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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2013)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The situation in Cyprus: Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/12342 and Add.1)	1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are **composed** of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a **reference** to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in **which** information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, **numbered** in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly **volumes of Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council**. The new system, which **has been applied** retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully **operative** on that date.

2013TH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 16 June 1977, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. William H. BARTON (Canada).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2013)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/12342 and Add.1)

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 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/12342 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2012th meeting, I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Z. Rossides (Cyprus), Mr. I. Türkmen (Turkey) and Mr. G. Papouliou (Greece) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cyprus.

3. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, warmly to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are confident that, under your experienced leadership, the Council will conduct useful deliberations. We are happy that the representative of Canada, a country with which Cyprus maintains excellent relations and which for many years has made a significant contribution by providing a contingent to the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), is presiding over this debate.

4. I should like to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of my Government, warm feelings of appreciation to

the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to promote a just solution of the problem of Cyprus in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and his mandate. We wish also to commend the significant contributions in this respect of the Under-Secretaries-General Roberto Guyer and Brian Urquhart and of their able collaborators in the Secretariat. I should also like to say how grateful we are to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, for pursuing his difficult and delicate task in Cyprus with such distinct devotion.

5. I wish, further, to express our appreciation of the efforts of Major-General Quinn, Commander of UNFICYP, and the officers and men serving under his command and of the exemplary manner in which they carry out their duties.

6. Finally, we are deeply indebted to the Governments which, through voluntary contributions of personnel and funds, enable the Force to continue carrying out its important mission.

7. We are here once more for the renewal of the mandate of the Force and, on this occasion, it would perhaps be pertinent to make a brief analysis of the situation on the island as it has tragically evolved following the aggression and invasion of Cyprus in July 1974.

8. Almost three years after that invasion, the territory involved is still under the foreign occupation forces and, what is worse, is experiencing all the attendant suffering from gross violations of the human rights of the Greek Cypriot majority, who have been ruthlessly uprooted from their homes and properties and rendered, almost overnight, destitute refugees numbering some 200,000, namely, one third of the entire population of Cyprus. Their houses have been usurped in an attempt to change the demographic character of the island, and Turks from Turkey have been settled in the occupied area in violation of existing international law.

9. This is certainly a situation of the gravest concern to the Security Council. In its wider implications and repercussions, it is a matter involving basic principles and, as such, it should be of vital concern to all nations and, more particularly, the small and non-aligned countries.

10. Before us is the report of the Secretary-General for the six-month period ending June 1977. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his report. Couched in diplomatic language, it presents as smooth, neutral and unobjectionable a picture as possible, yet, in the final analysis, the tragic realities do leak out.

11. As shown in the report, the Secretary-General, "Having considered carefully all aspects of the situation concerning Cyprus," concluded that in existing circumstances the Force "is an indispensable factor in keeping the potentially explosive situation in the island under control" [S/12342, para. 60]. That is the gist of the report that is intended to guide the Council regarding the existing circumstances and situation in Cyprus and it is on this that the decision of the Council should be based in extending the mandate of the Force. In fact, in looking at the press release issued on the report, one sees that the experienced press, as usual, has hit upon the important part and put it first in the release, stating what I have just read out to be the essence of the report.

12. As shown in paragraph 28 of the report, the freedom of movement of UNFICYP continues to be restricted. So is its access to the Greek Cypriot habitations. As a result, UNFICYP continues to be prevented by the Turkish occupation forces from carrying out its functions in the occupied territory and particularly from extending humanitarian protection to the remaining Greek Cypriot inhabitants of the area. They are thus left to the tender mercies of the Turkish forces and settlers from Turkey who are bent on forcing their exodus through all kinds of illegal acts, harassments and pressures. As stated once more by the Secretary-General in his report:

"The situation of the Greek Cypriots in the north remains a matter of concern, having in mind that free and normal access by UNFICYP to their habitations is still not possible." [Ibid., para. 54.]

13. It is further to be noted that all this is taking place despite the fact that the Turkish side solemnly agreed and expressly undertook in the Vienna talks, in the presence of the Secretary-General and as recorded by him in his interim report of 5 August 1975, to ensure that UNFICYP "will have free and normal access to Greek Cypriot villages and habitations in the north" [S/11789, annex, point 4]. Nevertheless, this agreement, among others, has been violated by the Turkish side, as its practice all along has proved. Thus, the deliberate obstruction of the highly needed work of UNFICYP in the north continues to this day, notwithstanding repeated calls by the Security Council to all parties "to extend their fullest co-operation so as to enable the United Nations Peace-keeping Force to perform its duties effectively".

14. By contrast, in the government-controlled free areas of the south, UNFICYP has all along had full freedom of movement and function, both before and after the invasion, and as the Secretary-General's report of 9 June 1975 states, UNFICYP could "investigate any rumours and allegations of harassment or damage to property [of Turkish Cypriots] within a matter of hours" [S/11717, para. 24].

15. One of many indications of the situation resulting from the lack of access by UNFICYP in the occupied north is the continuous looting still taking place in the occupied areas and currently in the new Famagusta town. The explanation given to the Secretary-General by the Turkish side and their leaders to the effect that they keep a record with lists of removed property is wholly unconvincing in

view of their having refused to give UNFICYP copies of the alleged lists when requested.

16. The burning humanitarian problem of the more than 2,000 missing persons who were taken prisoner at the time of the invasion speaks for itself. Ankara still refuses to account for them. Its reply to all agonized inquiries is a flat denial. Yet there is concrete and conclusive evidence that many of these persons were last seen alive in the hands of the Turkish army. This is supported also by photographs taken by foreign and Turkish journalists in prisoner-of-war camps or on ships transporting the prisoners to Turkey, photographs which appear also in the Turkish press, and by the visits of the International Red Cross to places of their detention. Yet Ankara, in a stereotyped way, still refuses any independent inquiry to trace the missing persons.

17. As the Secretary-General states in his report:

"It is also a matter of concern that the establishment of the investigatory machinery for tracing missing persons of the two communities, as agreed upon at the high-level meeting held at Nicosia on 12 February"—that is the meeting referred to in the resolution—, "has yet to materialize. I very much hope that this machinery can be set up and commence its humanitarian task without further delay, in the spirit of the agreement of 12 February." [S/12342, para. 55.]

We have had no indication so far that Ankara or, for that matter, anyone on the Turkish side will pay any heed to that call or to the agreement reached at the high-level meeting, which is emphasized in the preamble of the resolution [410 (1977)].

18. It is indeed disappointing that the Turkish side has also rejected all proposals for the establishment of an International Red Cross committee to search for missing persons and provide information to their relatives. Members of the Council understand, I am sure, the agonizing drama of the families of the more than 2,000 missing persons in Cyprus who demand to know the fate of their loved ones. It is our earnest hope that the Turkish side will co-operate with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in this respect and, recognizing the urgency of the matter, will finally agree to the setting up of an International Red Cross committee, whose mandate would be to account for the missing persons, thereby bringing an end to the ordeal of their families.

19. Turning now to the intercommunal talks, we can see from the reports of the Secretary-General that they have so far been unproductive and meaningless. There can be little doubt that the presence of the foreign army in the north can hardly make for free negotiations as provided for by General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which the Security Council endorsed in its resolution 365 (1974), as well as by Council resolution 367 (1975). In its last resolution on the subject—resolution 401 (1976)—, pursuant to which the Secretary-General submitted his report, the Council emphatically called for the urgent and effective implementation of those resolutions.

20. These resolutions, in their substance, demand the cessation of foreign military intervention against the Re-

public of Cyprus, the speedy withdrawal of all armed military forces from the territory of the Republic and the return of the refugees to their homes in safety. With reference to the constitutional system, those resolutions commend that contacts and negotiations between the two communities should be freely conducted through the good offices of the Secretary-General.

21. As appears from these resolutions, the implementation of which is urgently called for by resolution 401 (1976), priority of place and time is given to the process of withdrawal of the foreign occupation forces and the cessation of foreign interference. This priority was obviously considered essential, so that the negotiations between the two communities on the constitutional system could be freely and meaningfully conducted. However, Turkey treated resolution 401 (1976) in the same way it had treated previous unanimously adopted Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on this subject. I hope that the present resolution, which reiterates the call for the urgent and effective implementation of the Assembly and Council resolutions, will be given more careful consideration by Ankara.

22. Now, the second reason for the unproductiveness of the talks relates to the fundamental premise for any negotiation process: that of common purpose. This essential element is sadly lacking. The Turkish side to the negotiations appears not to be interested in the independence, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus, so necessary for its survival as a sovereign and non-aligned Member State of the United Nations. In contrast, our abiding concern, as well as the generally accepted and declared purpose of the United Nations, is precisely the survival of the Republic as a Member State.

23. The policy and objective of the Turkish side appear to be to conduct negotiations from a position of strength, while at the same time, in Cyprus, Turkey is deliberately undermining and forestalling the purpose of the talks through unilateral actions, one such act being the illegal declaration of a so-called Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. This is a fictitious entity which, from the point of view of its territory, is none other than the invaded 40 per cent of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, a Member State of the United Nations, which is still under occupation by another Member State, Turkey—all this in flagrant violation of the Charter and repeated General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Furthermore, the Turkish side is taking advantage of the intervening period to consolidate the illegal *de facto* situation and promote its separatist plans.

24. As to the population of this "Turkish Federated State", it is substantially alien to the territory; it is extensively made up of people from Turkey, massively implanted in the usurped homes and properties of the expelled Greek Cypriot inhabitants. It is relevant in this connexion to note that the Turkish Cypriot leader and former Vice-President, Mr. Küçük in an article in *Halkin Sesi* of 19 May last, refers to the Turks transported from mainland Turkey as "professional murderers and thieves". The same Turkish Cypriot daily, in its edition of 16 April, carries a report according to which "brute force used by

Turanians transferred from Turkey to the north is increasing from day to day", and it describes the situation as "wholly alarming".

25. This aggregate of a series of international illegalities and violations of human rights perpetrated since 1974 against Cyprus and against its people as a whole, Greek and Turkish alike, is audaciously presented to the world as the "new reality" reflected in the so-called Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. Now, I ask: at what point does an international crime become a legitimate reality? I would say at no time, for it is ever alive, ever calling for atonement.

26. From another aspect, the progress of the talks is hindered by the blatant reneging by the Turkish side on essential agreements reached at the Vienna talks. Characteristic is the case of the humanitarian agreement of 2 August 1975, entered into in the presence of the Secretary-General, by which, in exchange for the Government allowing 8,000 Turkish Cypriots to be transferred to the north, the Turkish side undertook, reaffirmed and agreed, as reported by the Secretary-General:

"that the Greek Cypriots at present in the north of the island are free to stay and that they will be given every help to lead a normal life, including facilities for education and for the practice of their religion, as well as medical care by their own doctors and freedom of movement in the north" [S/11789, annex, point 2].

It was furthermore therein agreed that:

"The United Nations will have free and normal access to Greek Cypriot villages and habitations in the north." [Ibid., point 4.]

27. The Turkish side, however, after fully obtaining its own benefit from the agreement, completely ignored and reneged on its corresponding obligation in the agreement, as already stated. Furthermore, the commitment to allow UNFICYP free and normal access to the Greek Cypriot habitations in the north was also reneged on, as shown in the report of the Secretary-General of 5 June 1976 [S/12093, para. 65].

28. As a consequence of that reneging on and ignoring of agreements, commitments and resolutions, the daily expulsions through harassment and brute force by the Turkish authorities were soon resumed and intensified, thus reducing the remaining 15,000 Greek Cypriots who were still in the north to 2,000, as shown in paragraph 20 of the Secretary-General's report before us.

29. I was saying that one of the reasons for those talks being unproductive was the reneging by the Turkish side on any agreement reached in those talks. A more recent instance of essential disregard of agreements is the case of the guidelines agreed upon by the President of the Republic and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr. Denktaş, in respect of talks within the framework of the United Nations resolutions. It was then agreed that a federal State would be established with such powers and functions vested in a federal government as would safeguard the unity and

viability of the State. Despite that express provision, the proposals made by the Turkish side at Vienna flowing from that agreement were proposals for the establishment of two almost completely separate States, to be loosely connected together in a feeble confederation in a way that would amount to the legalization of the dismemberment of the Republic of Cyprus.

30. These are the results of the agreements so far reached in the intercommunal talks.

31. It is increasingly obvious that the said Turkish proposals are not designed to safeguard the independence or the unity of the State, as provided in the guidelines, but rather to make sure that the northern part of Cyprus, which is now under occupation by the Turkish army, will remain a Turkish protectorate and, at a certain opportune moment, will become an integral part of Turkey. What those proposals are, in fact, aiming at is the partition of Cyprus with an eye to annexation through the consolidation of a *de facto* situation created by the use of brute force.

32. The whole attitude of the Turkish side towards the intercommunal talks and their policy of procrastination and reneging on agreements clearly demonstrate that they are not after a viable solution of the Cyprus problem, and this brings us to the point, as I said before, where there seems to be no common purpose in the negotiations. The constant arbitrariness in the conduct of the Turkish side in the talks, namely, their unilateral acts, their reneging on agreements and so forth, springs from their consciousness of acting from a position of strength, emboldened by the presence and power of the Turkish army and their feeling that they can proceed with any action that suits their designs, irrespective of agreements or law. This also serves as an indication that behind their manoeuvres lies the threat of the use of force by the foreign occupying army.

33. It is an axiom, universally accepted and recognized, that any negotiations, in order to be at all meaningful and to yield results, must be conducted freely. Obviously, the negotiations on the Cyprus problem fall short according to this axiom.

34. We still maintain, however, that the intercommunal talks, when freely conducted within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, could provide one of the best means of solving the problem of an independent, integral and viable State of Cyprus. For our part, therefore, we shall continue, in a modest and accommodating way, our efforts towards finding a just and enduring solution of the Cyprus problem and we hope that it may prove possible, should the new Government in Turkey adopt a more positive and imaginative approach to the problem in the interests of all concerned. It must, however, be made abundantly clear that, under no circumstances, will we accept the legitimization of the fait accompli brought about through the use of force, nor will we agree to a form of constitution that is calculated to lead to the dissolution of the Republic of Cyprus as an independent, sovereign and non-aligned State.

