Turkish forces on the island and that Turkey had brought to Cyprus tanks with greater fire power and mobility than those previously there." (S/18491, para. 22)

In his report dated 29 May 1987, the Secretary-General confirmed that:

"The evidence of an increase in the Turkish forces' strength referred to in my last report has been further supported by open observation by UNFICYP as well as by reports made public by various Governments." (S/18880, para. 21)

Furthermore, the Secretary-General added that

"I raised the question of the military build-up in Cyprus on several occasions with the Turkish authorities at all levels. I expressed my concern over the existing situation and appealed to the Government of Turkey to reduce its forces on the island." (para. 22)

In his present report to the Security Council, dated 30 November 1987, the Secretary-General stated:

"I have again, on several occasions, appealed to the Turkish authorities including Prime Minister Ozal and Foreign Minister Halefoglu, to reduce their forces on the island." (S/19304, para. 20)

Furthermore, in para. 55 of that report, the Secretary-General reiterated his appeal to Turkey to make a start by reducing its forces.

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Added to the increase in the Turkish army, the importation of over 65,000 Turkish settlers aimed at changing the demographic structure of Cyprus, which recently took on most alarming proportions, makes the Turkish community's voice in the occupied areas heard less and less. It constitutes a new, grave development, casting serious doubts as to the ability of the Turkish Cypriot community to conduct a meaningful intercommunal dialogue. That the Turkish Cypriot community is losing its identity because of the recent massive importation of Turkish settlers from mainland Turkey is confirmed by numerous statements, reports and newspaper articles by foreign personalities and by Turkish Cypriot leaders. It should be noted that the Turkish troops and settlers are now at least equal in numbers to the Turkish Cypriot community. The question is therefore natural: How could a community which has been flooded by settlers from Turkey be expected to negotiate meaningfully? How could the Turkish Cypriot community discuss issues such as the withdrawal of Turkish troops when the community itself is held captive by those troops? Furthermore, could anyone accept in good faith that Mr. Denktash, the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, is in a position to negotiate the withdrawal of Turkish troops when he himself admits "whether it is right or wrong, whether I believe it or not, I do what Turkey says"?

In past meetings of the Security Council and other forums here and elsewhere, we have had occasion to present irrefutable evidence of the vast transfer of Turkish settlers by Ankara in the occupied areas of Cyprus.

The Council may recall the denials by the Turkish side and their description of those settlers as "returning Turkish Cypriots", then as "seasonal workers" and, most recently, as a "work force" - any and all kinds of lies to conceal the truth.

Here are a number of excerpts from statements of Turkish Cypriot leaders, articles of Turkish Cypriot newspapers and foreign press reports, revealing the colonization policy of Ankara in Cyprus and, at the same time, exposing the big

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lie, the duplicity and machinations of Turkey. Here is what none other than the then Turkish Vice-President of Cyprus, Dr. Kutchuk, wrote in the Turkish Cypriot newspaper Halkin Sesi on 24 May 1978 about the Turkish settlers: "They have turned this paradise Island into an Island of Hell."

The Guardian wrote that since 9 October 1975:

"Migration of Turks to the northern occupied part of Cyprus is taking place on a scale that will soon radically alter the racial balance on the Island and could seriously affect the chances of a political solution."

Le Monde reported on 19 May 1979:

"The Turkish Cypriot population begins to find unbearable the presence of the occupants; military forces on the one hand, and settlers on the other. About 30,000 were transplanted from the deprived areas of Turkey."

The Turkish newspaper Aydinlik wrote on 27 August 1979:

"At this moment the number of settlers exceeds 50,000. The colonization policy still continues and every day new Turkish mainland settlers are beginning to settle in Cyprus. It is evident that such a large number of settlers will open the way to major changes in the demographic structure of Cyprus."

In an article published in the Turkish Gunaidin Supplement, for the occupied areas, (7-14 January 1986), Mr. Ozker Ozgur, Turkish Cypriot leader of the Republican Party, expressed strong disapproval of the influx of settlers. He wrote:

"The Turkish Cypriot population is decreasing. In the place of our people who flee abroad to earn a living, people come from Turkey under the name of 'labour force'. This 'labour force' is turned into a vote force for chauvinist, directed politicians. If this situation continues in this way, it

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will, before long, be impossible to talk about the presence of Turkish Cypriots ... This time we must realize that we are faced with the danger of becoming a minority in northern Cyprus."

In an article published in the Turkish Cypriot daily Yeniduzen on 19 June 1986, the same Republican Turkish Party leader asked:

"Is there anyone who does not know how the population brought from Turkey under the guise of 'manpower' has been turned into a 'voting force' in favour of Denktash?"

In another recent article published in Yeniduzen on 29 June 1987, Mr. Ozgur continued:

"Denktash is trying to mislead both the Turkish Cypriots and the world... His target will be realized through the annihilation of the Turkish Cypriots. The political and cultural identity of the Turkish Cypriots being negated ... In order to please the mainland settlers, Denktash gives approval for the massacre of his own community... This makes him happy because, as the number of settlers increases, Denktash's percentage of votes increases."

Mr. Ferdi Sabitin in an article published in the Turkish Cypriot Yeniduzen on 16 September 1987, under the title "Emigration" says the following:

"The Turkish Cypriots are at present being eradicated by their own administrators. The existence of the Turkish Cypriot community is experiencing great difficulties. The current era is an important period of time in which the Turkish Cypriots have felt that their communal existence is threatened. Safeguarding this existence is very important; remaining alert and resisting this threat, is one of the more important tasks of the communal forces."

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I elaborated at some length on the issue of the colonist settlers from Turkey, because of our conviction that the Security Council should be fully apprised of this ongoing grave development which constitutes one of the most serious crimes against our people, so reminiscent of the dark ages, and which has placed added obstacles in the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem. It should be a matter of serious concern to the Security Council that notwithstanding repeated appeals by the Secretary-General that:

"... nothing should be done to change the demographic composition of the island", (S/19304, para. 24)

Turkey, in arrogant defiance, continues with its mass importation of settlers in the occupied areas of Cyprus. In this respect I wish to state emphatically that my Government would welcome the appointment of an independent committee of legal experts in order to investigate the issue of settlers in the occupied areas. We challenge the representative of Turkey likewise to accept such an impartial committee.

With regard to the burning humanitarian issue of the 1,619 persons missing since 1974, no trace of any one has been found yet; and this despite the ample evidence provided that a substantial number of Greek Cypriot missing persons were seen alive after the cessation of hostilities.

The issue of missing persons in Cyprus, a purely humanitarian problem, continues today to cause untold agony to their families. That is why, 13 years after the Turkish invasion, the urgency for the solution of this issue, to the satisfaction of those directly concerned, is as great as ever.

On the other hand, Varosha, which according to Security Council resolution 550 (1984), should not be settled by other than its expelled inhabitants and should have been handed over to the United Nations, still remains under the military control of Ankara, while the lawful inhabitants of the city are inhumanly and

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cruelly barred by the Turkish troops from resettling it. The Secretary-General's representations for the evacuation of the hotels, most recently occupied after a push forward by the Turkish side, still remain unheeded.

Turkey's responsibility with regard to the situation in Varosha is confirmed by the Secretary-General himself in his report to the Security Council when he states that:

"I have reiterated on several occasions to the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot authorities that the United Nations considers the Government of Turkey responsible for maintaining the status quo in the fenced area of Varosha."

(S/18880, para. 28)

In his present report to the Security Council the Secretary-General once again expresses his grave concern over the situation by stating that:

"I have again raised this matter on several occasions with the Turkish authorities, including with Prime Minister Ozal and Foreign Minister Halefoglu, and have urged that the status quo be restored."

(S/19304, para. 23)

In the area of human rights and fundamental freedoms, notwithstanding the plethora of international human rights instruments setting uniform, binding standards, Turkey notoriously stands out as one of the worst violators of basic human rights and norms. This is evidenced by the brutal uprooting of our people from their homes and lands by the Turkish army, which committed a series of grave violations of human rights, including mass murders, rapes, plunder and lootings. All these violations were reported by the European Commission on Human Rights, an impartial judicial tribunal, which constitutes the effective machinery overseeing the application of the European Convention on Human Rights by the States Parties. Cyprus invoked the jurisdiction of the European Commission on Human Rights, in September 1974 and in July 1975, as well as more recently. The European

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Commission, having carefully evaluated the evidence, found Turkey guilty of grave violations from 1974 onwards. In their report adopted in July 1976, these distinguished jurists, members of the Commission, clearly pronounced themselves on the gross violations of human rights in Cyprus as a result of the Turkish invasion. The same condemnation of Turkey is also expressed in a landmark resolution 1987/59, adopted on 10 May 1987 by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. Furthermore, as recently as 2 September 1987, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in another resolution - 1987/19 - pronounced itself on the continuation of grave, gross and systematic violations of human rights in Cyprus by Turkey.

