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2029TH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 2 September 1977, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany).

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/2029)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:

Letter dated 26 August 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12387)

The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

Letter dated 26 August 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12387)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2026th meeting, I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's discussion under the terms of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Christophides (Cyprus), Mr. Papoulias (Greece) and Mr. Türkmen (Turkey) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus.
3. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): I consider it my duty to report to the Council all developments regarding Famagusta, it being the most immediate issue with which the Council is dealing.

4. In accordance with a dispatch from Nicosia, a Turkish Cypriot spokesman has said:

“As we have said repeatedly, Varosha is an integral part of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus and is therefore a purely internal matter. Although no families will be moving in today, they will do so as the necessary repair work is completed on the buildings they are to occupy.”

5. I think that the implications of the statement are evident as to the intention of Turkey to proceed with the colonization of the Constantia area, and as I said in my statement [2026th meeting], this is but the first step towards the step-by-step settlement of the whole new city of Famagusta.

6. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Mr. President, I should first like to say how pleased I am to have the opportunity to speak under your presidency. I will do my best, starting this morning, by speaking very briefly, to make your presidency a success. I should also like to acknowledge our satisfaction and pleasure at having had the opportunity to serve under the distinguished representative of France last month.

7. Scarcely 10 weeks ago, the Council adopted resolution 410 (1977) and, in doing so, reaffirmed its directive to the parties regarding the framework for achieving a just and equitable solution to the problem of Cyprus. It also urged, and not for the first time, 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 Council.

8. The events of the past two months and the fact that the Council is once again faced with the Cyprus issue are proof, if proof were needed, of the wisdom of the cautionary advice contained in our resolution of last June.

9. In the statements of Mr. Christophides, the Foreign Minister of Cyprus, and Mr. Çelik, we have heard widely differing interpretations of recent developments at Famagusta. But without prejudice to the views of either side, it is obvious that what has happened is an example of the way in which any unilateral action, no matter how limited it may be or how justified in the eyes of one party or another, can stimulate apprehensions that impede the resumption of the intercommunal talks, which, we are all agreed, constitute the only possible route to a peaceful settlement.

10. We believe that, in the light of the situation that now exists, this debate has been useful. We have heard the

assurances given that the recent Turkish Cypriot actions in New Famagusta do not constitute any kind of colonization or resettlement. In our view, this undertaking is important because there can be no question that any such development would pose a grave threat to the prospects for peace in Cyprus. It would certainly be a matter of very serious concern to the Council.

11. We believe that this debate is useful also because it gives us an opportunity to express our dismay at the statements made by both sides about the conditions under which they will, or will not, resume the intercommunal negotiations. In our view, the Council should at this time reiterate its cautionary words about the danger of unilateral actions and, at the same time, press for the urgent resumption of these intercommunal talks, at which both sides should be encouraged to make practical proposals for moving forward in accordance with the guidelines agreed on at the high-level meeting of last February. It would be our hope that, by the time the question of Cyprus comes before the Council again in December, there will be substantial progress to report.

12. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on starting your presidency for the month of September, in the certainty that you will conduct our debates most skilfully. Through you, I wish to express our appreciation to the representatives of China and France for the distinction with which they discharged the functions of the presidency of the Council during the months of July and August.

13. The reasons for convening this meeting and the statements that we have heard by the parties concerned in the question of Cyprus have given us further cause for concern over the risk of a further deterioration of the situation in the island. Nevertheless, this debate has buttressed our conviction that the measures and recommendations contained in previous United Nations resolutions continue to be the basic guidelines for solving the problem.

14. The factors conducive to a solution of the problem that is once again before us have been defined and reiterated in various General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Any solution must rest on the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Peace and security for the Cypriot population must be the basic aim of any solution.

15. Within that basic framework, efforts have been made through laboured negotiations to reach an understanding between the interested parties. In this connexion, the role played by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative has been extremely valuable.

16. Any change or departure from the course set out in the relevant provisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council would seriously delay the possibilities for understanding. Any act that could objectively be interpreted as being unilateral clearly constitutes an obstacle to progress towards an agreement, and consequently it is our duty to criticize it severely.