35. If Ankara—contrary to our hopes about its future policy—continues, through its instruments, to fail to ne-

gotiate meaningfully and constructively, as required by United Nations resolutions, the Security Council should, in our opinion, take a fresh look at the situation with a view to adopting more effective measures in the light of the appeal made to the Council by the General Assembly in its most recent resolution—31/12 of 12 November 1976—and to adopting the necessary measures for implementation, through enforcement action if necessary, of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

36. It should be borne in mind that the main problem confronting Cyprus today is not that of devising a constitutional system to amend or replace the existing constitution. It is an international problem of far-reaching dimensions in its implications and repercussions. It is the problem of the armed invasion and continued military occupation of a large part of the territory of Cyprus, a State Member of the United Nations, through aggression on the part of another Member State, Turkey.

37. As the President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, stated a few days ago at the current Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in London, the problem of Cyprus today is one that

“should concern each and every country, because involved in it are fundamental principles and human rights of universal validity. When such universal principles and human rights are violated in one country, it is the duty of all countries to stand for them and to defend them”.

The Commonwealth Heads of Government, in their final communiqué issued yesterday, referred to the question of Cyprus and, in an expression of solidarity with the Government and people of Cyprus, called “for the implementation of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on Cyprus in all their parts”. That emphasis conveyed by the phrase “in all their parts” is very important, for the resolutions in question call for the withdrawal of the occupation forces, the cessation of outside interference, the return of the refugees to their homes and, lastly, for intercommunal negotiations on a system of constitution. In none of the first three has there been an endeavour to implement those resolutions, all efforts having been directed to the intercommunal talks which, as I have already explained, have so far been notoriously unproductive.

38. Of course, negotiations between Turkish and Greek Cypriots would be valid and important and could produce results, and we still believe that they can; but they must be freed of outside interference. We are convinced that if the Cypriot people—of both Greek and Turkish origin—were left alone, free from foreign military intervention and outside interference for purposes alien to the interests of Cyprus, as demanded by the relevant unanimously adopted resolutions, they could easily reconcile whatever differences they may have and live amicably together, as they did in the past for many years.

39. The sense of the common interests of all Cypriots, as the rightful inhabitants of that island, has always existed in the hearts and minds of the ordinary people, Greek and Turkish alike. This has been recorded in a number of

reports of the Secretary-General over the years and also otherwise attested to. I would refer to the report of 10 June 1966, which states that

“the yearning and impatience of the ordinary people of Cyprus for a full return to normal conditions [is obvious]” [S/7350, para. 178].

The report of 9 March 1968 states:

“it had been gratifying to observe . . . the ease with which ordinary people of both communities were beginning to resume their former amicable relations” [S/8446, para. 149].

40. However, there were forces from outside Cyprus striking at this tendency to reconciliation and co-operation, and those forces have not ceased that nefarious work.

41. Lord Caradon, former Governor of Cyprus, stated in the Security Council on 11 December 1969:

“For more than a hundred years the people of Cyprus lived together in friendship. . . . They have lived together for generations in amity in every town and in more than a hundred villages in the island. There is no reason why they should not do so again.” [1521st meeting, para. 83.]

42. These feelings of common interest between Greek and Turkish Cypriots have clearly emerged since the 1974 foreign invasion. Many are the instances reported of such feelings of solidarity, despite all ruthless military pressures for their suppression. In his report, Mr. Kenneth Ziebel, Executive Secretary of the World Council of Churches, on a visiting mission to Cyprus after the invasion, wrote the following:

“Numerous incidents are related in which Turkish Cypriots aid Greek Cypriots against the Turkish invaders or even, incredibly enough, in which Turkish Cypriots sought the help of Greek Cypriot friends for protection of themselves from the Turkish invaders”.

The spirit of friendliness and solidarity is not lacking in the Cypriot people. It is ever alive and can at any moment flower when not frustrated from outside.

43. As things are, the immediate cessation of unilateral and divisive action by Ankara and its forces and the implementation of Security Council resolution 365 (1974) with its endorsement of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) have to be set in motion, so that there can be meaningful negotiations likely to yield positive results for a just and lasting solution, as is expressly provided for in the resolutions of the Security Council and, in particular, in the one just adopted.

44. We are now at the threshold of a new and, I trust, more hopeful era in the approach to international problems. There are signs of a new approach in the leadership of great nations. We are entering, I hope, an era of more humanitarian spirit and global understanding, extending beyond the confines of narrow nationalistic pursuits into the realms of wider concepts in a closely interdependent world unified by technology. It is our hope that this spirit

will eventually come to Cyprus, to its surroundings and to the Middle East region, so that the whole situation may be relieved and the prospects for world development become more hopeful.

45. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Çelik, to whom the Council has extended an invitation [2012th meeting] under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

46. Mr. ÇELİK: Mr. President, I should like to thank you and the members of the Council for having given me the opportunity today to present in brief the views of the Turkish Cypriot side regarding the latest developments in Cyprus.

47. Allow me first to express, on behalf of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his dedicated and untiring efforts to achieve a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem. Our thanks go also to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, for the exemplary and efficient way in which he has carried out his most important task both in Cyprus and during the intercommunal talks at Vienna. I should like also to thank the Secretariat staff for the impartial manner in which it has discharged its difficult responsibilities.

48. I should like to take this opportunity also to express our gratitude to the Commander of UNFICYP, Major-General Quinn, and to all the officers and men for their peace-keeping efforts in the island and to all those countries that have contributed towards the maintenance of the Force.

49. Last but not least, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for your loyal and valiant efforts during the past few days towards the adoption of the present resolution [410 (1977)], which, although it does not go all the way to satisfying our side, at least has made possible the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP.

50. First of all, I should like to comment on that resolution which was adopted last night. It is not acceptable to us *in toto*, for the following reasons.

51. We have on numerous occasions put on record our position regarding the term “Government of Cyprus”. It will suffice here simply to restate that there exists in Cyprus no government which can represent or which is entitled to speak for both communities. There exist two separate autonomous administrations representing the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities respectively. As the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, Mr. Owen, rightly said in the House of Commons on 22 December 1976:

“We must bring the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities together and forge again a proper Government of Cyprus, capable of speaking for all the people [of the island].”¹

¹ See *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), House of Commons, Official Report, Fifth Series*, vol. 923 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office), col. 658.

52. I can only say that the continuation of the recognition accorded to the Greek Cypriot administration as the Government of Cyprus merely because it happens to be occupying the Cyprus chair here—or rather I should say “usurping it”—is not conducive to the solution of the problem. I am sure that this is not intended by the Council to be an invitation to us to occupy a parallel chair.

53. The two communities of Cyprus and their respective autonomous administrations should be put on a par and should be treated on an equal footing, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the United Nations resolutions.

54. Further, the resolution makes reference to past resolutions—resolutions which were adopted in our absence and which have been affected, amended or rendered obsolete by subsequent developments on the island, as well as by agreements reached between the two sides. A reference to those resolutions, therefore, is unrealistic and serves no useful purpose.

55. We are of the opinion that the Security Council should give more emphasis to the intercommunal talks and more particularly to the framework agreement reached between the two leaders, President Denktaş and Archbishop Makarios, on 12 February 1977 [see S/12323, para. 5]. Such an approach would, I am sure, make a more positive contribution to peace-making efforts and would better serve to facilitate the early solution of the Cyprus problem.

56. The preambular paragraph regarding UNFICYP's freedom of movement in the north is misleading. It sounds as though UNFICYP has no access to the north—which is not true. Despite the fact that 18 months have elapsed since the signing of the procès-verbal between the United Nations and the Turkish Cypriot authorities, it has not yet been possible for a status agreement to be concluded to fill the legal vacuum that exists in the north in connexion with the functioning of UNFICYP in northern Cyprus. As confirmed by the Secretary-General's report, UNFICYP enjoys full freedom of movement in the confrontation area, which is the principal operation area, and UNFICYP personnel are able to travel in the north. In the absence of a status agreement, what is the criterion for judging the alleged restrictions? I am sure that, when such an agreement has been concluded, the problem will be satisfactorily resolved.

57. Finally, on the subject of resolutions, I should just like to say that, in an effort to prevent an acrimonious debate here, there is a tendency to refrain from incorporating in resolutions positive developments, purely for the sake of convenience. Unfortunately, the result of this is that the resolutions adopted neither reflect the true position nor are conducive or helpful to the solution of the problem. They merely give the Greek Cypriots the opportunity to exploit the resolutions to maintain international pressure on the Turkish side and, hence, to prolong the Cyprus problem.

58. It was not my intention today to make a statement on the substance of the Cyprus problem which is being currently negotiated at the intercommunal talks, but the Greek Cypriot representative, whose disappointing statement we have just heard and who does not seem to show even the restraint of his Foreign Minister, has left me with

no alternative. Nevertheless, it is not my intention to make a lengthy statement, nor do I intend to answer each and every point just raised by him. They are baseless allegations that have been made here time and again for the last three years and to which we have placed on record our convincing replies. Only one new element that has been just introduced is worthy of reply.

59. There has been an allegation that the mechanism established during the intercommunal talks regarding missing persons has not been able to operate because of intransigence or because Turkey did not like it. I am sorry to state here that even at this moment the Greek Cypriot representative is still trying to present the problem as one between Cyprus—which they claim to represent—and Turkey. Cyprus is an intercommunal problem and efforts are being made to solve it through intercommunal talks. At those intercommunal talks, it is true, a mechanism has been agreed upon for the tracing of missing persons. That mechanism provides for Archbishop Makarios to make a statement regarding Turkish persons who were reported missing during the period 1963-1974, a period which the Greek Cypriot representative still claims to have been one of peace and quiet in the island. Hundreds of people disappeared from their homes and on the highways and we are still anxious to know where they are. After that statement, representatives of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent in Cyprus would constitute a committee to trace the remaining files that have been given to us by the International Red Cross—which, incidentally, has completed its work in Cyprus, closed its offices because of the normalization of the situation on the island, and returned to Geneva. We are prepared to investigate and to finalize with that committee the outstanding files that number about 40.

60. The only obstacle preventing that mechanism from going into operation is the refusal by the Greek Cypriot administration to accept or recognize the existence of the Red Crescent in Cyprus. They do not have the authority to refuse to do so as their President accepted the mechanism during the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

61. Unlike Mr. Rossides, I do not believe in the usefulness of an acrimonious debate here; I shall therefore confine my comments very briefly to the recent developments and what we on the Turkish side consider to be the main obstacles to a settlement.

62. We have just had a very pessimistic presentation from the Greek Cypriot side. While I do not pretend that a settlement is at hand, I certainly do not share the pessimism. We must be realistic. The Cyprus problem involves two communities which have been in a state of conflict for the past quarter of a century; two communities which have been physically and politically separate since 1963; two communities which have not been able even to play football together for the last 20 years. Any settlement necessitates, above all, patience and perseverance. The Cyprus problem, a problem with a long and turbulent history, is not one which can be settled overnight. I feel therefore that the pessimism expressed is totally unwarranted. The problem is to find ways and means of

re-establishing a joint government in Cyprus. I believe that, given goodwill and a realistic approach, there is no reason why a satisfactory solution should not be found to the problem of the two communities.

63. What has been done to facilitate and expedite the solution of the Cyprus problem since the last meeting of the Security Council on this subject last December? The Turkish side, for its part, has made renewed and increased efforts with a view to achieving a just and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. As confirmed by the Secretary-General, it was the bold initiative of President Denktaş in January of this year that succeeded in bringing about the resumption of the intercommunal talks. President Denktaş's initiative was prompted, above all, by the genuine desire of the Turkish Cypriot community to attain a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem, and that initiative constitutes the best evidence of the goodwill and sincerity of the Turkish Cypriot side.

64. In his letter of 9 January 1977 to Archbishop Makarios which led to the historic meeting of the two leaders, President Denktaş expressed his readiness to discuss with the Archbishop all aspects of the Cyprus problem. President Denktaş also stated:

"Needless to say, I am also ready to discuss with Your Beatitude the establishment of a transitional bicomunal administration as a first step in the right direction, as I feel that the prolongation of the present situation will make it harder for us to re-establish a bicomunal federalism in the future. Generations of Greeks and Turks are growing up who regard each other as enemies.

"A bicomunal political show in which the actors will be those enemies does not seem to be a just and fair inheritance which we can leave to our own people."

President Denktaş added:

"Any positive steps which can be taken in this direction will, I am sure, contribute to a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem and consequently to the alleviation of many of the hardships which are at present suffered by both communities, the alleviation of which is contingent upon a political settlement."

65. As a result of that initiative, Archbishop Makarios, who had up to that time spurned any such meeting, met President Denktaş on 27 January. That meeting in itself—the first one in 13 years—constitutes an important step towards the solution of the Cyprus problem.

66. A second meeting between President Denktaş and Archbishop Makarios—this time in the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim—took place on 12 February. During this significant meeting, which was described by a United Nations spokesman as "positive and cordial", instructions and a framework were worked out as a basis for future negotiations between the two communities, and it was agreed that an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal, Federal Republic should be established.

67. In the light of the framework agreement reached between the leaders of the two communities, the sixth round of the intercommunal talks was convened at Vienna, where concrete proposals were exchanged between the two sides for the first time.

68. Despite the fact that the positions of the two sides still remain far apart, it is our sincere belief that with patience, good statesmanship and mutual accommodation a realistic solution can be found to our long-standing problem.