The destruction and plunder of our cultural heritage and the desecration of our churches, as well as the illegal change of place-names in the occupied areas of the Republic of Cyprus - the latter in flagrant violation of the resolution on national standardization adopted at the Third United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names - still goes on, despite the Secretary-General's repeated firm position that he attaches great importance to the preservation of the religious and cultural heritage of the island.

Furthermore, the anachronistic Turkish policy of segregation, so reminiscent of the policy of apartheid pursued by the South African régime, culminated in 1983 in the purported secession of the occupied areas and the setting up by Ankara of a puppet entity to serve its interests. After recourse by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus to the Security Council in November 1983 on this issue, resolution 541 (1983) was adopted, which deplored the declaration of the purported secession, considered it legally invalid and called for its withdrawal. It called also on all States not to recognize the self-proclaimed puppet entity.

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In the subsequent year, and on the same subject of the purported secession, Security Council resolution 550 (1984) was adopted, in response to the so-called exchange of Ambassadors between Turkey and its puppet, and for other secessionist acts. The Security Council by this resolution condemned all secessionist actions, declared them illegal and invalid, called for their immediate withdrawal and reiterated the call upon all States not to recognize the aforesaid secessionist entity.

It is therefore incongruous, to say the least, that circulation of letters by this illegal entity is allowed in the United Nations, even when covering letters are signed by the Permanent Representative of Turkey.

It must be said, however, that as a consequence of the prohibiting provisions of resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984) not a single self-respecting State has recognized the puppet régime installed in the occupied areas of Cyprus.

It has all along been the position of my Government that the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation troops and colonist settlers from Cyprus and the rescinding of the purported secession constitute the fundamental prerequisites for the solution of the problem of Cyprus.

On the subject of seeking a just and viable solution, we are grateful for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his assistants. We have done what we could to facilitate such a solution but, as the Secretary-General points out in his report, the problem still remains unresolved, while tension continues.

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The Secretary-General's mission of good offices regrettably has not produced substantive results, precisely because of the continuing Turkish occupation and the Turkish intransigence, manifested by Ankara's absolute refusal to implement United Nations resolutions and its promotion of partitionist and separatist policies.

In reiterating our support for the Secretary-General's mission of good offices in the search for a just solution to the Cyprus problem based on the relevant United Nations resolutions and the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979, we believe that urgent consideration of the substantive aspects of the problem of Cyprus - that is, the withdrawal of the Turkish troops and settlers, the question of international guarantees and the application of the three freedoms - is a prerequisite to any meaningful dialogue. These cardinal aspects regrettably have not yet been given their due consideration, while the constitutional aspects of the problem have been dealt with for the past 12 years.

President Kyprianou has said that

"There has been a tendency, in the light of the difficulties created by the intransigence of Turkey, either to avoid or to postpone the tackling of the substance of the Cyprus problem. I believe ... that no problem can be solved by avoiding or postponing the tackling of its substance. The method of avoiding the real issue has not worked". (A/42/PV.32, p. 13)

For, indeed, what would be the benefit if the internal constitutional aspects of our problem were agreed upon when we are told that even after such an agreement the occupation troops would remain in Cyprus? What is the use of agreeing on the colour of the flag, the State anthem or the number of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot ministers when we are told that Turkey will retain "the right" to intervene militarily in Cyprus whenever it so decides?

In line with our position for priorities in the consideration of the substantive issues, we have proposed the convening of a representative

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international conference under the auspices of the United Nations to deal with the basic external aspects of the problem of Cyprus. The idea of holding an international conference on Cyprus is included in General Assembly resolution 34/30, adopted in 1979, which was later reaffirmed by General Assembly resolution 37/253 - in 1983, the last time the question of Cyprus was considered in the General Assembly. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus strongly supports the convening of such a representative conference, which we believe would strengthen the hand of the Secretary-General and, what is more, would be in accordance with his mission of good offices.

We believe that the Secretary-General's mission of good offices should encompass procedures for the discussion of the withdrawal of Turkish troops and settlers and the question of guarantees, as a matter of priority. The discussion of these questions is best dealt with in an international conference, since those two aspects form the crux of the problem of Cyprus. Can anyone seriously agree that Mr. Denktas has the power to decide on the withdrawal of the Turkish army from Cyprus? The answer is self-evident. A representative international conference, however, can provide the Secretary-General with the methodology needed for the withdrawal of the Turkish troops, in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolutions.

Faced with Turkish intransigence, and in order to unmask the much-invoked pretext of the need for protection of the Turkish Cypriot community, and, what is more, in our earnest desire to find a just solution, thus assisting the mission of the Secretary-General, President Kyprianou proposed the complete demilitarization of the Republic, as the Secretary-General's report (S/19304, para. 52) makes clear. Speaking from the rostrum of the General Assembly on 9 October this year, the President solemnly presented this proposal again. He said:

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"... I renewed that offer yesterday during my meeting with the Secretary-General - to dismantle our own defences and dissolve our own National Guard, if all Turkish troops and other personnel, including the settlers from Turkey, are withdrawn from Cyprus, so that the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can settle their internal problems in conditions of peace, without foreign interference. Part of my proposal is also the establishment of an international peace force under United Nations auspices, whose composition and terms of reference would be agreed and endorsed by the Security Council, for the purpose of strengthening the sense of security internally. It goes without saying that, together with the withdrawal of the Turkish troops and settlers, the so-called Turkish Cypriot army must also be dismantled and dissolved. In fact, my proposal means the total demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus, with the exception of the international peace force envisaged in my proposal and a reasonably small mixed local police force.

"It is of course obvious that in such circumstances sufficient international guarantees must be ensured to protect Cyprus from any outside danger or threat." (A/42/PV.32, p. 17)

We repeat this solemn proposal by the President today, in this body, because we believe in its general acceptance and because we want to dispel any lingering doubts as to the absence of good faith on the part of Turkey. I challenge the representative of Turkey to point to a single similar, reciprocal step taken by his Government towards complying with any of the provisions of the unanimously adopted General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) - which Turkey itself supported and which was later unanimously endorsed in Security Council resolution 365 (1974). I ask him to point to the withdrawal of a single Turkish soldier in conformity with these

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and other United Nations resolutions. He does not have to search hard. Not a single soldier has been withdrawn. As a matter of fact, in a display of arrogance characteristic of international banditry, Ankara has increased its troops, as is officially documented in the Secretary-General's present and previous reports from which I have already quoted. What is more, not a single Cypriot refugee has been allowed to return to his ancestral home. To add insult to injury, we read, instead, in Mr. Denktas's letter of 21 April 1986 to the Secretary-General - obviously dictated by the Government of Turkey - that

"As for the withdrawal of non-Cypriot troops, excluding those that are to remain on the island, there can be no withdrawal ..." (S/18102/Add.1, annex V, p. 21)

That is the reply of Ankara to the Security Council resolutions demanding the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from Cyprus, and to the Secretary-General's repeated appeals to Turkey "to make a start by reducing its forces" (S/19304, para. 55).

The Turkish allegation that Turkish troops invaded Cyprus and remain there in accordance with the Treaty of Guarantee is, to say the least, absurd. That Treaty never gave rights to Turkey or to anyone else to use force, as Turkey did in 1974, and does not provide for the presence of any foreign troops in the Republic. If corroboration of this were necessary, it suffices to quote the then Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. James Callaghan, who stated, in no uncertain terms, that he considered the Turkish action to have occurred outside the framework of the Treaty of Guarantee.

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Indeed that Treaty never gave any rights to Ankara to use force. Though Ambassador Turkmen is well versed in it, I would again remind him of Article 2 (4) of the Charter, which calls on all Member States to refrain from the use of force in international relations, and that any interpretation to the effect that the Treaty gave the right to any guarantor to use force would render that Treaty provision contrary to Article 2 (4) of the Charter and would ipso facto be null and void, as is clearly stipulated by Article 103 of the United Nations Charter.