17. In keeping with our position, we wish to sponsor the rapprochement of the two communities of the island, to appeal for the avoidance of unilateral acts and the continuation of efforts towards a peaceful solution based on respect for the fundamental and legitimate rights of both communities.

18. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Panama wishes to express its solidarity with the tribute of respect and admiration which has been paid in the Council to Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, who recently passed away. Archbishop Makarios, in my country and throughout Latin America, has a well-deserved reputation, not only as the father of the nation of Cyprus, but also as one of the genuine founders of the non-aligned movement, which has become so important in our times. Our sympathy goes to the Government and people of Cyprus.

19. Sir, I wish now to voice my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the Security Council's work. You represent one of the States whose industry, exemplary discipline and attachment to spiritual values have gained the respect and admiration of the international community. As representative of your country in the Council, you embody those values and my delegation, as well as my Government, which maintains the closest and most cordial relations with yours, wish you every success in the discharge of your delicate tasks; at the same time, we offer you our sincerest and closest co-operation.

20. It is our pleasant duty to convey to Ambassador Leprette our gratitude for the highly professional manner in which he conducted the work of the Council during the month of August. His concern over maintaining constant consultations with Council members, and his adherence to the fundamental principles of his country's policy, for which we have so much respect, were manifested here by hard work and by the implementation of principles which we all hold dear.

21. The Security Council is faced with a situation which, according to statements made here by the representative of Cyprus, represents a new unilateral action on the part of the Government of Turkey which had been in preparation for some time and which had been planned for several weeks, as the representative of Cyprus had occasion to state in his letter to the Secretary-General of 22 July last [S/12371]. This new, unfortunate phase in the situation was dramatically described in the letter of 26 August from the representative of Cyprus to the President of the Council [S/12387].

22. The complaint of Cyprus contains the following allegations. First, it accuses Turkey of committing international crimes against the people of Cyprus in expelling the indigenous Cypriot inhabitants and in systematically installing in their homes a foreign population massively transported from Turkey. Secondly, it mentions the imposition of new, illegal measures by the Government of Turkey, in flagrant violation of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, in an attempt to colonize the new area of Famagusta. Thirdly, it denounces the *de facto* occupation by the Turkish army of the Constantia Hotel

and adjacent buildings. Fourthly, it cites statements by the Turkish authorities to the effect that, beginning on 1 September, there would be a systematic process of colonization of the new city of Famagusta.

23. There is no doubt that the facts reported by the representative of Cyprus deserve the most serious consideration. In this regard, we owe a debt of thanks to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus and to the representative of the Soviet Union, who, at yesterday's meeting [2028th meeting], asked the Secretary-General to supply information concerning the events which have been reported to the Council. The information supplied by the Secretary-General which, as he himself stated, is based on the reports of his Special Representative in Cyprus, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, and of the UNFICYP Commander, General James J. Quinn, brought out the following facts. First,

“Varosha, the new quarter of Famagusta south of the Turkish Cypriot-inhabited walled city, was evacuated by its Greek Cypriot inhabitants and occupied by Turkish troops during the second military operation, in August 1974.” [Ibid., para. 25.]

Secondly, since then, the Greek Cypriots and other residents have not been allowed to return to Varosha, and Turkish Cypriots have also been prevented from settling there. Thirdly,

“On 20 July 1977, Mr. Ecevit, while still Prime Minister of Turkey, stated that his Government had taken steps to open Varosha for civilian settlement.” [Ibid., para. 26.]

Fourthly, in accordance with announcements made by Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot forces that

“the Constantia Hotel, situated on a promontory at the north-east end of Varosha overlooking Famagusta Harbour, would be open as a Turkish Cypriot hotel and catering training centre and that certain nearby buildings, including a 100-flat apartment building, would be taken over by Turkish Cypriots” [ibid., para. 27].

24. This last fact deserves brief comment. There is no doubt that the Constantia Hotel, as well as the apartment buildings, which are located in a Greek-Cypriot area, are privately-owned property from which the legitimate owners have been evicted. Not only have they been dispossessed, which is a violation of human rights, but their right of ownership of those buildings has been completely violated. This is a fact which should be taken into account, because it indicates the gravity of the situation.