69. Why has it not been possible to bridge the gap between the positions of the two communities? Unfortunately, the goodwill displayed by the Turkish Cypriot side has not received the response it deserves from the Greek Cypriot side. During the past six months, the attitude of the Greek Cypriot side has continued to be characterized by its intransigence, its lack of goodwill and its determination to divert efforts away from the intercommunal talks and to look outside Cyprus for the solution of the problem—a problem which is, in essence, a constitutional problem between the two communities.

70. The Greek Cypriot side continues to regard the Cyprus problem as a question of territory or as a simple boundary dispute. The Cyprus problem is not a dispute which can be settled by having so many square miles of land go to one side or the other. The problem involves important, fundamental constitutional issues. It necessitates the establishment of a new arrangement whereby the two communities will be able to participate in the administration of the island on a basis of equality. It concerns the equal status of the two communities. It concerns the security of life and property of the Turkish Cypriot community, which, being smaller in number, has been the suffering party for the past 20 years. It concerns the defendability of the territory to be administered by each community. It concerns the attainment by the Turkish Cypriot community of an equal opportunity to develop economically without hindrance and discrimination.

71. Let us therefore not blur and oversimplify the fundamental issues which are at stake. Let us examine carefully and objectively why there has been no agreement so far.

72. The slow progress in the intercommunal talks is primarily the result of the different approach to the problem taken by the two parties. The Greek Cypriots speak of devolution. They still look upon Cyprus as a Greek island and they are considering how few rights they can give the Turkish Cypriot community within a Greek-dominated administrative set-up. They ignore the fact that separation does exist—a separation which they themselves brought about through their oppression and armed onslaught against the Turkish Cypriots in 1963. They continue to pretend that there is one Cyprus, one administration, one region and that they are the government in control of the whole island and entitled to speak for and on behalf of both communities.

73. The fact that I am here addressing the Council is proof in itself that there is no one government which can speak for both communities. The whole world knows that there is

no such government. There are today two separate autonomous administrations exercising exclusive control and authority over two distinct regions of the island.

74. There has been so much bloodshed and there is such deep-rooted mistrust between the two communities that it will definitely take time to restore trust and co-operation between the two sides.

75. In view of the past, it would not be realistic to expect normalization overnight. It is of the utmost importance to exercise caution at the initial stages lest conditions which created the tragedies of the past be revived. It is pertinent to note here that there are still over 70,000 weapons in the hands of unauthorized Greek Cypriots in the south. That has been confirmed by none other than Mr. Glafcos Clerides, who recently made a public statement to the effect that, after Makarios suffered a heart attack, armed groups belonging to rival Greek Cypriot terrorist organizations prepared to fight each other on an island-wide scale.

76. The Turkish Cypriot side envisages the establishment of a bi-communal, bi-zonal and non-aligned federal republic in which the two national communities will be able to live side by side in their respective regions in peace and security, free from the domination of one by the other.

77. We should start cautiously and realistically and, to begin with, should give only limited powers and functions to the central federal government. With the growth of mutual trust and confidence, demonstrated not merely by words but also by deeds, it would be possible for the links between the two federated States to become strengthened in time.

78. The federation we propose, while starting with loose links, will continuously evolve with the passage of time into a stronger and lasting federal republic, through a process which may be described as "federation by evolution".

79. A realistic solution of the Cyprus problem can be achieved only if the Greek Cypriot side acknowledges the past bitter experiences of the Turkish Cypriot community and realizes that any settlement must embody effective safeguards to prevent the recurrence of the unfortunate events of the past. Unless the Greek Cypriots appreciate the genuine fears and anxieties of the Turkish Cypriots about the future and unless they agree to an arrangement which will ensure equality, security and economic prosperity to the Turkish Cypriot community in the future, there will be no significant improvement in prospects for an early settlement.

80. Another factor jeopardizing peace efforts is the continuation and intensification of the political and economic warfare of the Greek Cypriot administration against the Turkish Cypriot community. In pursuance of this warfare, the Greek Cypriots, *inter alia*, try to prevent the operation of charter flights to northern Cyprus and threaten foreign tourism agencies organizing package tours to northern Cyprus, hence undermining Turkish Cypriot tourism. They place obstructions in the way of foreign ships and aircraft seeking to call at our ports and airports, thereby preventing the exportation of our agricultural

produce and industrial goods, with a view to crippling our economy. In that regard, they went so far last month as to imprison a Danish captain for two months for having called at the Turkish Cypriot port of Famagusta, as though he had committed a serious criminal offence.

81. Hardly a month passes when we do not have to defend ourselves in a political court case in European capitals or fight political battles at international forums.

82. Are we to concentrate on peace talks or are we to go all around the world, with our very limited personnel and financial means, fighting political battles and defending ourselves in political court cases brought against us by the Greek Cypriots? Every such confrontation not only causes a drain on the resources of both communities and further hardens the positions of the two sides, but deepens even more the separation and division of the two communities, thus putting off a political settlement.

83. Recently the Greek Cypriot-administered Central Bank issued instructions to foreign banks operating in the north to terminate foreign exchange transactions and not to issue foreign exchange to Turkish Cypriots, despite the fact that all foreign currency deposited in these banks by Turkish Cypriots found its way to the Greek Cypriot Central Bank. Furthermore, the Central Bank usurped the Turkish Cypriot share in its funds following the events of 1974. Such action by the Greek Cypriots only serves to force us to establish our own central bank and hence further perpetuates the division of the two communities.

84. Each action calls for a reaction, and I am sure that, when the time comes, the Council will differentiate between the action and the legitimate and just reaction.

85. If the Greek Cypriot side genuinely desires meaningful negotiations, it should refrain from such acts and co-operate with us in order to establish a suitable climate for meaningful negotiations.

86. It is evident, therefore, that the underlying reason for the lack of progress towards the solution of the Cyprus problem has been the reluctance of the Greek Cypriot side to accept the realities of Cyprus, and its failure to work with us for the normalization of the situation.

87. I should like to state yet once again that the Turkish Cypriots do not want anything in excess of their legitimate rights: their right to live as equal citizens enjoying full security of life and property and their right to prosper economically under conditions of equal opportunity and without the discrimination and hardships they have faced in the past. In short, what the Turkish Cypriots want is a new constitutional and administrative arrangement that will enable them to live in peace and security and physical, actual guarantees that will not again expose them to dangers as in the past, an arrangement that will prevent the domination and oppression of one community by the other.

88. It is my ardent hope and sincere belief that a permanent solution of the Cyprus problem is possible through the intercommunal talks, which are in fact the only

way in which the sides can best understand each others' positions and hence find ways and means of accommodating each other.

89. As I have already stated, this process requires patience and perseverance, and the success of the negotiations depends above all on a change of heart and a change of approach on the part of the Greek Cypriot side.

90. With all due respect to the Council and its members, I am of the opinion that there is more for UNESCO to do in Cyprus than for the Security Council. There must be a new philosophy. We must educate our people to look upon each other as equals to be respected and not as enemies to be hated.

91. As Mr. Clerides said during a television programme on 29 May 1975, the Greek Cypriot youth and the National Guard should be educated so that they do not look upon the Turkish Cypriots as their natural national enemy.

92. The Greek Cypriots must accept that we, the Turkish Cypriots, are a part of Cyprus and we should be treated as such.

93. Efforts by the Greek Cypriot side so eloquently emphasized by Mr. Rossides a moment ago not to accept us as parties to the Cyprus problem are, to say the least, not conducive to a settlement in Cyprus. I hope that his views are not shared by his administration.

94. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Greece.

95. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): Mr. President, may I offer you my warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. Your wide experience and your diplomatic skill as well as your deep knowledge of United Nations matters are for us a source of confidence that you will effectively, efficiently and objectively guide the discussion on the item on the agenda. You represent a country with which my country has traditional bonds of close friendship and co-operation. At the same time, I should like to thank the Council for having allowed me to participate in the discussion.

96. On the proposal of the Secretary-General, the Security Council has decided to renew the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months. This resolution, to which the Government of Cyprus has agreed, is supported by my Government.

97. I take this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General our deep appreciation for his dedicated and untiring efforts in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem. We also express sincere thanks to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, and to the Under-Secretaries-General, Mr. Roberto Guyer and Mr. Brian Urquhart.

98. Our gratitude goes also to the Governments which, through voluntary contributions in personnel and funds, enable UNFICYP to continue its peace-keeping and humanitarian role. We wish to pay a tribute too to the

Commander of the Force, Major-General Quinn, and to the officers and men serving under difficult conditions in the field.

99. The representative of Cyprus, Ambassador Rossides, has already expressed his Government's views as regards the situation prevailing in the island as reflected in the Secretary-General's report and the wider implications of the Cyprus problem. I shall therefore avoid going over the same ground. But with the Council's indulgence, I shall try to deal as briefly as possible with points contained in the report that should be drawn to its attention.

100. First is the fact that UNFICYP's access to the area under Turkish military control remains restricted, and humanitarian work continues to be carried out on a limited scale. As stated in the report, UNFICYP's freedom of movement is limited to access to its camps and observation and liaison posts, and the Force is denied access to Greek Cypriot habitations. Moreover, UNFICYP personnel is not permitted to deliver relief supplies destined for Greek Cypriots and Maronites directly to the recipients. Notwithstanding UNFICYP's unremitting efforts to alleviate the plight of the Greek Cypriots in the area under Turkish control, the living conditions of the latter are still, and I quote from the report, "a cause for concern" [S/12342, para. 20].

101. Secondly, the situation regarding medical care for the Greek Cypriots in the north remains as described in the Secretary-General's report of 9 December 1976 [S/12253, para. 36], that is to say that, despite the Vienna communiqué of 2 August 1975, the Greek Cypriots in the occupied area are denied the medical care of their own doctors.

102. Thirdly, the Avlona situation, which, as the Council knows, constitutes another attempt to encroach upon Greek Cypriot property, remains as it was described in the last report of the Secretary-General [*ibid.*, paras. 21-26].

103. Fourthly, paragraph 30 of the report before us states:

"Appreciable quantities of commercial commodities . . . have continued to be taken from Greek Cypriot-owned business houses and other premises in the Famagusta area, giving rise to complaints of looting. The Turkish Cypriot authorities have indicated to UNFICYP that records are kept and that certain confiscated properties would be accounted for in the event of a political agreement."

Apart from deploring the grim continuation of the looting of Greek Cypriot property, may I, through you, Mr. President, ask what is the meaning of the word "certain" in this paragraph and what is to be the fate of the Greek Cypriot properties which may be refused inclusion in that term. Perhaps those also are destined for so-called exportation.

104. Fifthly, the report registers no progress in the humanitarian question of missing persons.

105. Sixthly, in Kyrenia, Greek Cypriots have remained without religious assistance.

106. Paragraph 54 of the report states that

“The daily exodus of Greek Cypriots from the north virtually ceased in late January and, with the institution of a system whereby UNFICYP carefully monitors the movement of Greek Cypriots between the north and the south, the transfers have been reduced to a trickle.”

I feel this paragraph merits closer examination. First of all, the reduction of the Greek Cypriot population in the north during the period covered by the Secretary-General's report, 7 December 1976 to 7 June 1977, is much more drastic than a reading of this paragraph would reveal *prima facie*. According to paragraph 29 of the Secretary-General's report of 9 December 1976, on 6 December 1976 the Greek Cypriot population in the north was 3,631. The figure given for 7 June 1977 is 2,000, which represents a reduction of 1,631, in other words, a further decrease of 45 per cent of the remaining Greek Cypriot population. It is no wonder that the report speaks of a “trickle”, since it refers to a source that is being systematically dried out, if we take into account the fact that the population, which represented more than 200,000 souls, has been reduced to a mere 2,000. Only so few have been left in the north of the island out of the vast indigenous majority population that had lived there since the dawn of history.

107. The present unacceptable situation in Cyprus is, as the Council knows, the result of the continuous and blatant disrespect of the other side for the principles of the Charter, for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and for a whole series of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, specifically Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), resolution 365 (1974) by which the Council endorses resolution 3212 (XXIX), and subsequent ones which provide for respect for the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus, the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Cyprus, the return of refugees to their homes in safety and the settlement of the problem through negotiations between the two communities with the help of the good offices of the Secretary-General.

108. Three full years after the Turkish invasion, 40 per cent of the Republic's territory is still under foreign military occupation, including 70 per cent of the island's resources, plus the most fertile land and important Greek Cypriot investments in industry, tourism and other sectors of the economy—and all this in the name of a minority community that does not exceed 18 per cent of the total population of the island.

109. The massive and systematic expulsion of the Greek Cypriot population from the area under Turkish military occupation has brought the number of refugees—refugees in their own country—to 198,477, as stated in paragraph 36 of the Secretary-General's report, whereas the colonization of the island by migrants from the Turkish mainland is an attempt to alter the demographic pattern of the island in violation of paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX).

110. After many successive rounds of intercommunal talks held under the Secretary-General's auspices by virtue of the

mandate entrusted to him by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the negotiations have still to enter the substantive phase. Chapter VII of the report voices eloquently the Secretary-General's disappointment, which we share.

111. It is obvious that as long as the negotiating process is used by the other side as a convenient delaying tactic in order to perpetuate faits accomplis and to create so-called irreversible situations, there is little hope of making real progress towards a peaceful settlement. It should be pointed out, however, that the United Nations and humanity have bitter experience of the results of such methods and tactics.

112. I would assure the Council that the Greek Government will continue as in the past to lend its full support to the Secretary-General's mission of good offices, and we welcome his intention expressed in paragraph 59 of the report to continue with his efforts in order to clear the way for substantive negotiations on all issues of the Cyprus problem at future rounds of talks. We are grateful to the Secretary-General that he is ready to spare no effort to assist the parties in this regard.

113. The Greek Cypriot side has shown its goodwill and readiness to negotiate seriously by submitting concrete proposals on the territorial aspect of the Cyprus problem, as well as on other related aspects. The Greek Cypriot community is still awaiting a positive response. For our part, we shall not give up repeating that a solution can be found only through serious, sincere and meaningful negotiations in conformity with the basic principles of the Charter and through the implementation of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

114. Only a peaceful settlement will eliminate the potentially explosive situation in the island as stated by the Secretary-General in paragraph 60 of his report, where he proposes the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP, and only thus will the danger be averted that threatens the international peace and security, as recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 31/12.

115. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Turkey, on whom I now call.

116. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you warmly upon your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June, and to express to you our deep appreciation for the efficient and diligent way in which you have conducted the consultations in connexion with the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. In paying a tribute to your wisdom, diplomatic skill and wide experience, I should like also to stress the satisfaction that we feel in seeing as President a representative of a country with which Turkey enjoys cordial and fruitful relations in all fields.

117. I wish to seize this opportunity to reiterate to the Secretary-General that we highly value his tireless efforts in the search for a solution to the Cyprus conflict. We renew our appreciation to the countries providing troops and contributing financially to UNFICYP.

118. We should like once again to express our thanks to the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, and Under-Secretaries-General Mr. Urquhart and Mr. Guyer for their sustained and dedicated efforts in the fulfilment of their functions. We should like to commend Major-General Quinn who has proved to be an exemplary Force Commander since he assumed his responsibilities.

119. We have carefully studied the report of the Secretary-General [S/12342]. Although we may not agree with each and every element in the report, we consider it nevertheless to be the outcome of a serious and fair endeavour to assess the developments in Cyprus during the last six months.

120. In paragraph 28 of the report, the Secretary-General makes reference to the restriction on the freedom of movement of UNFICYP. In this respect, it should be borne in mind that, in contrast to previous reports, this one does not mention the arrangements which were being negotiated on the stationing, deployment and functioning of UNFICYP in the territory under the authority of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. Last year, it was reported that an agreed text of letters to be exchanged had been drawn up. This exchange has not taken place. It is evident that UNFICYP has to reach an understanding with the Turkish administration for the discharging of its functions in the north of the island. In the absence of such an agreement, it is difficult to judge the criteria which are used in determining the exact nature of the restrictions mentioned.

121. The Security Council, in all its resolutions, combined the renewal of the mandate with a call for negotiations and has expressed the hope, year after year, that at the end of a six-month period there would be no need for yet another renewal. This is what the Council has done once more. We hope that this is the last such call. If, indeed, in the next six months there is not substantial progress towards a solution, the Council should perhaps at least review the mandate of the Force as it was established in 1964 and adapt it to the prevailing circumstances.

122. When one reads the report and bears in mind the previous reports, it becomes clear that the island has recently, for the first time in many years, enjoyed unprecedented calm and tranquillity. Some of the issues which in the past had adversely affected the relations between the two communities have abated. In paragraph 51, the Secretary-General reaches the same conclusion:

“The situation in Cyprus was quiet during the period under review, especially since the meetings between the leaders of the two communities that were held on 27 January in the presence of my Special Representative and on 12 February 1977 under my personal auspices. Thus, three years after the events of 1974, a substantial trend towards stabilization of the security situation has developed and is being maintained.”

In the fifth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution it adopted late last night, the Council also takes due note of the improved situation in Cyprus [see resolution 410 (1977)].

123. Room for optimism increases not only because of the relative calm and tranquillity prevailing in the island but as a result of the significant developments since the beginning of 1977 in the search for a peaceful settlement. Upon the initiative of President Denktaş, the leaders of the two communities held two meetings, in late January and early February of this year, and concluded a framework agreement. These high-level meetings between the two leaders, their first in more than a decade, as well as the framework agreement, have been unanimously termed a breakthrough in the quest for a solution by all concerned. In the sixth preambular paragraph of the resolution, the Council, in its wisdom, takes note of the meeting between President Denktaş and Archbishop Makarios and emphasizes the need to adhere to the framework agreement reached at that meeting. My delegation is gratified to see that the Council, in doing so, has taken a realistic and constructive approach. Indeed, the framework agreement has established a new basis for intercommunal talks. The negotiating process can be long and arduous, but there is no doubt that it has moved into a more concrete phase following that agreement.

124. The Secretary-General, in paragraph 58 of the report, observes:

“The task that now confronts the parties is to bridge the conceptual and substantive differences that separate their positions regarding the basic structure and future development of an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal federal republic of Cyprus.”

Then he concludes, in paragraph 59:

“I still believe that the negotiations between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities, at the level of the interlocutors and at other levels as necessary, are the best available method of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem.”

My Government shares these opinions and will lend every assistance it can to achieve those purposes.

125. I should like to state the position of my Government on resolution 410 (1977) which was adopted yesterday. In the eighth preambular paragraph there is an unfortunate reference to a “Government of Cyprus”, which compels my Government to dissociate itself from the resolution. A reference to such an entity, which is non-existent, is all the more misleading when the leaders of the two communities, in their framework agreement of 12 February 1977, have decided to establish an “independent, non-aligned, bi-communal Federal Republic”, and thus merge the two separate administrations of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities. Therefore, the resolution adopted yesterday is unacceptable to us *in toto*.

126. The resolution contains two basic and operative elements. First, it gives UNFICYP a mandate for another period of six months to carry out its functions. We concur with this extension, having heard Minister Çelik, who informed the Council of the consent of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. Secondly, the resolution reiterates the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General in

the intercommunal negotiations. My Government has supported the mission of the Secretary-General within its present framework. It will continue to do so.

127. The representative of Greece has again, in his statement, used the words "invasion" and "occupation" in referring to the intervention of Turkey in Cyprus in 1974 and to the presence of Turkish forces in the island for the purpose of protecting the Turkish community until a settlement can be achieved. He omitted, as usual, to mention the reason for which Turkey had to intervene on 20 July 1974. His memory can only go back that far; he does not recall what had happened only a few days earlier, on 15 July 1974. But it was none other than Archbishop Makarios who described what happened on that day as "an invasion by Greece with the aim of annexing Cyprus". The solicitude of the representative of Greece for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus has, therefore, a rather cynical ring. I think I shall limit my reply to the representative of Greece to those few words. The other points he has raised have been dealt with already by Minister Çelik.

128. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, my delegation wishes to congratulate you upon your brilliant assumption of the presidency of the Council. My delegation is satisfied with the responsible manner in which you have been conducting our deliberations since the beginning of the month. Your beautiful and great country, Canada, and my country, the People's Republic of Benin, enjoy friendly, cordial and close relations. Co-operation between our two countries has recently developed in an encouraging way. The Beninese people, which highly esteems the Canadian people, is most appreciative of the generous assistance provided by Canada for the development of the People's Republic of Benin. On behalf of my country, I wish to express to yours our sincere gratitude.

129. My delegation has followed attentively the impartial manner in which you, Mr. President, have so far guided our long and difficult informal consultations, which made possible the adoption of the resolution renewing the mandate of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus. My country recognizes that the maintenance of the Force in Cyprus is an unquestionable necessity, since the effects of the armed aggression against the peaceful people of Cyprus have alas not been eliminated. That explains the favourable attitude of my country towards the resolution we adopted yesterday.

130. My delegation congratulates the Secretary-General and his staff on their work to achieve a peaceful settlement of the crisis. My delegation sincerely hopes that their efforts will be crowned with success and that the Cypriot people, which is one and indivisible, will find peace and serenity once again.

131. The position of my country on the Cyprus question is known to all. It is based upon principle. My country is categorically opposed to the annexation and appropriation of territory by force. My country is categorically opposed to the use of force to settle disputes that pit States or ethnic communities within a single nation against each

other. That is why my country, itself a recent victim of armed aggression in which vile mercenaries were used against its independence and sovereignty, condemns all States which in one way or another have violated the sovereignty of the non-aligned State of Cyprus.

132. The continued occupation of a major part of the territory of Cyprus by Turkish forces is unacceptable, and the international community cannot countenance that challenge.

133. Any policy aimed at transforming the island into a strategic military base will be energetically opposed by my country, because such a policy would constitute a serious threat that is all the greater since Cyprus, like Benin, is a small and defenceless country. My country condemns all the plots and expansionist aims that violate the sovereignty of the Cypriot State.

134. The Cypriot crisis, seen from within, is a national problem that must be settled peacefully and in full freedom, without outside interference by anybody whatsoever and under United Nations auspices. The Cypriot ethnic communities have lived side by side so far, and have, in consequence, a common history and culture. My delegation is therefore of the opinion that the efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff should be encouraged so as to facilitate a dialogue between those communities.

135. The Secretary-General's report, which my delegation read with great care, is an objective one that enables us to consider the Cypriot crisis in which there has been no improvement since it arose. Despite a relative calm, the basic problems remain unsolved. All that should be a subject of major concern for the Organization and particularly for the Security Council.

136. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): Mr. President, first of all I should like to record our appreciation for the work of your predecessor, Ambassador Boya, the representative of Benin, as our President last month. We were particularly pleased that it was under his leadership that the Council took another significant step towards tightening the sanctions against the illegal régime in Rhodesia. His diplomatic skills and dedication made an important contribution to the successful work of the Council last month, in this and in other areas.

137. I should also like to welcome you, Mr. President, to your responsibilities, responsibilities which you have already been carrying out in a vigorous and effective manner these last days. We are indeed fortunate to have in this Council leadership of such high quality as that represented by you.

138. The Council's renewal last night of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus was an expression of our concern, of our responsibility and of our confidence that the still unsettled situation in Cyprus can and will be resolved. We are encouraged by the fact that there was a resumption this spring of the intercommunal negotiations. The Secretary-General states in his report that UNFICYP fulfils a vital and indispensable mission in maintaining quiet on the island, and thereby facilitating the

search for a peaceful settlement. My Government shares that view. We do not underestimate the difficulties in overcoming the deep differences between the parties on the basic elements of a settlement. We believe that the parties must continue to explore their requirements for a settlement in a serious and sustained manner. Through that process, steps can be taken towards the permanent settlement for Cyprus that we all seek.

139. The events of the last six months underscore the importance of UNFICYP continuing its essential mission. We are therefore concerned by the Secretary-General's report of the growing financial difficulty for the United Nations in maintaining the Force. It is disturbing that the UNFICYP deficit has grown to over \$54 million. That means that the United Nations has been unable to pay the reimbursement claims of troop-contributing countries beyond the second half of 1973. We have consistently expressed our belief that the financial burden of UNFICYP must be shared by all Member States who profess concern for the realization of an enduring peace in Cyprus. The permanent members of the Security Council have a special obligation to provide financial support to peace keeping in Cyprus. We hope that the Governments to which the Secretary-General has made a special appeal for assistance will respond generously.

140. My Government wishes to commend the officers and troop contingents of UNFICYP—including, Mr. President, the contingent from your country—for their continued excellence in carrying out their important mission. We also wish to express our deepest appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General and his associates. They especially deserve our praise for their continuing efforts to help the Cyprus parties to negotiate a mutually acceptable settlement.

141. Finally, may I express the hope of the United States Government and of the American people that the months ahead will see steady progress towards a negotiated settlement in the question of Cyprus.

142. Mr. BYATT (United Kingdom): Mr. President, let me start by congratulating you on your assumption of the office of President of the Council so early in Canada's term of membership in the Council. A high reputation preceded you from Geneva, and having had the opportunity to work closely with you, both in the Council and in other bodies of the United Nations, my delegation knows that that reputation is more than justified.

143. I also take this opportunity to ask the representative of Benin to convey to your predecessor, Ambassador Boya, my delegation's congratulations on the successful way in which he concluded his term of office last month.

144. I now turn to the question on today's agenda. The United Kingdom voted for the resolution that we adopted last night because we agree with the view expressed in the latest report of the Secretary-General [S/12342] that the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is an indispensable factor in keeping the peace in Cyprus and because we support his proposal that the mandate of the Force should be extended for a further six months. The

United Kingdom Government hopes to maintain the British contingent at its present strength for the next six months. We shall continue to meet the costs of our contingent—which is the largest in the Force—in full. We shall also continue to meet a large part of the cost of logistic support to the Force. In the financial year 1976/77, the United Kingdom's contribution to UNFICYP's logistic support may be as much as £1.7 million.

145. The Secretary-General has, as we have now come to expect, given us a further comprehensive, yet lucid, report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the last six months. I should like briefly to refer to four parts of the report that my delegation regards as being particularly important.

146. The first point I wish to make concerns paragraph 10 of the report, where it is stated that the exodus of Greek Cypriots from the north has slowed down substantially since the end of January 1977, and that a new improved procedure has been instituted for screening transfers of Greek Cypriots from the north to the south. My delegation regards the tragic sufferings of the ordinary people of Cyprus as a matter just as serious as the political aspects of the Cyprus problem. It is perhaps scarcely a cause for satisfaction that the flow of Greek Cypriots from their homes has been reduced. It continues to be a cause of concern to my Government that UNFICYP'S freedom of movement in the north of Cyprus remains restricted. However, the reduction in the numbers of Greek Cypriots leaving their homes in the north represents a modest step towards a return to normality in the island. We hope that still more can be done and that in the Secretary-General's next report he will no longer be obliged to include a sentence to the effect that the living conditions of the Greek Cypriots remaining in the area under Turkish Cypriot control are still a cause for concern.

147. Secondly, it is most welcome that the military situation in Cyprus has been quiet during the period under review and that the Secretary-General is able to record what he describes as a substantial trend towards stabilization of the security situation. In this context the Secretary-General rightly pays tribute to the efforts of the officers and men of UNFICYP who have carried out their tasks with exemplary efficiency and devotion to duty. Major-General Quinn can be proud that his first six months with the Force have seen, on the military side, a notable reduction in breaches of the cease-fire by shooting and in the number of violations of the cease-fire by movement forward. No one would assert that the absence of incidents will lead of itself to a settlement of the Cyprus problem, but, equally, no one would deny that a settlement of the problem would scarcely be possible against a background of cease-fire violations and military confrontation.