The Turkish pretext that the increase in the occupation troops is in response to the strengthening of our National Guard cannot be taken seriously - not only because Turkey is 110 times the size of Cyprus but, more so, because its forces of occupation on the island are already four times larger in number, excluding the tremendous increase in the number of their tanks. These Turkish forces, the establishment of the vast military airport in Lefkoniko and the new military port of Kyrenia clearly signal the malicious Turkish intentions. The right of the victim of aggression to defend itself cannot be disputed. Our meagre military forces, as compared to those of Turkey, are for self-defence purposes only. Our sense of self-respect dictates that we stand and face any further Turkish military adventures in our island.

Furthermore, as we have stated repeatedly, the Government of Cyprus is committed to a peaceful settlement. We remain determined to seek justice through the United Nations, the Organization whose principles constitute the corner-stone of our foreign policy and the framework within which a just and lasting settlement of our problem can be found. We believe that the people of Cyprus as a whole stand to benefit from a solution which will bring an end to the 13 years of military occupation and will allow unimpeded freedom to all our people to move and reside all over the island, whether they are Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots.

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These aspirations of our people, and their yearning for unity, peace and co-operation in a federal republic, are fully shared by my Government because they are in accord with the relevant United Nations resolutions and the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979.

In this respect I should like to express deepest appreciation to our Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for his untiring efforts and to assure him once again of our fullest co-operation and continued support for his mission of good offices.

We express our gratification at the Secretary-General's appointment of Mr. Oscar Camilion, a seasoned Argentine diplomat, as his Special Representative in Cyprus. In wishing Mr. Camilion success, we assure him of the full co-operation of our Government in his difficult mission. I would also take this opportunity to pay a well deserved tribute to Mr. James Holgar, the retiring Acting Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his most valuable services to the cause of peace. We wish him well in his future endeavours.

We commend the significant contribution of Under-Secretary-General Mr. Marrack Goulding, and of his able colleagues Messrs. Gustave Feissel and Giandomenico Picco, and their continuous efforts to advance the United Nations objectives in Cyprus.

My Government's deep appreciation goes also to Major-General G. Greindl, Commander of UNICYP, and to his officers and men for the dedicated manner in which they continue to carry out their duties in the face of many adversities. We express warm feelings of gratitude and appreciation to all the friendly Governments which through voluntary contributions of personnel and funds have enabled UNFICYP to continue rendering its indispensable peace-keeping services in the island.

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Speaking on behalf of a Member State of the United Nations half free and half occupied, and on behalf of a people segregated against its will by force of arms one third of whom are refugees in their own land, I wish to express our deepest and warmest appreciation for the continued solidarity of this body in our struggle to rid ourselves of the shackles of occupation and forced segregation.

At the same time I wish respectfully to submit on behalf of my Government and our much-tormented people that the time is long overdue for the Security Council to consider taking effective remedial action in accordance with the specific provisions of the United Nations Charter designed to bring about compliance by Turkey with the Council's repeated edicts on Cyprus.

We believe that Cyprus' fate is inseparably and directly tied to the Security Council's effectiveness and to the world's future. We also believe that Cyprus' continued tragedy is no doubt mankind's tragedy.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Cyprus for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Greece, upon whom I now call.

Mr. ZEPOS (Greece): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. Your wide experience, your diplomatic ability and tact will certainly be of enormous benefit to this body and the task of the preservation of peace and security that are attributed to it by the Charter.

I wish also to congratulate the President of the Security Council for the month of November, the Permanent Representative of Japan, Ambassador Kikuchi, for the extremely efficient way in which he discharged his duties.

The Security Council has just renewed the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for a further six months on the basis of the Secretary-General's

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recommendations contained in his report. My Government has concurred in this extension, as the Government of the Republic of Cyprus has declared its consent on the matter.

Here I should like to pay tribute to all the countries which, by providing military and civilian personnel, equipment and financial support throughout previous years have made possible the existence and the peace-keeping activities of UNFICYP. I would particularly thank the Governments of Austria and Canada for having provided additional personnel to UNFICYP in a manner which, in accordance with the assessment made by the Secretary-General, has enabled the Force to execute the task entrusted to it. May I also express our thanks to the officers and men of UNFICYP, who, under particularly difficult conditions, have to carry out their delicate task.

My Government has constantly taken a firm position in support of United Nations peace-keeping operations in every instance in which such operations have been required. We believe that this involvement of the United Nations translates into concrete action and deeds the declared attachment of all Member States to the principles of the Charter.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

Therefore, we greatly value contributions in the form of military personnel or financial means, as confirmation of support for an undertaking for the maintenance of peace and security and the avoidance of situations which might lead to confrontation and war. These risks should be averted at all costs, and there is no greater cost than that of war. Consistent with this approach, my Government supports the Secretary-General's proposal to place the financing of UNFICYP on a more equitable basis, by means of assessed contributions, and in that event my Government would maintain our contribution at the level of its present voluntary contribution.

Peace-keeping operations may have to be supported for a long period of time, as long as mandatory resolutions, such as those of the Security Council, fail to be respected and implemented, as has been the case of resolutions concerning the problem of Cyprus, which clearly determine the responsibility of Turkey, in particular, because of its forces' invasion of Cyprus in 1974 and its support for secessionist actions. I refer in particular to Security Council resolution 365 (1974), endorsing General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), and resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984).

It is astonishing that a Member State - Turkey - not only objects to the decision concerning the renewal of UNFICYP's mandate but sees fit to propagate remarks attributed to others, allegedly doubting the continuing validity of the original concept underlying the creation of the Force. Those remarks were made by the representative of Turkey only last June, on an occasion similar to today's; indeed, they should lead to everyone's understanding the deeper intentions of the Turkish Government, which, objecting to the decision to extend UNFICYP's mandate, is obviously seeking a solution by force of arms, by the continuing occupation of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus and by secessionist actions which have been

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

further aggravated by the continuing implantation of settlers from the Turkish mainland.

The latest report by the Secretary-General on Cyprus (S/19304), dated 30 November 1987, presents a bleak picture of the situation on the island. Here I fully concur with and support the information given and the views expressed by the representative of Cyprus. My Government appreciates the dedication with which the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, continues his mission of good offices, and fully recognizes the adversities and difficulties he encounters in his task of seeking a solution based on the resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly.

We welcome the appointment of Mr. Oscar Camilión as Special Representative of the Secretary-General. He deserves every possible support in his own efforts to reach such a solution. The problems involved in such a task are clearly outlined in the Secretary-General's report, which refers to United Nations resolutions. In this regard, we note with satisfaction the appeal made by the Secretary-General to the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey to reduce their forces on the island; this is in line with the mandatory call for the withdrawal of all foreign occupation forces from the Republic of Cyprus. Equally, the Secretary-General urges the Turkish Government to restore the status quo at Varosha, and urges that nothing should be done to change the island's demographic composition.

For any attempt to solve an international problem, such as that of Cyprus, to be successful, or at least credible, has to rely on strict adherence to the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. The time factor is an important element. But far more important is the substance and legitimacy of the solution if it is to be just and viable. Therefore, the withdrawal of all military forces and settlers from Cyprus constitutes an absolute

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

priority before there is a possibility of a solution. The Security Council should also consider the proposal made by President Kyprianou, which is fully supported by the Greek Government, for the demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus, as referred to in paragraph 52 of the Secretary-General's report. If the term "withdrawal of foreign occupying forces" - totally clear and consistent with United Nations resolutions containing it - needs further elaboration, which it should not, the proposal for the total demilitarization of the Republic provides further clear and solemn confirmation that this is the only road that should be followed to solve this problem, which has persisted for years.

By providing Cyprus, through the presence of UNFICYP, with certain elementary conditions of stability and peace, under the prevailing precarious circumstances there, we should take advantage of the determination of the great majority of Member States to see an increase in the efficiency of the Security Council. In the case of Cyprus, not only have we been unable to register any progress since 1974 towards the main requirement of withdrawal of the forces occupying the territory of a sovereign country, but we are also confronted with the inability of the United Nations to impose implementation of a decision of comparably lesser gravity, but still of vital importance - the transfer of the area of Varosha to the administration of the United Nations.

The Turkish side is contesting every resolution it does not like, in an extraordinary display of contempt for any form of legitimacy prescribed by the United Nations and international law. The same negative attitude is shown in the case of resolutions of the Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, in a vehement manner characteristic of reactions of countries responsible for violations of human rights.

Finally, I wish to refer briefly to a matter raised by the Permanent Representative of Turkey at the end of the previous debate in the Security Council

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

on 12 June 1987, when he attempted to propagate allegations that Greece entertains aspirations to annex Cyprus. I very much regret that my learned Turkish colleague, Mr. Turkmen, saw fit to divert the attention and concern of Member States from the fundamental responsibility of his Government in continuing the military occupation of a sovereign State. Mr. Turkmen alluded then to a decision of a Greek court on 21 March 1979, which allegedly recognized that Turkey had, in accordance with the Zurich and London Accords, a legal right to intervene militarily in Cyprus. My colleague should check his sources of information, because the decision rendered in fact on 21 March 1979, under No. 2658/1979, given by him, by the Athens Court of Appeal is relevant to Cyprus, following a petition for indemnity against the Greek State by the relatives of a Greek soldier killed in action on 22 July 1974, after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. I have available the original text with an official translation in English, from which I shall quote the following sentences:

"During the first ten days of July, the President of the Cypriot Republic, Archbishop Makarios, having reliable information that some of the Cyprus-serving Greek officers were plotting against Cyprus and against his personal life, asked the then Government of Androusoyopoulos, appointed by Dictator Brigadier Ioannides, that they be replaced by other officers. But in lieu of any other official answer, there broke out on July 15th, 1974, the universally known coup against Makarios staged by Ioannides, who was aided by Mich. Georgitsis, Commander of the National Guard" and others.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

"They ... abolished the constitutional status of Cyprus and appointed Nikos Sampson as temporary President of Cyprus, who was sentenced for his said complicity in 1978 by the Criminal Court of Nicosia. The Turks, taking advantage of this unique opportunity, launched a military invasion on Cyprus (Kyrenia) on 20 July 1974. The Greek Cypriot military forces started defending the motherland, and asked for reinforcements to be sent to them from Athens".

Though others may wish to rewrite history, I categorically state that this is not my intention. The coup of 15 July 1974 staged against the leader of a sovereign independent State was an act of high treason perpetrated by military conspirators against Archbishop Makarios. The conspirators, whose act served Turkey as a pretext for invading Cyprus, are serving life sentences in Greece. They never expressed the will or the true aspirations of Greece, and I consider not just totally unfounded, but ludicrous, allegations made or statements circulated by the Turkish Mission to the United Nations, casting doubt on the long-standing defence by Greece of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

The least one would expect of a Government which is responsible for the continuing occupation of the territory of a sovereign State is some form of respect for the principles and rules of law it pretends to honour, rather than this revealing lack of consistency.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Greece for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is Mr. Ozer Koray, to whom the Security Council has extended an invitation in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KORAY: First of all, Mr. President, I should like to thank you, and through you the other members of the Security Council, for affording me this opportunity to participate in the Council's present debate and express the views of the Turkish Cypriot Government, as one of the two parties directly concerned, on the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for a further period of six months and on various other aspects of the Cyprus problem.

In exactly one week, on 21 December, we shall be entering the twenty-fifth year of the Cyprus problem. It should be apparent to everybody by now that this problem was created by the Greek Cypriot side with the sole aim of annihilating, through the use of brutal force, the Turkish Cypriot population and destroying the bi-national Republic of Cyprus.

As a result of the first premeditated armed onslaught by the Greek Cypriots against the Turkish Cypriot people throughout the island during December 1963 in accordance with the insidious Akritas plan, the Turkish Cypriot component of the Republic was forcibly ejected from all State organs and institutions - hence the collapse of the Cyprus Republic.

Between 1963 and 1974 the Greek Cypriots continued, in their usurped capacity as "Government of the Republic of Cyprus", to wage a ruthless war of terrorism and oppression against the Turkish Cypriot population, one fourth of which had become refugees in their homeland after being driven out of 103 villages, leaving behind all their possessions. Hundreds of Turkish Cypriot civilians were killed during that period. The Greek Cypriot Administration then tried, but failed, to break the Turkish Cypriots' heroic resistance by imposing an inhuman all-out economic embargo on Turkish Cypriot areas.

(Mr. Koray)

In spite of those historical realities, we note with displeasure that the Greek Cypriot side, which destroyed the bi-communal independence of the 1960 Republic of Cyprus, was and still is treated by the international community as the only legitimate entity in the island. We believe that the time has come for everybody to reappraise the whole situation.

I do not wish to dwell in greater detail on the roots of the Cyprus question or on the tragic years between 1963 and 1974, a period when Greek Cypriot tyranny took its toll on the Turkish Cypriot people. The misdeeds and atrocities committed by the Greek Cypriot Administration during those 11 turbulent years are well documented and may be easily traced in the reports of the United Nations Secretaries-General of the period. Neither do I wish to elaborate on the events of 1974, which constituted final links in the chain of Greek and Greek Cypriot agitation for enosis, leading to the eventual total separation of the two peoples and the creation of two States in the island.

Today the two separate and independent States in Cyprus exercise jurisdiction and control only over their own respective territories. The territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is under the full control of the Turkish Cypriot authorities and is administered under the Constitution and the laws made thereunder by democratically elected institutions. The authority of the illegal and unconstitutional Greek Cypriot Administration in South Cyprus has never extended to North Cyprus, which the Turkish Cypriots inhabit and control.

Given that state of affairs, the Kyprianou Administration knows only too well that the perpetuation of its image as the "Government of Cyprus" depends on the number of one-sided resolutions it can obtain from international forums. That is made abundantly clear in Mr. Kyprianou's own words, taken from a speech delivered in Limassol on 27 September 1987:

(Mr. Koray)

"... United Nations resolutions may not have provided a solution to the Cyprus issue up to now. But if such resolutions did not exist, then Cyprus would not have acquired the international identity which it holds today ..."

The latest attempts by the Greek Cypriot Administration to have the Cyprus issue debated at the forty-second session of the General Assembly demonstrated once again that the Greek Cypriot side is not genuinely interested in reaching a final solution of the issue with the Turkish Cypriots on agreed principles of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federal Republic composed of two equal partner peoples, as envisaged in the 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements and as incorporated into the 29 March 1986 draft framework agreement presented by the Secretary-General to the two sides as the agreed foundation for a final negotiated settlement.

The negotiating process, conducted within the framework of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices, has not yet produced any result owing to the impasse created and perpetuated by the Greek Cypriot side's intransigence and its campaign for the internationalization of the Cyprus issue in complete contravention of the spirit of the whole process of negotiations and outside the framework of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General. We hope and trust that in the very near future the world will put an end to this injustice.

(Mr. Koray)

In this connection, it is with great encouragement that we take note of the recent developments with regard to the Greek Cypriot recourse to the forty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. We view these developments as a clear indication that the majority of the membership of the United Nations strongly favours bilateral negotiations, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, as the only venue through which the Cyprus issue can be solved. By not supporting the Greek Cypriot side in their recourse, Member States have chosen not to be a party to the Greek Cypriot side's futile manoeuvres aimed at undermining the Secretary-General's efforts in search of a negotiated settlement in Cyprus.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Dr. Kenan Atakol, in a statement delivered to the press on 18 November 1987 at United Nations Headquarters, expressly summed up the feeling of the Turkish Cypriot side in this connection in the following manner:

"We hope that this clear and constructive message of the international community will not be lost on the Greek Cypriot side. We also hope that the Greek Cypriot side will finally grasp that the problem of Cyprus does not need a debate at or another resolution of the General Assembly, but a just and lasting settlement which can be arrived at only through meaningful negotiations to be conducted in good faith between the two peoples on the island, within the right framework that the Secretary-General's document provides."

Contrary to the Greek Cypriot's repeated allegations, the Turkish Cypriot political parties, representing the free will of the Turkish Cypriot people, remain undivided on the basic and most important issues pertaining to a future federal solution of the Cyprus question. The united stand of the Turkish Cypriot side was

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recently confirmed by a joint resolution adopted unanimously by the Legislative Assembly of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on 30 October 1987 calling upon the States Members of the United Nations not to give any credence to the Greek Cypriot side's efforts to use the United Nations as a medium for its futile propaganda and also, among other things, emphasizing the imperative nature of the effective guarantee of Turkey for the security of life of the Turkish Cypriot people.

I shall quote the following paragraphs of the said resolution:

"4. It is because of the bitter experiences of the past that the effective guarantee of Turkey is a sine qua non for the security of life of the Turkish Cypriot people.