148. Thirdly, there is the continuing and disquieting problem of the Force's financial situation. In his report, the Secretary-General again warns the Council that the time may come when UNFICYP will not be able to continue to function, because of lack of funds. He points out that the troop contributors bear a disproportionate burden in making possible a peace-keeping operation established and repeatedly extended by the Security Council. We share the

Secretary-General's hope that the special approaches he is now making to a number of Governments will have more encouraging results than previous approaches of this kind. Otherwise the day may come when troop contributors are no longer willing to make possible the implementation of the mandate given by the Council. The status of the United Nations in the eyes of world public opinion would not be enhanced by the spectacle of the Security Council solemnly voting for the continued existence of a peace-keeping force which was then unable to continue to operate because of the absence of funds.

149. Finally, I wish to refer to the political aspects of the Cyprus situation. When we met to renew the UNFICYP mandate six months ago, the intercommunal talks were in suspense and the Secretary-General observed in his report [S/12253, para. 76] that if the impasse was allowed to be prolonged the basic issues would become more and more intractable and the situation increasingly dangerous. However, in January, Archbishop Makarios agreed to Mr. Denktas's proposal that the two of them should meet. That meeting led, on 12 February, to a further meeting under the auspices of the Secretary-General, at which the two leaders agreed that the intercommunal talks should be reconvened. A number of meetings have now been held at Vienna and at Nicosia, latterly under the auspices of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, to whose diplomatic skill the international community owes a great debt of gratitude.

150. I should like at this point to express my delegation's regret that Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar is prevented by illness from being present in the Council chamber today. It is our earnest hope that he will speedily recover his health and be able to continue his valuable work.

151. While the resumption of the talks is most welcome, the Secretary-General pointed out in his report of 30 April [S/12323] that there is still a long way to go; both sides must make vastly increased efforts to appreciate one another's positions, apprehensions and aspirations. However, it is encouraging that at the Vienna meeting on 31 March the Greek Cypriot side for the first time submitted a specific territorial proposal, together with a map, and the Turkish Cypriot side submitted a constitutional proposal. Both sides made it clear that their proposals were negotiable. The United Kingdom Government shares the view expressed in paragraph 58 of the Secretary-General's latest report that the task before the negotiators, though difficult, is not insuperable; the parties must now initiate the process of identifying, exploring in depth and broadening such common ground as may exist between them with regard to the territorial and constitutional issues and the related specific questions of principle.

152. In paragraph 57 of his report, the Secretary-General refers, in suitably diplomatic language, to the fact that "certain political developments are being awaited before the next step is taken". Those political developments have now taken place. I want to leave the parties in no doubt that, with the relatively stable situation in the island, with the intercommunal talks once again under way and with those political developments behind us, there are widespread expectations of progress. We who support the

United Nations operation in Cyprus can make our contribution to the maintenance of peace; but the responsibility lies with the Cypriot leaders themselves to ensure an end to the bitterness and bloodshed of the past. My delegation believes that favourable circumstances now exist for the fulfilment of that responsibility. We hope that, when we next meet to renew the mandate of UNFICYP, this belief will not have been disappointed. If it is disappointed, I fear that the frustration of expectations both inside and outside the island could dangerously aggravate what the Secretary-General still rightly describes as the potentially explosive situation in Cyprus.

153. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my first words are words of cordial congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for June. Your competence and, above all, your patience and calm have already borne fruit in the adoption of resolution 410 (1977). I should like to assure you that, as in the past, we are ready to offer our whole-hearted and friendly co-operation in the accomplishment of your important task.

154. Permit me to take this opportunity to express to Ambassador Boya, to his assistant, Mr. Hougavou, and to the other members of his delegation our sincere gratitude for their efforts in May when Benin assumed the presidency of the Council and for the competence and devotion with which Mr. Boya conducted the proceedings of this body.

155. In spite of certain encouraging events in contacts between the representatives of the two parties involved in the Cyprus conflict, over the past six months we have not witnessed any true progress towards a solution of the substantive problems. Consequently, the *de facto* political and military situation in the island has remained unchanged and this has made it necessary for the Security Council to extend, for a further period of six months, the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. The Romanian delegation agreed with that Security Council decision because of the positive role played by UNFICYP and particularly because the legal Government of the Republic of Cyprus gave its assent.

156. Ever since the Cyprus conflict broke out, Romania has consistently been in favour of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, as also of the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops on that country's soil and the cessation of all foreign intervention in its affairs. My country has always stressed the need for a political settlement of the situation by negotiations between the two communities under the aegis and with the active contribution of the United Nations and in the terms of its relevant resolutions. It is only in this way that it will be possible to bring about a final settlement of the Cyprus problem in accordance with the rights and aspirations of the two communities, a settlement that would ensure their coexistence within a single, independent State.

157. Until we succeed in bringing about such a settlement, it is quite natural for the Council to urge all the parties concerned to demonstrate moderation, to refrain from any action likely to hold up further a settlement of the conflict

and to comply with all the agreements that have already been achieved.

158. A positive development in the efforts aimed at bringing about a settlement of the Cyprus problem was the high-level meeting and the joint communiqué published on that occasion.

159. We should like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and to his Special Representative, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, thanks to whom it was possible to organize those meetings and the new series of intercommunal talks at Vienna and Nicosia. As the Secretary-General writes in his report, in spite of his efforts, it has not proved possible to reach a stage where an effective negotiating process could emerge from the statement of contradictory positions adopted by the parties to the talks. However, like the Secretary-General, we remain convinced that negotiations between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities are the best means of arriving at a lasting and just settlement of the Cyprus problem.

160. We have noted with satisfaction the Secretary-General's intention of continuing the mission of good offices which the Security Council has entrusted to him, and we should like to encourage him to continue his efforts with the same energy and devotion. The parties concerned should take advantage of the extension of UNFICYP's mandate to get real negotiations under way on controversial aspects in order to achieve an equitable solution to the Cypriot problem.

161. We feel that it is the duty of the United Nations and the whole international community, in particular the other countries in the area, to make their contributions to the success of negotiations between the parties concerned and to an overall settlement of the Cyprus problem. To that end, the Security Council should keep the Cyprus situation under review in view of its own responsibility for a settlement of the situation, the continuation of which is liable to threaten international peace and security.

162. My country remains ready—as it has been in the past and will continue to be in the future—to support the action to be undertaken by the Organization on this matter, as well as any other initiative designed to facilitate a solution of the Cyprus problem by the Cypriots themselves, to eliminate tension in the Mediterranean area and to develop relations of friendship and co-operation among the countries in that part of the world.

163. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, before turning to the substance of the question being considered by the Council, the Soviet delegation would like to congratulate you, the representative of Canada, a neighbour of the Soviet Union, on the successful performance of the important function of the presidency of the Council. We note with satisfaction the stability and fruitful development of good-neighbourly Soviet-Canadian relations. It is appropriate to point out here that, in the report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Party, the General Secretary, Mr. Brezhnev, stressed last year that, in

accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union would consistently continue the development with Canada, as well as with other Western countries, of relations of long-term, mutually advantageous co-operation in various fields—political, economic, scientific and cultural.

164. The Soviet delegation would also like to express its gratitude to your predecessor, President of the Council in May, the representative of the People's Republic of Benin, Ambassador Boya. Under his skilful leadership, the Council took decisions on a number of important items.

165. Today, the Council is once again discussing the question of extending the mandate of UNFICYP. However, it should be obvious to everyone that this question cannot be considered in isolation outside the context of the situation at present prevailing in Cyprus or separately from a settlement of the Cyprus problem.

166. About three years have gone by since the time when, as a result of foreign intervention, the normal life of the Republic of Cyprus and its people was disrupted. However, we once again have occasion to note that the causes underlying the Cyprus crisis and fundamental elements of the Cyprus problem still remain unresolved. Tens of thousands of Cypriots continue to live as refugees in their own country. There are still foreign troops on the territory of Cyprus. As is shown by the latest report of the Secretary-General, the talks between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities have encountered serious difficulties and have not led to any appreciable progress in the settlement of the fundamental aspects of the Cyprus problem. Attempts are still being made to exploit the difficult situation of the Republic of Cyprus in order to impose decisions alien to the interests of the Cypriot people.

167. The decisions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly with a view to a settlement of the Cyprus crisis have not been complied with; that situation is not normal. A lasting political settlement in Cyprus is a vital necessity.

168. The Soviet Union has always, from the very beginning of the Cyprus crisis, insisted that a settlement should be founded on the principles of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, and that all foreign intervention should be excluded and the internal affairs of Cyprus settled by the Cypriots themselves, reasonable account being taken of the interests and rights of both the Greek and the Turkish communities. As we know, it is precisely those principles that have been the key provisions of a number of resolutions adopted by the United Nations. The Soviet Union is convinced that the implementation of these provisions would open the way to a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem and would make possible the elimination of the hotbed of tension existing in Cyprus. The Soviet Union is firmly in favour of the immediate and full implementation of United Nations decisions on Cyprus. We have repeatedly stated our readiness to co-operate with other States in the interests of a just settlement of the Cyprus crisis.

169. The delegation of the USSR believes it necessary to reassert that, in our view, the best possibilities for settling

the Cyprus problem would consist in the convening of a representative international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations.

170. The delegation of the USSR supported the resolution for the extension of the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for a further six months, on account of the fact that the Government of the Republic of Cyprus had given its consent to that extension. The delegation of the USSR still understands that the financing of the Force will continue to be on a voluntary basis.

171. In conclusion, the USSR delegation considers it necessary to stress that extending the mandate of the Force one more time will not of itself resolve the substance of the Cyprus problem; nor will it promote a settlement of that problem. It is the duty of the Security Council to step up the efforts to ensure the implementation of United Nations decisions on Cyprus.

172. Mr. MIRZA (Pakistan): I have much pleasure, on behalf of the delegation of Pakistan, in joining other colleagues in conveying warm felicitations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. We are confident that under your wise, patient and able guidance—which has already produced such positive results—the Council will conduct its proceedings smoothly and efficiently.

173. I should like to take this opportunity also to express our appreciation for the sincerity and success with which Ambassador Boya of Benin presided over our deliberations last month.

174. Last night, the Security Council adopted a resolution extending the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for another six months. We are glad that this resolution was adopted without dissent and with the agreement of the parties concerned. The delegation of Pakistan fully associates itself with the sentiments expressed by previous speakers, in paying a well-deserved tribute to you, Mr. President, for your untiring efforts, which produced such a satisfactory result. The two communities of Cyprus deserve our special appreciation for the spirit of understanding and accommodation they have manifested in agreeing to the text of the resolution. We have no doubt that the extension of the mandate of the Force is essential for the maintenance of peace in the island and that a lasting settlement, based on justice, can be achieved only under peaceful conditions.

175. While the question of Cyprus remains to be resolved on a basis which will guarantee fully the rights of the two communities, we are encouraged by the two reports of the Secretary-General [S/12323 and S/12342] describing the latest developments relating to the question of Cyprus. The situation in the island is not normal, as indeed it cannot be under the circumstances. At the same time we note from the one on peace-keeping that there has been a considerable reduction of cease-fire violations and that a substantial trend towards stabilization of the security situation has developed and is being maintained, thanks in good part to the peace-keeping efforts of the Force and the indispensable co-operation of the parties. Further, the Force has

endeavoured to facilitate normal farming activity in the sensitive areas; it also continues its best efforts to discharge humanitarian functions, and the living conditions of the Greek Cypriots in the north have registered an improvement. Intercommunal incidents have declined considerably and the movement of the Greek Cypriots from the north has slowed down substantially. It is our confident expectation that the situation will continue to improve in the months to come.

176. My delegation would like to put on record its appreciation of the dedication and diligence with which the Force, under the able command of Major-General James Joseph Quinn, has discharged the difficult tasks assigned to it.

177. The reports of the Secretary-General also describe the all-important efforts undertaken by the two sides, under the good offices of the Secretary-General, for resumption of negotiations. It is indeed encouraging that the leaders of the two Cypriot communities, His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios and Mr. Rauf Denktas, met in January and February last and, after the meeting of 12 February, held under the auspices of the Secretary-General, four important instructions—or guidelines—were agreed upon and announced. Talks were also held subsequently at Vienna, in March and April, under the auspices of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative and proposals regarding the territorial and constitutional aspects were submitted and discussed by the two sides. It is a sign of good faith that each interlocutor made it clear that his own proposals were negotiable and that the talks would be resumed later this month.

178. In that context we should like to express our delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General for his persistent efforts aimed at bringing about a peaceful and just solution of the Cyprus problem. We would also like to put on record our appreciation to his Special Representative, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, for the valuable services he continues to render in the cause of peace. We fully share the assessment of the Secretary-General that the negotiations between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities, at the level of the interlocutors and other levels as necessary, are the best available method of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem.

179. My country continues to attach great importance to the search for an early solution of the problem of Cyprus. We are of the firm opinion that such a solution is possible provided it fully protects the fundamental rights of the two communities. We fully share the view that, in the continuing efforts toward a political solution of the Cyprus problem, the Secretary-General will have a crucial role to play. We are confident that, with the goodwill and the evident determination of the parties to live together in peace, the mission of good offices entrusted to the Secretary-General by the Security Council will be fruitful. We wish the Secretary-General all success in his efforts towards the promotion of a just and lasting peace in Cyprus.

180. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all, on behalf

of my delegation, to congratulate you upon your assumption of the presidency of the Council. Your talent, your qualities as a diplomat and negotiator and your vast experience of the United Nations have already been acknowledged and appreciated in many international forums, and in the delicate task that has been entrusted to you you have carried out your work successfully. We thank you.

181. Before I address myself to the subject of our meeting, I should like to congratulate the representative of Benin, Ambassador Boya, who is not with us today, on having so competently and effectively guided the work of the Council during the month of May. I would ask his collaborator, Mr. Houngavou, to convey to him our feelings of friendship and appreciation.

182. One might have thought that the renewal for a six-month period of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus would be a simple routine measure, but the vicissitudes that have marked the consultations on the subject by the Council have shown that not to be so. They clearly demonstrated, if demonstration was still required, the merits and the great utility of the decision we have taken. An essential factor for the containment of the still dangerous situation prevailing in the island, the Force is an indispensable element in the continued search for a peaceful settlement. As it discharges with great merit the many and often delicate tasks circumstances have led it to assume, it should benefit from all the authority conferred upon it by the support and confidence of the Council. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to its Commander, Major-General James Joseph Quinn, and to the contingents which comprise the Force. We associate ourselves with the thanks that have been addressed to the countries which provide those contingents for the valuable contribution they are making to the cause of restoring and maintaining peace.

183. The analysis of the present situation in Cyprus emerging from the very complete report submitted to us by the Secretary-General on 7 June leads us to deem desirable the renewal of the mandate of the Force. But that very same analysis also shows us the extent to which the hopes we placed in the process of negotiation have been disappointed in the past. Also, in renewing the Force's mandate, it is not our intention to maintain the *status quo* but to prevent the efforts under way and the search for a settlement from encountering new obstacles.

184. Since our last meeting, in December 1976, a new series of talks has taken place at Vienna. The existence and nature of the guidelines established a few weeks earlier by common agreement between the heads of both communities are such that they give rise to some hope concerning the outcome of those talks. We must regretfully acknowledge, as the Secretary-General notes in his reports of April and June, that it was not possible to embark on any effective negotiating process on that occasion. We also hope that the movement that has now been begun will not be hindered and that the next stage to which the Secretary-General has referred will not be too long in coming. I would emphasize that my delegation fully

associates itself with the comments made by the Secretary-General at the end of his report. He and his Special Representative, to whom we send our wishes for a speedy recovery, are skilfully and patiently engaged in efforts to prompt and foster the dialogue, efforts which deserve our appreciation. But the final result is not contingent upon them alone. The parties will have to resolve the differences of opinion which separate them; they will have to give proof of understanding and moderation in order to continue and develop the negotiations and refrain from any initiative likely to jeopardize them. We hope that the evolution of the political situation will assist them in that task.

185. I should now like briefly to comment on specific aspects of the report submitted to us. In December last [1980th meeting], I had occasion to say how concerned we were with the situation in the northern part of the island regarding both the relations between the two communities where they do come into contact and the obstacles encountered by the Force in the discharge of its mission. On this last point, we must note that, regrettably, the situation remains unchanged; the freedom of movement of the Force is still subject to restrictions. However, the Secretary-General notes that, thanks to the institution of a system whereby the Force carefully monitors the movement of Greek Cypriots between the north and the south, the daily exodus of Greek Cypriots from the north has considerably slowed down. This encouraging element leads us to regret even more the non-establishment of the machinery on which both parties reached agreement to trace missing persons of both communities.

186. Concerning the maintenance of the cease-fire, the Secretary-General has informed us of relative progress in the area of security. This trend is satisfactory and encouraging, but it should not lead us to forget that this is progress that will continue to be very fragile and precarious for as long as the fundamental problems confronting Cyprus remain unsolved. In our view, these problems, for the most part, are still unchanged, fully justifying the Secretary-General's view that the situation in the island remains potentially explosive. Therefore we note with satisfaction his intention to pursue his mission of good offices and to spare no effort in assisting the parties to arrive at a just and lasting settlement of the problem of Cyprus. He may, as in the past, rest assured of our entire support in this essential and difficult task.

187. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*translation from Chinese*): More than half a year has elapsed since the Cyprus question was considered at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. During this period, the Cyprus situation has witnessed some new development. We are pleased to note that, on 27 January this year, a direct meeting was held between Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, and His Excellency Mr. Denktas, leader of the Turkish Cypriots, with a view to finding a solution to the Cyprus question, the first meeting of its kind since 1974, and that on 12 February another meeting was held between them. These meetings, as declared by them subsequently, constituted a positive step in the correct direction. At present, the talks between the representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities are still going on.

188. We fully understand that the question of Cyprus is an issue left over by imperialist colonial rule. Furthermore, in recent years the question has been complicated by super-Power meddling and its solution will take some time. However, it is only the Cypriot people who will decide the destiny and future of Cyprus. It is our sincere hope that the two Cypriot communities and the countries directly concerned, bearing in mind the overall interests of opposing imperialism and hegemonism, will heighten their vigilance, continue to do away with super-Power intervention and, in particular, avoid giving any opening to that super-Power which is bent on sowing discord, inciting trouble and fishing in muddied waters under the pretext of "internationalization", and that they will proceed in the correct direction and carry on patient negotiations on an equal footing and in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation so as to eliminate their differences gradually and achieve a reasonable solution of the Cyprus question at an early date. Herein lie the fundamental interests of the two Cypriot communities, and this is the common desire of all the countries and peoples that have true concern and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

189. In view of the fact that the draft resolution in document S/12346 mainly concerns the question of the United Nations Force, on which we have always held a different position in principle, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the vote on the said draft.

190. Mr. VON WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you to the Presidency of the Council for the current month, a month which many of us around this table did not envisage would hold such difficult negotiations in store for you. Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany were elected to the Council for the same term of two years. This fact alone would have provided an opportunity for close co-operation. But I am happy to say that this co-operation with you and your delegation during this past month went well beyond the normal scope, to say the least. In co-operating with you, I have learned to admire your frankness and untiring efforts to arrive at satisfactory solutions, and I am convinced that those qualities will continue to help you in the fulfilment of your difficult task.

191. I should like to take this opportunity to thank the outgoing President, the representative of Benin, for the exemplary way in which he discharged his duties. It was certainly no coincidence that the Council dealt with three African items during his Presidency.

192. My delegation voted in favour of the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus in the sincere belief that substantial progress towards a solution of the question of Cyprus has become possible. In this respect, my delegation shares the Secretary-General's evaluation, expressed in his report of 7 June, that UNFICYP's presence, in maintaining the peace on the island, also facilitates the continued search for an agreed political settlement. That report and the report dated 30 April [S/12323], though carefully and cautiously worded and in no way over-optimistic, give rise to the hope that the parties to the conflict are finally ready to adopt a more

realistic and conciliatory attitude which would include a willingness to reach an agreement by mutual concessions.

193. His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios and His Excellency Mr. Rauf Denktaş met twice, in January and February this year, under the auspices of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative respectively. Both leaders were able to agree on guidelines for their representatives for the intercommunal talks. A new series of intercommunal talks was initiated on 31 March. Detailed proposals on substantive issues were submitted by both sides. The Secretary-General also pointed out, however, in his report of 30 April, that the parties continued to hold conflicting positions and that increased efforts would be needed to reconcile the persistent differences. Yet, he referred at the same time to the interlocutors' statement in the Vienna talks that their proposals were negotiable. Further intercommunal talks were resumed in Cyprus in preparation for a new Vienna meeting which, it is hoped, will take place in the very near future.

194. My delegation has also noted the Secretary-General's statement in his report of 30 April, repeated in his report of 7 June, that the intercommunal talks, despite the dedicated efforts of both himself and his Special Representative, had not yet reached "a stage where an effective negotiating process could evolve out of the present statements of conflicting positions" [S/12342, para. 57]. Nevertheless, my delegation fully agrees with the concluding assessment that the task of bridging the remaining gap, though difficult, is not insuperable. My delegation therefore considers it essential that the Secretary-General should continue his mission of good offices.

195. The Federal Republic of Germany, both within the European Community and individually, has continuously endeavoured to contribute to a solution of the question of Cyprus by helping the parties to come together and by lending its full support to the efforts of the Secretary-General. My Government appeals to the parties to consider their common interests and not to miss the present opportunity to overcome their differences.

196. My delegation feels deeply satisfied by the Secretary-General's statement that the situation in Cyprus has been quiet during the whole period under review. This attests to the outstanding efficiency and dedication of the Commander, Major-General James Quinn, as well as of the officers and men of UNFICYP and its civilian staff. My delegation would like to extend to them our special appreciation and gratitude. The quiet situation in the military field also testifies to the willingness of the parties to maintain an atmosphere conducive to serious negotiations. In this connexion, my delegation would like to convey its special thanks to the countries which have again contributed troops to UNFICYP, including yours, Mr. President.

197. Let me conclude by paying a special tribute to the Secretary-General and his Representative in Cyprus, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, to whom we wish a speedy recovery, as well as to the Under-Secretaries-General Mr. Urquhart and Mr. Guyer and their excellent staff. Their untiring efforts have provided the momentum on which our hope for substantive negotiations is essentially based.

198. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Sir, I should like to convey to you my delegation's warm congratulations on your assuming the presidency of the Council for the month of June and also to express our appreciation of the tremendous energy, tireless endeavours and skill displayed by you in bringing about the consensus resolution in the very nick of time. But for your persistence, patience and good humour, as well as the many initiatives you took, we could not have avoided a serious deadlock.

199. My delegation desires to record once again its appreciation of the competent work done by your predecessor, the representative of Benin, and pay its tribute to his efficient conduct of our deliberations.

200. My delegation would like also to express its satisfaction with the spirit of co-operation and statesmanship shown by the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, and by Mr. Çelik, the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community, in the formulation of the final resolution.

201. Now I come to the substance of the question. The Security Council has before it two important reports from the Secretary-General. The first one [S/12323] concerns the efforts made by him to promote negotiations between representatives of the two Cypriot communities. His efforts have met with limited but noteworthy success. Two meetings have taken place between Archbishop Makarios and Mr. Denktaş and they have reached agreement on what has been called "the basic approach" to the Cyprus problem. That agreement is clearly an important landmark, because it provides the basis for further negotiations. We are glad to note from that agreement that the independence, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus will be maintained.

202. We have no desire to comment at present on the other aspects of the agreement. Each side has presented its own proposals on the constitutional question, which the other side has unfortunately rejected, and there is now, apparently, a deadlock. The Secretary-General considers that it will be necessary, therefore, for both sides to make even greater efforts to bridge their differences.

203. We have looked at the various proposals that have been made, and I must confess that I am impressed by the sincerity and goodwill with which they have been formulated. It is my belief that a constitutional solution can be found through further intensive negotiations.

204. Although the case of Cyprus is unique and there is no exact parallel, none the less the world is full of a variety of constitutional arrangements and a diversity of practical political experience that cannot be without interest to the Cypriots, both Greek and Turkish. Perhaps they might consider accepting the assistance of neutral constitutional experts from other countries in overcoming existing obstacles and evolving a typically Cypriot solution to the Cyprus problem.

205. In the second report [S/12342], the Secretary-General has recommended that the mandate of the United

Nations Force should be extended for another six months, since its presence clearly helps to maintain peace and security and also facilitates the continued search for a peaceful settlement. It is clear to my delegation that genuine national reconciliation must precede the withdrawal of the Force. It is also clear to us that, for reaching an agreed settlement, there is, in fact, no viable substitute for negotiations between the two communities. We are therefore in favour of extending the mandate of the Force and we support the Secretary-General's continued efforts to keep the two parties at the negotiating table until they reach agreement.

206. We should like, at this point, to place on record our high appreciation of the determination and dedication shown by the Secretary-General in his ceaseless endeavours in the course of fulfilling his difficult mandate. The question is extremely complex and we are fully conscious of the problems faced by the two communities. My delegation is pleased that certain countries have freely volunteered their contingents for essential peace-keeping operations, and they deserve our gratitude in full measure. We have in mind the contingents from Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom, and we wish to place on record our appreciation of their performance.

207. We have no right to expect these contingents to remain indefinitely in Cyprus. Some have been there since 1964. Furthermore, we seem to need an additional \$67 million by the end of this year. All this points to the obvious desirability of the two communities showing greater flexibility and mutual understanding in arriving at an agreed settlement as quickly as possible. They should accelerate their efforts to co-operate with each other in their common interests. It would be a mistake to imagine that the United Nations Force will be maintained in Cyprus indefinitely at others' expense. While, of course, no solution may be imposed from the outside, we certainly expect quicker results from inside Cyprus through intensified negotiations between the two communities.

208. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, the delegation of Panama congratulates you whole-heartedly on your well-deserved assumption of the presidency of the Council. For my country, which maintains fraternal and cordial relations with Canada, a prominent member of the family of nations of this continent, it is a source of special satisfaction to see you presiding over the work of the Council. We wish you every success and pledge our determined co-operation in the discharge of your important functions.

209. I also take great pleasure in stating the deep appreciation of my delegation for the splendid job done by your predecessor, Ambassador Thomas Boya of Benin, who discharged the tasks of Council President most ably last month. Our appreciation goes also to his colleague, Mr. Houngavou, who, as alternate representative of Benin, most diligently assisted Ambassador Boya, demonstrating his experience, gentlemanly manner and diplomatic tact.

210. My delegation would like very briefly to explain its reasons for voting in favour of resolution 410 (1977) which

extends, for a further six-month period, the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. My delegation was influenced by the fact that the Secretary-General made it quite clear in his report [*ibid.*] that the extension of the mandate was, in his judgement, indispensable in order to keep under control the potentially explosive situation in the island. We must also recognize that this resolution is fully supported by the report of the Secretary-General in pursuance of paragraph 6 of resolution 401 (1976) [S/12323] and by the report which is the object of this debate.

211. We should like to express our thanks to the Secretary-General and his collaborators for the job they have done, in particular to his Special Representative, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, who we hope will recover speedily. We should like the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to bring about, through his good offices, a just and lasting settlement based on complete respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and the policy of non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

212. I should now like to make a few additional comments with regard to the implications of resolution 410 (1977). During the debate, some participants referred to *de jure* and *de facto* positions. For the Security Council and for United Nations bodies as well as for States members of the international community, a criterion must be established to determine what factors should influence them in the decision-making process. While it is certainly true that in politics one must be realistic about *de facto* situations, settlements, if they are to be lasting and to endure, must be based on law, on morality, on reason and on justice. Precisely what we all desire is a settlement that will contribute towards the establishment of a peace and security that will not be violated.