"5. The Turkish Cypriot people have always approached the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General aimed at finding a negotiated solution to the Cyprus question, within the framework of his mission of good offices, in a constructive spirit and in good will. In line with this positive attitude, the Turkish Cypriot side has reiterated, at every opportunity, its support for a solution on the basis of an independent, non-aligned, bi-national, bi-zonal federal republic based on the equal political status of the two peoples, as envisaged in the summit agreements of 1977 and 1979, and has accepted the United Nations Secretary-General's Draft Framework Agreement of 29 March 1986, which envisages such a solution.

"6. As also envisaged in the said document of the United Nations Secretary-General, the Cyprus question is an integrated whole, the different aspects of which cannot be taken up in isolation from one another.

"7. In order to find a just and lasting solution to the question, we call on the Greek Cypriot side to accept the document of 29 March 1986 without further delay.

(Mr. Koray)

"8. We hereby declare that an administration elected solely by the Greek Cypriots and to which only Greek Cypriots can be elected, whose legislative, executive and judiciary organs as well as administrative structure and security forces are composed solely of Greek Cypriots, does not have the authority to represent, or speak on behalf of, the Turkish Cypriot people."

The full text of the said resolution can be found in United Nations document A/42/721-S/19256 of 9 November 1987.

I should now like to touch upon a matter which, unfortunately, has once again found its way in the report of the Secretary-General, namely, the status of Varosha. In view of the Greek Cypriot side's incessant misinformation campaign on the subject, it has become imperative that I restate the Turkish Cypriot position on Varosha in order to dispel, once and for all, any possible confusion on the issue.

At the outset, let me restate and make it perfectly clear - as I have already done in my previous statement to the Security Council and as my President stated in his letter addressed to the Secretary-General on 11 May 1987 and reiterated at his meeting with the Secretary-General on 1 October 1987 - that Varosha is part and parcel of the territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The status of Varosha is not different from any other area of our Republic. It is only the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus that has full and exclusive jurisdiction and sovereignty over Varosha. And I should also remind the Greek Cypriot side and others that causing false confusion over irrelevant matters will not warrant any alteration in the status of Varosha.

Another focal point of the Greek Cypriot propaganda machine is the alleged "influx of settlers from Turkey". Such propaganda terms employed by the Greek Cypriots are but formulations designed to cover up the long-standing attempts of

(Mr. Koray)

Greece and the Greek Cypriots themselves to occupy the whole island, completely to alter its demographic structure, and to have it colonized under Greece by means of armed violence and suppression.

Since 1974 there exist in Cyprus two entities - politically and geographically separate - each exercising control and jurisdiction over its own people in its respective zone. It goes without saying that migration of labour and immigration in general and the entry and exit procedures for everyone are within the competence and jurisdiction of the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and are administered according to the relevant laws and regulations currently in force in our Republic. The Greek Cypriots are not, as they claim to be, entitled to decide who should travel to, from or within the territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, or who should settle or even live in the part of the island which is outside their jurisdiction and control.

It should be recalled in this connection that annex D of the 1960 Treaty of Establishment contains detailed provisions on the question of citizenship. Section 4, paragraph 2, of that annex defines "a person of Cypriot origin" as a person who was, on 5 November 1914, an Ottoman subject ordinarily resident in the island of Cyprus or who is descended in the male line from such a person and reserves the right to acquire citizenship. The Constitution of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, under article 67, also reserves the right to citizenship of those who possessed the right to acquire citizenship of the Republic of Cyprus under annex D of the Treaty of Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus but who are not ordinarily resident in Northern Cyprus.

I believe similar laws and regulations apply in the south also.

(Mr. Koray)

(Mr. Koray)

Another point I wish to make in this regard is that the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus does not do business in secrecy. The names of all persons who acquire Turkish Cypriot citizenship under our relevant laws are published in the Official Gazette of our Republic for everyone to see.

(Mr. Koray)

We should also not forget that the Greek Cypriots who take such a keen interest in demographics today are the same people who refused to give birth certificates to Turkish Cypriot children between 1963 and 1974, who willingly issued one-way passports to Turkish Cypriots out of the island but refused entry to all those who wished to return, including President Denktash himself, who was barred from Cyprus and had to live in exile for five years. That is why every Turkish Cypriot household has one or more members of its family outside the island today - in Turkey, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, the United States and elsewhere. Therefore, if anyone has tried to change the demographic structure of Cyprus, it was none other than the Greek Cypriot side. While they did everything to dislocate the Turkish Cypriots, the Greek Cypriot population was augmented by the importation of large numbers of people from Greece and by settling in the island discharged mainland Greek soldiers who were in Cyprus clandestinely.

Another issue which is frequently being exploited by the Greek Cypriot side for political propaganda purposes is the missing persons issue. This humanitarian issue would have been settled long ago had it not been for the politically motivated foot-dragging tactics of the Greek Cypriot side. We sincerely hope that the Greek Cypriot side will stop its ill-motivated campaign and allow the Missing Persons Committee to continue with its well-defined humanitarian task in accordance with the agreed terms of reference.

The Turkish Cypriot side is closely monitoring the military build-up in South Cyprus. Added to what has already been purchased since 1982, huge amounts of money have been spent in recent months to purchase sophisticated weaponry, and much more is being allocated for the same purpose. Those weapons are not, as implied, for

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defensive purposes because, from past experience, the Turkish Cypriots are all too familiar with Greek Cypriot intentions. If, though not desired, those preparations lead to undesirable consequences, all those assisting the Greek Cypriots in their military build-up will bear heavy responsibilities.

I should now like briefly to reiterate the position of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus regarding the resolution just adopted by the Security Council. As in the case of similar previous resolutions of the Council, my Government rejects this resolution in toto as a basis for the extension of UNFICYP's mandate, for the same established and fundamental reasons. Those reasons are well documented and therefore need not be repeated here again. Even the mere reference in this resolution to the Greek Cypriot Administration as the "Government of Cyprus" renders it totally unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot side. An entity which has violated even the most fundamental principles of human rights and freedoms, forcefully and illicitly occupied the seat of Government in total infringement of constitutional provisions and subjected the Turkish Cypriot people to untold misery and ill-treatment can only be called a "despotic", "usurper" and "imposter" régime.

Notwithstanding its unavoidable rejection, in toto, of the present resolution, for the reasons outlined above, the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is nevertheless favourably disposed to accept the presence of UNFICYP on the territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, on the same basis as that stated in June 1987. Thus, our position continues to be that the principle, the scope, the modalities and the procedures of co-operation between the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and UNFICYP shall be based only on decisions taken solely by the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Before concluding, I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate the support of my Government for the good offices mission of the Secretary-General, and reaffirm its commitment to the 29 March 1986 "Draft Framework Agreement", which

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still remains on the table, as the Secretary-General has reassured the Turkish Cypriot side during the course of our recent meetings held in New York. We believe that this is the best framework for a negotiated final settlement of the issue and, as such, should be continued to be conceived as an integrated whole.

I should also like to convey our deep appreciation to all the military staff of the outgoing Swedish contingent of UNFICYP for their untiring efforts exerted within the context of their peace-keeping mission in Cyprus since 1964 and for the competent manner in which they have conducted their task.

Our heartfelt congratulations go to Mr. Oscar Camili6n on his recent appointment as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus. We wish him every success in his all-important new undertaking and assure him of our full co-operation in his efforts in this capacity.

Lastly, I would like to convey our profound thanks and appreciation to Mr. James Holger who, in his long years of invaluable service in Cyprus, has discharged his duties in a most responsible and impartial manner and has, by this virtue, earned the respect of all concerned. We wish him continued success and happiness in the future.

Mr. TURKMEN (Turkey): I thank you, Sir, and the other members of the Security for this opportunity to participate once more in the discussion of the situation in Cyprus. I wish to extend to you my warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of December, a month in which we have witnessed an historic event in Washington of tremendous significance for world peace and security. May I add that, in presenting to you my best wishes for success, I have very much in mind the good-neighbourly relations our two countries enjoy and the expanding co-operation in several fields between Turkey and the Soviet Union. I am confident that the Security Council will benefit from your wisdom and experience in dealing with sensitive international questions.

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

I wish also to pay a tribute to Ambassador Kikuchi of Japan, who guided the Council with great skill and diligence during the month of November.

I shall first refer briefly to the resolution just adopted by the Council. We have fundamental objections to a number of elements it contains and we cannot, therefore, consent to an extension of UNFICYP's mandate on this basis. Mr. Koray has just explained the position of his Government on the modalities of UNFICYP's presence in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. That position enjoys our support.