213. Now, what elements should be considered in negotiations? Who are the spokesmen for the Republic of Cyprus? Is there a Turkish federated State of Cyprus or not? Is there or is there not at the present time a situation based on force that inhibits freely conducted negotiations between the parties?

214. The answers to those questions may be found in the resolutions which are the basis of resolution 410 (1977) and which are mentioned in paragraph 1, in which the Council

“Reaffirms the provisions of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, as well as subsequent resolutions and decisions on the establishment and maintenance of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus—and other aspects of the situation in Cyprus”.

Resolution 186 (1964) is based on a fundamental premise—what I would call the legal foundation—that should underlie our entire consideration of the problem. On that occasion, the Council mentioned Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter. It said that the relevant provisions of the Charter should be borne in mind, and particularly those of the paragraph 1 mentioned, which reads as follows:

“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial

integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”

The Council approached the then existing crisis on the basis of the provisions of that Article, which is unquestionably one of the principal tenets of the international Organization. In that resolution, the Council recognizes by what the legal entity of the State of Cyprus is constituted, stating, in paragraph 2, that the Government of Cyprus “has the responsibility for the maintenance and restoration of law and order” and that it must “take all additional measures necessary to stop violence and bloodshed in Cyprus”. In that same resolution, it arrived at the conclusion that the Secretary-General, in agreement with the Government of Cyprus and the Governments of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, should designate a mediator. From that time we may date the efforts of the Secretary-General to resolve that problem.

215. In resolution 3212 (XXIX), adopted by the General Assembly on 1 November 1974, other fundamental principles are established that cannot be either disregarded or ignored. In paragraph 1, the Assembly

“Calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus”.

Any solution that may be adopted must adhere to those fundamental principles. In paragraph 2 of the same resolution—and this is not just any resolution of the General Assembly; we all know that it was later endorsed by the Security Council—, the Assembly

“Urges the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs”.

Foreign intervention has not ceased, military occupation has not ceased, and that is the crux of the distressing problem that the Council can neither ignore nor postpone. In that resolution the Assembly recognizes that the constitutional system of the Republic of Cyprus concerns the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. That is undeniable. Furthermore, it insists that contacts and negotiations take place on an equal footing, with the good offices of the Secretary-General, between the representatives of the two communities, with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable political settlement, based on the fundamental and legitimate rights of both communities. In the same resolution, the Assembly considers that all the refugees should return to their homes in safety and calls upon the parties concerned to undertake urgent measures to that end. That, again, is a problem that has not been resolved and which has subjected the Cypriot people—that is, a people whose two communities have one of the most advanced civilizations and cultures—to the worst suffering.

216. In its resolution 365 (1974), the Council endorsed resolution 3212 (XXIX) and, subsequently, resolution 3395 (XXX) reaffirmed the resolutions that I have just mentioned and called for their urgent implementation.

217. As I have said, problems of legal status have arisen here, which need to be examined in keeping with the legal and political criteria that have been established by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

218. In resolution 367 (1975), the Council made some rather categorical statements that should serve as a guide to its members. In paragraph 1, it

“Calls once more upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus”

and, going further,

“urgently requests them, as well as the parties concerned, to refrain from any action which might prejudice that sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment, as well as from any attempt at partition of the island or its unification with any other country”.

In paragraph 2, going still further, it

“Regrets the unilateral decision of 13 February 1975 declaring that a part of the Republic of Cyprus would become ‘a Federated Turkish State’ as, inter alia, tending to compromise the continuation of negotiations between the representatives of the two communities on an equal footing, the objective of which must continue to be to reach freely a solution providing for a political settlement and the establishment of a mutually acceptable constitutional arrangement, and expresses its concern over all unilateral actions by the parties which have compromised or may compromise the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions”.

219. How can we summarize those resolutions? By saying first, that the authority of the State of Cyprus is vested in the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, represented here by Ambassador Zenon Rossides; secondly, that the military occupation of the island is illegal, is at variance with the Charter and has been rejected by resolutions of both the General Assembly and the Security Council; and, thirdly, that the Federated Turkish State of Cyprus has no internationally recognized status, such status having been formally denied by the highest United Nations organ by votes, in many of which, as representatives are aware, there was only one opposing vote.

220. In the light of that background, it is appropriate to indicate what resolution 410 (1977) truly represents. In reality that resolution reproduces, word for word—with a few exceptions in the fifth and sixth preambular paragraphs—the text of resolution 401 (1976).

221. The first preambular paragraph takes note of the Secretary-General’s report on the justification for extending the Force’s mandate.

222. The second preambular paragraph, like that of resolution 401 (1976), takes note of the conditions prevailing in the island.

223. The third preambular paragraph,—also like that of resolution 401 (1976), notes

“from the report that the freedom of movement of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus and its civil police is still restricted in the north of the island”,

an irregular situation that has not been resolved.

224. The fourth preambular paragraph is also like that in resolution 401 (1976).

225. The fifth preambular paragraph is new and notes that,

“due to the efforts of the Secretary-General, his staff and the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, and with the co-operation of the parties, there has been a relative improvement in the security situation, but that this evolution has yet to relieve the underlying tensions in the island”.

The wording of that paragraph should be understood and interpreted in the light of the Secretary-General’s report. Although, as the resolution says, “due to the efforts of the Secretary-General . . . and with the co-operation of the parties, there has been a relative improvement”, the Secretary-General, in paragraph 51 of his report, says:

“However, this evolution has yet to relieve the underlying political tension in the island, and the progress being made towards a solution of the basic problems . . . remains disappointingly slow.”

The term used by the Secretary-General is “disappointingly slow”. This is how he presented the situation and this is how that paragraph should be understood.

226. The sixth preambular paragraph is a combination of the corresponding paragraph of resolution 401 (1976) and an additional fact. It reads:

“Noting also the report of the Secretary-General of 30 April 1977 [S/12323] concerning the high-level meeting under the auspices of the Secretary-General, and emphasizing the need to adhere to the agreement reached at this meeting as well as to the agreements reached at the previous rounds of the talks”.

The report of the Secretary-General states, in paragraph 14, in connexion with this meeting:

“in spite of my own efforts and those of my Special Representative,”—he is referring to what had been happening in connexion with those contacts—“it did not prove possible at Vienna to reach a stage where an effective negotiating process could evolve out of the present statements of conflicting positions.”

That means there was no effective negotiation. That is what the Secretary-General says.

“On the other hand, and as stated in the agreed communiqué of 7 April, there was some discussion of the

respective proposals and a number of clarifications were made. These points will of course be pursued when the talks resume. There is evidently still a long way to go in order to reach the point where the necessary concessions will begin to be made, including the submission of substantive proposals on both main aspects of the problem."

In other words there have been no concessions and no substantive proposals on the two main aspects of the problem. But are there not problems of substance? If we continue to look at the Secretary-General's reports we can find expressions such as these repeated time and again. For example, in paragraph 58 of the report before us, the Secretary-General says "with a view to substantive negotiations on those issues taking place". That term "substantive negotiations" is repeated in several paragraphs. There have been no substantive negotiations. What, then, is the situation? It is one of prolonged military occupation and of the suffering of a people which has the right to tranquillity, peace and independence. The problem before us is that there have been no substantive negotiations.

227. The seventh and eighth preambular paragraphs are worded like resolution 401 (1976) and the operative paragraphs are absolutely identical to those of that resolution.

228. Paragraph 3 was the subject of many informal consultations. It reads:

"*Urges* the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint by refraining from any unilateral or other action likely to affect adversely the prospects of negotiations for a just and peaceful solution and to continue and accelerate determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council".

How can there be free negotiations on a footing of equality when the country is occupied by the air, land and sea forces of a foreign military Power? How can there be negotiations that do not take place under coercion when 40 per cent of the island of Cyprus is outside the control of its legitimate Government? Thus, the idea that the negotiations should be conducted freely, on a footing of equality and with respect for the rights of both communities is a principle that must be borne in mind.

229. In conclusion, I would stress that it must be clear—and that is why I have made this statement—that the Council, in reaffirming resolution 186 (1964) and subsequent resolutions and decisions on the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, has reaffirmed legal positions that have great moral weight and are based on reason, justice and law, positions which cannot be disregarded and which must be borne in mind in connexion with any future settlement. Finally, I would state that the question of Cyprus must be solved on the basis of justice and in keeping with the interests of the people of Cyprus, the real protagonists in this drama, and not in terms of the military and political alliances of the East or the West. The people of Cyprus has a right to live and to decide its own future.

230. Mr. CONSALVI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I take great pleasure, Sir, in greeting you in your

capacity as President of the Council. The bonds between your country and mine are very deep and the outlook for our future relations is very promising. Canada is coming ever closer to the countries of Latin America, and in Venezuela we have always felt that this is a positive and productive trend.

231. I should like also to express the Venezuelan delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Boya of Benin for the way in which he conducted our debates in May.

232. Venezuela has been following with great attention and interest the development of the crisis in Cyprus in the past few years. We attach the greatest importance to the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and it is our hope that the States and communities directly involved in the conflict will display a sense of responsibility.

233. Fortunately, we have reached a point in our debates when it has become possible to agree on a resolution combining at least the necessary elements to ensure the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. I say "at least" because—as the Secretary-General states in his report—time, goodwill and continuing efforts are required if a peaceful and mutually acceptable solution, based on respect for the fundamental and legitimate rights of both communities, is to be found to the essence of the Cyprus problem.

234. Peace and stability for the people of Cyprus must, in our opinion, be the fundamental purpose of any solution.

235. We believe that the work of the Secretary-General as a mediator in the negotiations between the two communities deserves our appreciation, and we wish to express our thanks to him for his constant concern and devotion to the search for understanding. We are confident that his efforts will be rewarded in the near future by the achievement of an agreement between the two communities.

236. I should like to take this opportunity to repeat my Government's position, a position based primarily on respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus; on the continuation of talks between the parties on a footing of equality; on compliance with all the relevant United Nations resolutions and the agreements reached in the talks with the Secretary-General. We believe that it would be harmful to take unilateral decisions that could obstruct rather than facilitate a solution of the question of Cyprus.

237. In accordance with our position, we voted in favour of resolution 410 (1977), adopted last night, because we are aware that in the present circumstances, as the Secretary-General states in his report:

"... the continued presence of UNFICYP remains essential. The Force is an indispensable factor in keeping the potentially explosive situation in the island under control, supervising the cease-fire, maintaining the *status quo* in the area between the lines, and helping to defuse incidents and other problems arising between the parties." [S/12342, para. 60.]

238. In conclusion, we should like to reaffirm our confidence that the Secretary-General will continue his work in the search for a just solution by all possible peaceful means and that all the parties will respect the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

239. I should like also to express the appreciation of the delegation of Venezuela for the work done in Cyprus by Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, as well as for the work of Under-Secretaries-General Urquhart and Guyer.

240. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): My delegation,

Having voted in favour of resolution 410 (1977),

Considering that the question of Cyprus will almost certainly be taken up again next December,

Mindful that Mauritius will assume the presidency of the Council next December,

Decides to refrain from making any comments at this stage;

Expresses its warmest congratulations to Ambassador Barton of Canada, President of the Council, on having so successfully conducted the negotiations leading to the adoption of resolution 410 (1977);

Places on record its deep appreciation of the persistent efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative and staff, as well as its appreciation to Major-General Quinn;

Begs the parties concerned, in particular the two communities in Cyprus, to solve their problems before next December.

241. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Mauritius for his kind remarks and commend him on the wisdom of his advice to himself.

242. As no other representative wishes to speak at this time, I shall now speak in my capacity as representative of CANADA. As representative of Canada, I must say I do not have very many kind words for the President, but I should like to express my appreciation for the help and support and teamwork of all the members of the Council in what I think may fairly be called the difficult negotiations we have just been through. I should also like to express my appreciation to the parties concerned, Ambassador Rosides, Ambassador Papoulias, Ambassador Türkmen and Mr. Çelik, for the co-operation in what might be called the clutch at about five minutes to twelve last night which brought our work to a successful conclusion.

243. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution to extend the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus to 15 December 1977. Thanks to the efforts of the Secretary-General, of his staff and of UNFICYP, and with the co-operation of the parties, we have noted that some progress towards the stabilization of

the security situation was achieved and maintained during the past six months. As a troop-contributing nation, we take satisfaction at this evidence of the effectiveness of UNFICYP. It is also worthy of note that, in the exercise of his good offices, the Secretary-General was able to facilitate the meetings between His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios and His Excellency Mr. Rauf Denktaş and to facilitate the resumption of the intercommunal negotiations.

244. The fact is, however, that those efforts on the part of the United Nations have not thus far led to relief of the underlying political tension in the island and that the peace-making efforts continue to encounter serious obstacles. There can be no question but that relief of those tensions and progress in peace-making is up to the parties to the dispute.

245. When the Council renewed the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, just two weeks ago, I deplored the fact that three years had passed with no apparent progress towards a just and lasting peace between Israel and Syria. I need not remind members of the Council that UNFICYP was established not three but 13 years ago and is still there. In a case like this, one cannot help but be concerned that the two communities have not used the presence of the Force as an opportunity to resolve their differences and to live amicably together.

246. Cyprus is an island blessed by nature, a garden spot, whose beauty is the envy of us all and a place where the benefits of conditions of peace and prosperity could be especially fruitful. It is thus all the more disheartening that one can walk down a weed-choked path, in the middle of a once thriving area of the city of Nicosia, between concrete bunkers and sandbagged firing positions from which Cypriots peer with enmity at one another. And it is all the more striking that, in this fertile land, where there are fields lying fallow, there were once prosperous orchards in which the fruit now rots on the branches until it shrivels and falls unharvested into unkempt vegetation that is choking the trees, and there are empty hotels and beaches to which tourists from around the world used to flock.