We continue fully to support the good offices mission of the Secretary-General and wish to express our appreciation for his untiring efforts in the search for a negotiated settlement between the two sides in Cyprus. We trust his wisdom and his commitment to a just solution and respect his profound knowledge of the political realities underlying the Cyprus problem.

I shall refrain from entering into a detailed discussion on the substance of the Cyprus question. We have all been spared a torrential debate on this topic in the General Assembly, and it would be unjust to use this meeting as a substitute forum. But I wish nevertheless to remind the members of the Council of our stand regarding a settlement.

The essence of the matter is identified by the Secretary-General in his annual report to the General Assembly where he states that:

"What is at stake is the goal of a federal republic of Cyprus, non-aligned and enjoying sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity as defined in the High-level Agreements of 1977 and 1979." (A/42/1, p.7)

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

This goal can be achieved only through a negotiated settlement between the two peoples in Cyprus, and until then the Republic of Cyprus cannot be represented exclusively by one side. The posturing of the Greek Cypriot administration as the custodian of the Republic of Cyprus and its presumption and illusion to speak also on behalf of the Turkish Cypriots is per se an obstacle to a peaceful settlement.

The Secretary-General and his staff have worked for more than two years in order to bring the parties to the negotiating table within a framework based on the points of convergence between them. The result of these efforts is the draft framework agreement contained in the proposals of 29 March 1986. It is because of their commitment to a political partnership in a federal State that the Turkish Cypriots have accepted this document. The Greek Cypriots have not. This is where we stand now as far as the negotiating process is concerned, and no amount of rhetoric can obscure this fact. The choice faced in Cyprus today is between the establishment of a federation or the continued existence of two Republics in the Island. The Turkish Cypriots have made their choice by accepting the Secretary-General's proposal. They are patiently awaiting the choice of the Greek Cypriots.

We all know, of course, that the aim, at least of the present Greek Cypriot administration under Mr. Kyprianou, is to discard the proposals of the Secretary-General. To this end, they have tried to divide the issues and lobbied extensively for an international conference which would discuss only an agenda of their own choice. They have requested a debate on Cyprus in the General Assembly.

The main idea behind this attempt was to promote the concept of an international conference on Cyprus. But the debate did not take place in view of the generally negative reaction the Greek Cypriot demands provoked. This shows that the majority of United Nations Members are not willing to jeopardize the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General. On the contrary, there is strong

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

support for this mission. If there is one conclusion to be drawn from this development, it is the confirmation of the Secretary-General's previous finding that the idea of an international conference on Cyprus does not enjoy sufficient support. Everyone knows that what is lacking in the case of Cyprus is neither a negotiating mechanism nor a comprehensive framework for such negotiations. What is needed is a positive orientation towards negotiations and a mutually satisfactory political settlement. Perhaps the experience of the past few months will induce the Greek Cypriot side to accept finally the draft framework agreement proposed by the Secretary-General on 29 March 1986. It may be difficult for them, in the heat of the election campaign going on at present in South Cyprus, to take any substantive steps, but we hope that the Secretary-General will find it possible to urge the Greek Cypriot side, after these elections - especially if they yield results in favour of moderation and realism - to agree to negotiate with the Turkish Cypriot side within the framework he has proposed.

While the Greek Cypriot recourse to the General Assembly was not pursued, we see that various propaganda activities previously timed to coincide with the debate have gone on. I wish merely to say that all of this activity is just as redundant as it is counter-productive. It only serves to deepen the mistrust between the two sides.

I should like to bring into sharper focus some of the Greek Cypriot contentions. For example, how justified is their outcry over the presence of Turkish forces in Northern Cyprus? It is crystal clear that the Turkish forces cannot be attributed aggressive designs when there has not even been a skirmish in Cyprus for the past 13 years. Everyone knows very well that the sole reason for the continuation of this presence is to assure, in the absence of a comprehensive settlement, the security of the Turkish Cypriot people.

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

There has not been in the past, and there is not now, any intention on the Turkish side of engaging in a military build-up in the island. In the latest report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council the sequence of events regarding the military build-up in the island has been rearranged in a disturbing and unfortunate manner. The Secretary-General himself reported exactly five years ago, in December 1982, that there had been some increase or modernization of Greek Cypriot National Guard weaponry. In the same report, the Secretary-General stated that "no apparent build-up of forces in northern Cyprus has been detected."

(S/15502, para. 22) The latest report now astonishingly portrays the Greek Cypriot military build-up, which has been going on for five years, as a result of a Turkish build-up. The concern in the Secretariat to strike a balance between the two sides should not be taken to such extremes that defy logic and misrepresent the factual situation.

The level of Turkish forces has naturally fluctuated from time to time. It is known that Turkey, on numerous occasions, has withdrawn both military personnel and equipment from the island. Obviously, the level and composition of these forces have to be in correlation to the military threat directed from the South against the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. We are reading almost daily in the Greek Cypriot press that the military capabilities in the South are being constantly and dramatically augmented with purchases of advanced weapon systems, that increasing financial resources are being allocated to military spending. These activities used to be concealed, but now they are being announced in bombastic terms. In our opinion, this is a grave mistake. The military build-up in South Cyprus, combined with the paranoia and irresponsibility of Greek Cypriot leaders, can lead to a very risky situation. Indeed, during the general debate, Mr. Kyprianou said:

"... nor should anyone be misled by the fact that there has been no bloodshed for some time." (A/42/PV.32, pp. 14-15)

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

This seemed to be an ominous irritation with peace and quiet. Those countries which, although aware of the dangers involved, insist on selling arms to the Greek Cypriot side are, in our view, committing a serious error and assuming a heavy responsibility. They seem to forget that a build-up in the South will not only encourage Greek Cypriot confrontational policies but equally tremendously complicate the security aspect of a negotiated settlement.

It is against this background that the Greek Cypriot side insists on the withdrawal of Turkish forces even before a settlement is reached. We can only suggest that they give up weaving this tale. Since 1975 all negotiations between the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots have been held on the very clear understanding that the withdrawal of non-Cypriot forces could only be contemplated within the framework of a comprehensive solution. A withdrawal by the Turkish forces before or without a comprehensive settlement would mean an imposed unilateral solution by the Greek Cypriots. The Greek Cypriot side should not deceive itself. The only development which will permit the withdrawal of non-Cypriot forces in Cyprus is a negotiated solution.

In reflecting on the situation prevailing in Cyprus, one should bear in mind that in two other islands equally afflicted by intercommunal conflict, non-island forces are the only obstacle to bloody intercommunal fighting. We can ask ourselves what would be the situation in Northern Ireland if suddenly the 9,000 or 10,000 British troops were withdrawn? What would be the situation in Sri Lanka if the 15,000 or 20,000 Indian forces were recalled precipitously? In the light of their bitter past experience the Turkish Cypriots know only too well what would be their fate if the Turkish forces were withdrawn before a negotiated solution is reached. They would suffocate under the warm embrace of the present Greek Cypriot leadership, whose passionate love for them has been made so abundantly clear, even today by Ambassador Moushoutas.

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

Cyprus is not the only case of a divided country. There are other examples of religious or ideological differences having separated even homogeneous nations. In Cyprus, in addition to the religious and cultural differences, the two communities belong to two different nations. The mistrust is even greater than in other, similar situations. It is therefore all the more remarkable that the Turkish Cypriots, despite the ordeal they have suffered because of their sizeable numerical inferiority, are still willing to be reunited with the Greek Cypriots under a federal State, provided the new arrangement secures an equal partnership and effective security. No one should be surprised if they are asking for guarantees for their security and recoil at the idea of being deprived of the protection of Turkish forces before a settlement is in place.

The so-called question of settlers is a totally artificial issue based on preposterous exaggerations. This is a perfect example of the Greek Cypriot obsession about dealing with the Turkish Cypriots from a position of numerical strength.

Ambassador Moushoutas, who today surpassed even himself in insulting rhetoric and intemperate language, has dealt at length with this subject. May I remind him that for many years the Greek Cypriots had forgotten this issue. They had not raised it during the two years of discussions with the Secretary-General that led to the draft agreement of 29 March 1986. Since then, nothing has happened to sharpen the Greek Cypriot concern. Therefore, this lamentation over so-called settlers is totally artificial.

But there is one fact which should not be forgotten. Turkey has a population of approximately 55 million. If the Turkish side had indeed wanted to change the demographic structure in Cyprus, it could have easily done that long ago. It is clear from the population figures in Northern and Southern Cyprus that the Turkish

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

side has not pursued such a policy. Indeed, we do not need such a policy, because the political approach of the Turkish side to the Cyprus problem has never been based on numerical considerations but on the concept of the political equality of the two sides, regardless of the population ratio.

The Greek Cypriots know very well that throughout the past years immigration to Northern Cyprus has remained at an insignificant number. The fact that the population ratio between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots has not changed during all these years testifies to the falsity of Greek Cypriot propaganda.

To conclude my remarks on this issue, I have to emphasize that the acceptance by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus of immigrants or labour from abroad is not subject to any restriction but, rather, to its own laws and regulations in this regard. Pending a settlement which will ensure a shared sovereignty, the Turkish part of the island is as sovereign as the Greek side.

We were surprised to see in the report of the Secretary-General that "the persisting problem in Varosha" (S/19304, para. 55) is mentioned as one of the two factors which are responsible for the continuation of tension between the two sides. What is meant by "the persisting problem" is the temporary use of two hotels to accommodate students of the Eastern Mediterranean University in Famagusta. To put it moderately, it is an exaggeration to establish a link between student hostels and tensions in Cyprus.

We also note from the report that Mr. Kyprianou has once again asked the assistance of the Secretary-General for the transfer of Varosha to United Nations administration. This is a strange request to put to the Secretary-General, since the Secretary-General's own proposals of 29 March 1986 treat Varosha as part of the territorial arrangement for a bizonal federation. This is of course not an innovation by the Secretary-General. Since the comprehensive Turkish Cypriot

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proposals of 5 August 1981, presented and discussed in the course of the intercommunal negotiations, the Varosha issue has become, and has been treated as, an integral part of a comprehensive, overall settlement in Cyprus. Before 1981, the Turkish Cypriot side had on various occasions made constructive proposals regarding the resettlement of Varosha under United Nations auspices. All these proposals were rejected by the Greek Cypriot side and became lost opportunities. After 1981 the Varosha issue was consistently looked upon as part of an integrated whole. Throughout the Secretary-General's latest initiative, which started in 1984 and culminated in the 29 March 1986 draft framework agreement, the Varosha issue has kept its position as an integral part of an overall solution. As President Denktas aptly emphasized in his letter of 22 October 1987 addressed to the Secretary-General,

"Like all other issues, Varosha too is an integral, inseparable part of a comprehensive package deal and it is impossible to decouple it from the rest".

I should now like to welcome the appointment of Mr. Oscar Camilión as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus and wish him well in this undoubtedly challenging assignment. We are confident that, as a very distinguished diplomat, he will enjoy the confidence of both sides and will contribute to the search for a negotiated solution in Cyprus. I take this opportunity also to pay a tribute to the former Special Representative, Ambassador Hugo Gobbi, another Argentine diplomat, for his services. Since his departure, Mr. James Holger has done a splendid job as the Acting Special Representative. As he is about to retire from United Nations service, we wish to convey to him our thanks and our best wishes.

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

I ask the Council's indulgence in order to reply briefly to the two speakers who preceded me.

I reply first to the Permanent Representative of Greece. I must say that I was perplexed by his statement. He quoted from a decision by a court in Athens. During the last Security Council meeting on this item, I referred to this decision but quoted another paragraph from it. Ambassador Zepos did not say whether this paragraph was missing from the decision.

Ambassador Zepos agrees that there was an attempt against the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus by Greece, but says that this was a treasonable act by the dictatorship then governing Greece. He is right to regard this as treason. But, for us and for the Turkish Cypriots, the fact that Greece was then under a dictatorship was irrelevant. What mattered was that the coup engineered by Greece was directed against the independence of Cyprus, as guaranteed by the Treaty of Guarantee, and endangered the survival of the Turkish Cypriot people. That is why Turkey had to intervene. In the process, the shock of the Turkish intervention against the treasonable act of the dictatorship enabled Greece to return to a democratic system. So much the better.

Mr. Moushoutas directed many questions to me and said he was awaiting answers from me. That brought to my mind something that was said recently, and I wish to repeat it: He is not the prosecutor, and I am not the accused.

Ambassador Moushoutas said, among other things, that Turkish Cypriots were losing their identity, that the Turkish community was held captive by Turkish troops. He wants us to believe that even President Denktas, is almost a settler. He quoted again from a certain Turkish Cypriot politician, who seems to provide him with material for every Security Council meeting. I am sure that at the next

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parliamentary elections in Northern Cyprus, his popularity will be considerably enhanced. But there is one point that Ambassador Moushoutas forgets: If this Turkish politician can speak so freely and remain a member of Parliament - and enjoy parliamentary immunity - this means that all Turkish Cypriots are free to speak their mind. Why, then, is the overwhelming majority still supporting President Denktas?

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Ambassador Moushoutas also referred to recourse of the Greek Cypriot administration to the Council of Europe. But he chose to omit the fact that the report of the European Commission of Human Rights has not been adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe. The Council of Ministers deemed it more appropriate to call on the two parties on the island to engage in meaningful negotiations to arrive at a mutually acceptable settlement. The Council of Ministers also decided to place Mr. Denktas' voluminous memorandum on the violation of the human rights of the Turkish Cypriots on the relevant file.

Finally I wish briefly to mention the question of missing persons. Mr. Koray has replied to this, but I have a few words to add. As was pointed out by Mr. Koray, the missing persons question interests not only the Greek Cypriots; the Turkish Cypriot missing persons date back to 1963, when innocent civilians were either abducted or arrested, mostly by Greek Cypriot police. The same pattern was repeated in 1974 in a number of Turkish Cypriot villages overrun by Greek Cypriot forces.

The question of missing persons arose for the Greek Cypriots with the coup d'etat staged by Greece in Cyprus on 15 July 1974, which led to violent inter-Greek fighting in the island. There are many accounts of the grave nature of that fighting in Greek Cypriot sources in particular - for example, Peter Loisis, a Greek Cypriot writer, refers to the coup as a civil war between the Greeks in Cyprus which would have led to torture and executions for many months afterwards had it not been stopped by the intervention of Turkey. Of course, Turkey did not intervene in Cyprus to prevent a civil war between the Greeks. Turkey intervened to enosis, which was the objective of the coup, and to prevent the Turkish Cypriots from becoming the predestined victims of this inter-Greek war. The same Greek Cypriot author vividly conveys the mood of the Greek Cypriot coupists towards their

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Turkish Cypriot neighbours and compatriots during those days. For example, he tells about the case of a Greek Cypriot called Hajis, a keen supporter of the EOKA-B terrorist organization, who boasts of having shot a Turkish shepherd - and I quote - "as proudly as an English schoolboy might have done about scoring a goal in an away match". This EOKA-B militant goes off to join the attack on the Turkish village of Ghaziveran on 20 July 1974 - nowhere near the Kyrenia operations area, as the author notes. And this is what he does in his own words, after the village has surrendered:

"I burst into a house. There were six or seven people inside, and a child. I swung the machine-gun and mowed them down - all seven. Afterwards I noticed the child. What harm has he done, you ask. He was Turkish."

There was a similar atrocity in the same Turkish village, when indiscriminate shooting into a school compound where women had gathered killed six of them. Later the same Greek Cypriot is in Limassol when he hears that his village is in Turkish control. His immediate response is to go and shoot an elderly Turkish woman, and he tells the author: "I'd have got another of their hojas, a Turkish Muslim cleric too, if a UN bugger hadn't stopped me."

The author concludes,

"Hajis and his actions were exceptional, but even one Hajis in every village could clearly do a great deal of damage to Turkish-Greek relations".

I can only add that indeed the Greek Cypriot militants and the Greek Cypriots who condone them did irreparable damage in Cyprus. That is how many questions in the island, including the question of missing persons, were created.

The agreement reached by the two sides in establishing the Committee on Missing Persons continues to be the only valid basis for resolving this humanitarian problem. The consent of both parties is the only procedural principle

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according to which the Committee can function, and its agreed terms of reference constitute the only valid machinery enabling the two sides to approach this problem exclusively within a humanitarian context.

Therefore special care needs to be taken not to prejudge in any way the substance of the agreement reached between the two sides and to refrain from any political approach to this humanitarian issue.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Turkey for the kind words he addressed to me.

The representative of Cyprus wishes to exercise the right of reply. Before calling on him, I would remind all present that today we agreed to hold another meeting of the Security Council this evening, on the situation in the occupied Arab territories. I see that there are now present in the Chamber many representatives who are present for our second meeting. I would therefore hope that those who now wish to exercise their right of reply will be respectful of the interests of other delegations and be brief.