247. My country has been contributing a contingent to UNFICYP since 1964. At present, Canada provides 515 of the troops and police which make up the Force, together with seven other nations. In the light of the recommendations of the Secretary-General, my Government has authorized me to announce that we will maintain that contingent for this further mandate period.

248. This spring, I visited UNFICYP and met with the Force Commander, Major-General Quinn, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, and their staffs, as well as the troops from the Canadian contingents and some of the other contingents. I can say that the Member States should be proud of the job UNFICYP is performing in the service of peace. The members of the Force are working hard, under trying conditions, to try to maintain peace on our behalf in a way that should give the two communities an opportunity to settle their differences. But they have been there a long while and the differences are as yet unresolved. The parties must realize that the international community cannot be

expected to continue to maintain a peace-keeping force in Cyprus indefinitely. Thirteen years is already much too long.

249. We are heartened to see from the report of the Secretary-General that the talks being conducted under his auspices have been renewed. But we know from experience that, unless this progress is translated into solid agreement, the dangers of international and external conflict will remain. We understand the difficulties, but they will not go away with time, and so we call upon both parties to seize the opportunity presented by the presence of UNFICYP and by the relative calm existing at the moment to make real progress in overcoming their differences.

250. As contributors to this peace-keeping operation, we see no alternative to reaching an accommodation—an accommodation, moreover, which is not sought sporadically over the next decade but one earnestly worked for in the months ahead.

251. Finally, I have mentioned that we can be proud of the job UNFICYP is doing on our behalf, but I must point out that they are doing it without the financial support of many Member States and even of some members of the Council. In his report, the Secretary-General has warned that, without further financial support, UNFICYP may collapse for lack of funds. I call upon all Member States, and particularly those which have a direct stake in the peace and development of Europe and the Mediterranean, to show their support for the peaceful settlement of this dispute by contributing to the UNFICYP special account.

252. I now resume my position as PRESIDENT of the Council. The representative of Greece wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply. I call upon him.

253. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): The representative of Turkey has again tried to justify his country's aggression against Cyprus. Since he specifically referred to my statement, I shall give him a brief reply, although I do not think he will ever succeed in justifying before the Council or in any other forum an act which is expressly forbidden by the Charter—that is, the use of military force in international relations—, as was very well said just now by Ambassador Illueca of Panama. The United Nations resolutions on Cyprus are sufficient proof of this. But, whereas Ambassador Türkmen never fails to invoke the junta's abortive coup against the President of the Republic of Cyprus, whom he conveniently quotes, he does not seem ever to want to remember—and I can understand him!—the fact that on 14 August 1974, when his country unleashed the second, more destructive attack against Cyprus, the junta had already disappeared, constitutional order had been established in Cyprus and negotiations were under way at Geneva for a peaceful settlement of the problem. These facts are on record from previous discussions in the Council, and therefore I do not have to prolong this discussion.

254. Since I have just heard about the illness of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, I should like to join those who have wished him a speedy recovery.

255. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Cyprus who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

256. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): First I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council who have requested to be allowed to speak to express their views on the question of Cyprus. Some have been very brief, but some have very eloquently expressed the feelings of the international community as a whole on the question. The facts and realities of the situation cannot be obscured by any of the techniques of the representative of Turkey, by silence, or by putting the burden of replying upon a Cypriot citizen who comes here to speak on behalf of the aggressor against his country and to find excuses for that aggression.

257. Of course we remember a similar situation, one which led to the Second World War, and we know the instruments used by those who wanted to invade the small country involved. But I need not go into that because we are experiencing that situation today in Cyprus.

258. What are the facts? I shall not be long because the facts are so strong that we do not need many words to explain them fully. There is Cyprus, a Member State of the United Nations, a small country without a navy, army or air force, being attacked by a neighbouring Power using sophisticated weapons by air, land and sea, napalm bombing the country and wreaking destruction for the sake of destruction. When Turkey is charged here with these acts—of course in more diplomatic terms—they simply keep silent and put their Cypriot agent in the onerous position of trying to explain away or deny the facts of the aggression against his country.

259. These are really historical facts that reflect a situation unworthy of our world of today. Then what do we see? We see obviously from the report of the Secretary-General and from the situation that there cannot be peace and stability in Cyprus or freely conducted negotiations in order to solve the problem so long as the island is under the iron fist of the army of occupation—not a passive army of occupation but one actively engaged in destroying the demographic structure of the island by force and violence and in expelling, as I have said, one third of the population of Cyprus and supplanting it by colonizers from the interior of Turkey, thereby causing further upheaval in the island and creating a situation that should not be tolerated.

260. In past ages, there was some kind of legal order. In the nineteenth century there was the concert of Europe—five or six big Powers that kept order in the world, although maybe it was not a theoretically ideal order such as would be kept by a world organization. Now we have an Organization whose fundamental purpose and *raison d'être* is to maintain international peace and security and to prevent aggression by the means provided for in the Charter, through resolutions adopted by the Security Council and duly implemented. But, in the present world situation, resolutions are adopted but not implemented and nobody seems to care about it.

261. Then we witness the strange phenomenon of a President expressing appreciation to the parties for having

agreed on an acceptable text of the resolution while the representative of Turkey comes here and says that he does not recognize the resolution. Is that not a travesty—to waste so much effort in order to obtain his agreement only to have him come here and, after the agreement is obtained, declare that he does not accept the resolution? It is really pitiable to hear Mr. Çelik state that he does not recognize the present resolution or the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly which have repeatedly been confirmed by this body and are confirmed even in the present resolution. He states that those resolutions are unrealistic, non-existent and obsolete.

262. I made certain charges against Turkey, which is particularly responsible, and against its agent who spoke before the Council. What is the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus which is not recognized by anyone and what does it represent? What is its territory? The territory is the invaded area of Cyprus. That is where the invader has gone and, by blood and iron, has taken the area. He has thrown out the population and imported other populations. The invader now claims to have created a State and demands that it should be recognized. That so-called State, which was formed by a unilateral and arbitrary declaration, has a population which is not the indigenous population because the indigenous population, until the invasion, was overwhelmingly Greek. After the invasion, the majority was expelled. The 18 per cent minority remained and it was supplemented mainly by Turks imported from Turkey. This is now the population in an area occupied by force contrary to international law. The invaders then make the arrogant claim that they want recognition, as a stall. They even haughtily ignore the resolutions of the Security Council and the facts of the situation. They say that the Cyprus problem is not an international problem at all. The invasion and its sequel are wiped away. Everything that happens to Cyprus is a matter of intercommunal difficulties. That is another illogical situation which is plain from what has been said here. I am not trying to answer it, because such illogicalities are answered by themselves. I am only pointing out the degree of irrationality engendered by the arrogance of power and the use of force—all this in an age in which we have Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, which was very rightly mentioned by the representative of Panama, Ambassador Illueca, an eminent lawyer, as the basis of the Charter and a fundamental rule under which the world should function. The United Nations functions, but its credibility through the effective implementation of Security Council resolutions under the provisions of the Charter is still lacking.

263. I have declared in my statement, and I repeat here, that there cannot be progress in the solution of the problem so long as no positive move is made towards giving effect to the resolutions of the United Nations on Cyprus. Only then will it be possible to have constructive negotiations leading to a solution of the problem; only then can there be real progress. Now, this depends upon the will of the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots. As I said in my statement, that will exists, but it is thwarted by outside intervention.

264. The representative or agent of the Ankara régime, in trying to cover up the aggressions against Cyprus, pretends that the Turkish Cypriots' rights were violated between 1964 and 1974. This, however, is disproved by the reports

of the Secretary-General. I would recall some of those reports, which show that the Turkish Government, through its agents, has been the cause of their suffering and their loss of freedom of movement, through their virtual seclusion in enclaves by the so-called Turkish Cypriot leadership. This forced separation has prevented the normal development of their relations with the Greek Cypriots. Indeed, one of those reports states:

“Except in rare and special cases, the Turkish Cypriot leadership denies entry into areas under its control to all Greek Cypriots, whether government officials or private individuals. This ban appears to be enforced as a matter of political principle with little attempt at justification on practical grounds.” [S/7611 of 8 December 1966, para. 109.]

In other words, there was no reason; it was merely for the purpose of dividing the people of Cyprus and keeping them separate. A leaflet, which I read to the Council in 1965, says the following:

“Turkish Cypriots not in possession of a permit are forbidden to enter the Greek Cypriot sector.”

—forbidden by their leadership—

“(a) Those who disobey the order with a view to having trade connexions with the Greek Cypriots should pay a £25 fine or should be punished with imprisonment.”

—aiming to break the relations and open the way to partition—

“(b) A fine of £1 will be imposed on:

“(i) Those who converse or enter into any negotiations with Greek Cypriots or accompany any stranger into our sector.” [See 1270th meeting, para. 43.]

Then again:

“... the lack of movement of Turkish Cypriots outside of their areas is believed to be dictated by a political purpose, namely, to reinforce the claim that the two main communities of Cyprus cannot live peacefully together in the island without some sort of geographical separation.”

I continue with another quotation:

“The Turkish Cypriot leaders have adopted a rigid stand against any measures which might involve having members of the two communities live and work together, or which might place Turkish Cypriots in situations where they would have to acknowledge the authority of Government agents. Indeed, since the Turkish Cypriot leadership is committed to physical and geographical separation of the communities as a political goal”—that is, a political goal of Ankara—“it is not likely to encourage activities by Turkish Cypriots which may be interpreted as demonstrating the merits of an alternative policy. The result has been a seemingly deliberate policy of self-segregation by the Turkish Cypriots.

—now the important part—

“The Government contends that the hardships suffered by the Turkish Cypriot population are the direct result of

the leadership's self-isolation policy, imposed by force on the rank and file." [S/6426 of 10 June 1965, para. 106.]

265. I have here a pile of reports of the Secretary-General from the years 1964 down to 1974 showing that there were deliberate actions of force and violence and restrictions on the Turkish Cypriots, who suffered because of these actions imposed on them by their leadership and by officers from Ankara sent there clandestinely as teachers in order to force a situation of separation through the activities of a Turkish underground organization against the will of the Turkish Cypriot rank and file. And, as I pointed out in my original statement, these reports of the Secretary-General speak of the desire of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots to live together.

266. This is the situation that has created all these problems, and for the agent of Ankara to say now that the Greek Cypriots hate the Turkish Cypriots is ridiculous, because the contrary is shown in the reports of the Secretary-General and also in a series of letters which reflect the situation and which have been sent to the Secretary-General in the course of these 10 years. So I will not elaborate further on these matters.

267. Here is the arrogance of power—not of the Turkish Cypriots, but of the invader country using its agents from among the Turkish Cypriots. They complain that they suffer economic war at the hands of the Government of Cyprus, but what is this economic war? They did not dare say this before, but now they have been sufficiently encouraged to declare these things. After having invaded Cyprus, expelled the original population and usurped the properties of the inhabitants, now they want to export the produce of and take the profits from the usurped properties. And because the Government exercises its legitimate rights by peaceful means, in accordance with international law, to regulate the ships that, for commercial purposes, enter its ports, the ports of Cyprus—and those ports are not recognized as other than “ports of Cyprus” anywhere in the world—, and by virtue of these international regulations stops the export of stolen and looted goods, they say this is economic war. Now, this is nothing else but another demonstration of the extremes which the arrogance of power and the resulting irrationality reach.

268. I do not want to take up the Council's time any longer, but I should like to ask the representative of Turkey whether he denies the obvious acts of aggression in Cyprus. Does he try to justify them? Can he justify them under the Charter or international law? He keeps silent, thinking that merely by so doing and by having a puppet representative as the pretended spokesman of the Turkish Cypriots—who also suffer from this situation—he can avoid the charges.

269. But I say that world opinion knows and realizes the fact; and it is for world opinion, in time, to come to the realization that a lack of morality in the world cannot but lead to illegality, insecurity and final destruction.

270. But, as I said in my earlier statement, there are important signs on the world scene that I hope indicate that there is now a change towards a moral approach to

international problems; there is a distinct move in that direction. It is opposed, no doubt, but I hope it will prevail, because it will mean the physical survival of mankind.

271. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed that Mr. Çelik, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure [2012th meeting], wishes to make a further statement. Therefore, if there is no objection on the part of any member of the Council, I invite Mr. Çelik to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

272. Mr. ÇELİK: Mr. President, I wish to thank you and the members of the Council for allowing me to speak here for a second time.

273. As the representative of a community on whose behalf, had it not been for the justified and legitimate Turkish intervention in Cyprus, I would not be here—I would not even be alive—I wanted to put the record straight.

274. The representative of Greece has tried twice this afternoon to present the problem of Cyprus as a conflict that started in 1974 through either the Turkish intervention or through what he has tried to present as the mistake of a junta. The joint Greek aggression in Cyprus goes back as far as 1955, with the establishment of the terrorist Cypriot EOKA-B organization, which was set up with the general assent of Greece. That move took place during the Caramanlis democratic Government. The second onslaught on the Turkish Cypriots started in 1963 and continued until 1967 under the democratic Papandreu régime. The junta came in 1967 and tried to complete the unfinished job. That is a record about which we feel very strongly and which I had to repeat here.

275. Regarding the allegations of the Greek Cypriot representative as to my being a puppet, everyone knows who is a puppet and everyone knows whom each one represents. I am the representative of a federated State, democratically elected under a most democratic constitution and I here challenge Mr. Rossides to compare constitutions with me as far as his own election is concerned. I am speaking on behalf of a community as an elected representative, a fact of which I am proud.

276. As regards the remaining part of his statement, I can only say that he has answered himself and that I have nothing further to add.

277. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cyprus in exercise of the right of reply.

278. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I can understand the difficult position of the agent of Ankara who spoke here, but he speaks of things at random that have no substance and does not bring any evidence to support them. Whatever I said I supported and substantiated with quotations from reports and elsewhere. I do not throw out words at random. It is very easy—particularly for an agent—to make accusations without substantiating them.

The meeting rose at 7.55 p.m.