I call on the representative of Cyprus.

Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): First let me say that I personally do not think of the representative of Turkey as the accused, but definitely his Government is not only accused but has been convicted in the forums of this Organization and by this very body.

I am very cognizant of the circumstances under which Mr. Koray called to appear here and give information in a desperate attempt to eclipse Ankara from the scene of its crime against Cyprus. For that reason I will not direct my remarks to him.

I can only say that he is becoming a master in disguise. He comes here as a person to give information to the Council, as provided for in rule 39 of the rules

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of procedure, and he is entitled to do so. However, through some metamorphosis, as soon as he is given the floor he lifts himself - or, to be more accurate, he lowers himself - to be the spokesman of a some so-called entity. And, what is worse, he casts aspersions on the legal and political status of Member States of the United Nations. I must admit this takes audacity, and I leave it to the members of the Council to measure the degree and the dimensions.

Ambassador Turkmen said that our position during the recourse met with negative reactions. I should like to remind Ambassador Turkmen that this very year Turkey has been condemned by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and by the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination for Protection of Minorities. In October of this year, the Commonwealth summit, meeting in Vancouver, Canada, issued its strongest condemnatory declaration ever against Turkey. And on 9 October this year, the Non-Aligned Ministerial Meeting held here in New York adopted a declaration that was devastating for Turkey.

Why the boasting on the part of Turkey? One must be oblivious of those developments to make statements such as the one we have heard from the Turkish side.

Ambassador Turkmen said that there are no settlers. They try to deny the undeniable: the importation of 65,000 of them. We had a proposal for the establishment of a committee of independent legal experts to investigate this matter. All they have to do is to accept this proposal. As for us, we will go along with the most descriptive statement of the Turkish Cypriot leader Mr. Ozgur to Mr. Gurler, a pseudo-minister of the illegal entity, when the latter was attempting to present the settlers as returning Cypriots.

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

"'Mr. Gurler' Mr. Ozgur asked angrily, 'do you think we come from the moon? You say they have gone ... now you say they have come back etc. ... Will you try to deceive us too, by saying things you say to the foreigners? Be a little serious, Mr. Gurler.'" (Halkin Sesi, 31 November 1979)

I take seriously the threat expressed by the representative of Ankara. I imagine it means that it will be used against Mr. Ozgur.

The Turkish side made a big issue out of its acceptance of the 29 March 1986 document, one of several suggestions and ideas of the Secretary-General, as he describes them. They disregard, however, and fail to mention, that they rejected the very last - I emphasize that - proposal of the Secretary-General, of January 1987, for parallel talks, while our side accepted it.

They conveniently forgot to mention their rejection of the April 1986 document - they are fixed on the 1985 document - of the Secretary-General for an overall solution of the problem of Cyprus. But, more important, they systematically reject mandatory United Nations resolutions upon which the Secretary-General's mission of good offices is based.

You are all too familiar, Mr. President, with the Secretary-General's efforts to get together a high-level meeting in 1983, and how deceitfully the Turkish side, instead of giving a positive reply, which was promised, declared the attempted UDI.

The Secretary-General himself describes our reply as follows - and I say this for the record:

"The Greek Cypriot side said that before it would express its views on the contents of that document there must first be agreement on what it described as the basic issues of the Cyprus problem." (S/18880, para. 65)

The Secretary-General has also stated:

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"as a person entrusted with a mission of good offices, my function was to produce ideas and suggestions to help the two sides find a solution, but ... I could not impose anything on either side. Progress could be made only when both sides were in agreement. It followed that, as long as the Security Council maintained my mandate, I could not allow my mission of good offices to be frozen either because one side found a particular suggestion unacceptable, or because the other side, having accepted a suggestion, insisted that my effort could not proceed until the other side had done the same." (S/18491, para. 54)

The representative of Turkey said that the Turkish troops were in Cyprus to protect the Turkish Cypriot community. Some important people in his country disagree. Mr. Gunes, the then Foreign Minister of Turkey, said in 1980, as to the real reason for the invasion:

"Cyprus ... is as precious as the right arm of a country which cares for her defence or for her expansionist aims ... Many States, to a certain extent, because it suits their interest, want to see the Cyprus problem merely as our desire to protect the Turkish community on the island" -

I emphasize those words -

"whereas the actual problem is the security of the 45 million Turks in the motherland ..."

They are worrying about the army of little Cyprus.

Mr. Ozal, Prime Minister of Turkey, said in 1983:

"Cyprus is an island which pierces the middle of Turkey like a dagger.

It is extremely vital from the viewpoint of our security."

The late Mr. Galo Plaza, the United Nations mediator, wrote in his report dated 26 March 1965, regarding the Turkish position during his mediation:

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"The dividing line was in fact suggested" -

he meant by the Turkish side -

"to run from the village of Yalia on the northwestern coast through the towns of Nicosia in the centre and Famagusta in the east."

Nine years later, by a not so strange coincidence, the Turkish troops, having invaded Cyprus, occupied exactly that area - irrefutable evidence that the Turkish military action was planned many years before 1974.

The reasons for the invasion of Cyprus were expansionist - clear and simple. Indulging in myths and alleging provisions for the protection of the Turkish Cypriot community will not help.

Like all countries in the world, Cyprus contains people of different ethnic backgrounds, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites, all forming part - a precious part, if Ambassador Turkmen will allow me to repeat certain feelings I have for the Turkish Cypriot community - of one indivisible country. The separation of our people, geographical, political, economical and social, is artificial. When Ambassador Turkmen spoke of regrouping, he meant to say "uprooting".

As to the standard allegation to justify the aggression by Turkey - the allegation that the Turkish Cypriot community was persecuted - I must admit that there were intercommunal clashes. Yes, lives were lost, some Turkish Cypriots and some Greek Cypriots. But to say that there was discrimination against the Turkish Cypriot community, which, being only 18 per cent of the population, enjoyed 30 per cent of the civil service posts and 40 per cent of the police and military posts, with a Turkish Cypriot Vice-President having veto powers on questions of foreign affairs, defence and economic matters, is the epitome of the absurd. If there was discrimination, it was directed against the majority. The majority has rights too.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I call on the representative of Greece to exercise the right of reply.

Mr. ZEPOS (Greece): With your permission, Mr. President, I have circulated the text of the decision of the Court of Appeal of Athens to which I referred in my intervention. Every member of the Council can check that the passage quoted by Ambassador Turkmen in June is not there. I am sorry to repeat that his information was wrong. A reading of the text will prove that the quotations he gave in June were not correct.

I wish to express regret that Ambassador Turkmen, obviously versed in modern history, tends to interpret certain events in his own manner. He cites a historical notion of Greek nationhood - enosis, a policy pursued at the time when self-determination was the objective of the Greek nation. That goes back to the mid-1950s.

Greece has consistently defended the independence, unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus against any aggression. That has been the fate of that small island, which our colleague Mr. Turkmen even refrains from referring to by its full title.

I cannot but express regret that in his intervention Ambassador Turkmen manifested the deeper intention of his Government - to partition - when he referred expressis verbis to the sovereign part, saying that pending settlement the Turkish part of the island is as sovereign as the Greek side, and referred earlier to the concept of political equality of the two sides regardless of the population ratio. Obviously - and I regret to note this - for his country the principle of self-determination is secondary, and he is insisting on reminding us of the true intention of his Government, which is partition.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I call now on the representative of Turkey, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. TURKMEN (Turkey): I see the representatives of many Arab States in the Chamber; I am not so presumptuous as to think they have come to listen to me, so I shall be very brief.

To reply to Ambassador Zepos: yes, I spoke of the equal sovereignty of the two sides in Cyprus, the North and the South, but I was careful to say "until there is a settlement", when there would be a partnership and a sharing of sovereignty. The Turkish policy has never been one of partition, and it will not be in the future.

I am not going to reply to Ambassador Moushoutas, because he made a very long statement, but I want to dispel one of his concerns: nothing will happen to Mr. Ozgur. I can assure Ambassador Moushoutas that at the next Security Council meeting on this question he will be able to quote him.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): We have thus concluded the present stage of our consideration of the situation in Cyprus and our discussion of the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

As the Council agreed to hold its next meeting, on the question of the situation in the occupied Arab territories, immediately after the conclusion of the present meeting, I request that members not leave the Chamber.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.