25. Fifthly, according to information supplied by the Secretary-General:

“In mid-August, the Turkish Cypriot authorities began changing Greek street names to Turkish names in the Constantia Hotel area and, in one instance, outside it.” [Ibid., para. 28.]

Also noteworthy, as was mentioned here by the representative of Cyprus, is the ominous fact—to say the least—that

J. F. Kennedy Avenue, the main thoroughfare of the new city of Famagusta, has been renamed by occupation forces Sanjar Pasha Kadesi Avenue, which, as I understand it, is the name of the general who commanded the Turkish army forces that invaded the island in 1974. That seemingly simple act has many humiliating, depressing and bloody implications because, knowing the feelings of the people, we also know their reactions. These are unnecessary provocations which in no way help to create the climate of peace and understanding which the Security Council wishes to see between the parties to the conflict in the island.

26. Sixthly, the Secretary-General continues:

“In various statements, Mr. Denktaş and other Turkish Cypriot spokesmen have emphasized the point that Varosha was an integral part of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, whose status was a Turkish Cypriot internal affair.” [Ibid., para. 29.]

27. If Council members examine the texts of Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) and resolutions of the General Assembly, adopted almost unanimously, they will note that insistence on emphasizing the mention of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus violates those resolutions, which clearly establish that there is no recognition of any legal validity for the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. Therefore such explanations are not only at variance with the resolutions but also indicate a deliberate intention to oppose the will of the Council and the General Assembly.

28. Furthermore, from the information supplied by the Secretary-General it may be seen—and this is the seventh point of my summary—that there is a direct relationship between the situation at Varosha and the conduct of the intercommunal talks; that impact on the talks, as the Secretary-General said, was moreover emphasized by Mr. Papadopoulos, the Greek Cypriot interlocutor who, on 23 August, stated that if the colonization of Famagusta was carried out it would be an expansion of the Turkish invasion and that, as a result, the purpose of the intercommunal talks would be defeated.

29. In essence this debate therefore revolves around an attempt at colonization, which is obviously not limited to that region of the world. When the question of Cyprus was discussed and the mandate of UNFICYP extended, I had occasion to refer to some background events. However, it is not necessary to re-examine here all the details of the question. What is essential is that the Security Council and the General Assembly, and all the States which took part in the process of establishing the Republic of Cyprus, should recognize that the Republic of Cyprus deserves respect for its independence, its sovereignty and its territorial integrity. That is what I have to say about the creation of the State of Cyprus.

30. In connexion with the development of its foreign policy, the General Assembly and the Security Council have recognized the non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. Thus any notion that the Republic of Cyprus could be partitioned, or that it could be the object of *enosis* or double *enosis*, should be discarded. According to the will of

the United Nations and all treaties, international agreements and resolutions relating to its establishment, Cyprus is an independent, sovereign, non-aligned Republic with a right to territorial integrity and unity.

31. We listened with great attention when the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot community mentioned the importance of the talks in the search for a peaceful solution to the problem. But this cannot be a mere expression of intent. It must be concrete. There must be a serious intention to save the situation at a time when there has been a clear violation of United Nations resolutions and international law.

32. A few moments ago I said—and this is the final part of my statement—that the type of colonization formula now seen in the new city of Famagusta is not limited to that part of the world, and that the Security Council, dealing with problems of extreme seriousness in other areas of the world, has laid down guidelines and established norms and principles which must be complied with. This applied, for example, in the case of the bantustanization of South Africa. The General Assembly and the Security Council have seriously condemned that practice, which entails population changes and relocation and even the arbitrary expropriation of property.

33. In the case of the situation in the occupied Arab territories, there is a trend in international bodies, for diplomatic reasons apparently, not to refer to those problems or to identify them. But there is no reason why they should not be identified if they are before the Council. In the case of the occupied Arab territories, the Council has opposed the establishment of settlements on the West Bank of the Jordan. It has done so categorically and definitively.

34. In the case of Cyprus, the Security Council and the General Assembly have stated that they are opposed to any population change, to that skilful and arbitrary means of colonization, seeking to alter the image or structure of the population and the very ownership of property in Cyprus, for which the Government of the Republic of Cyprus should be responsible, not the authorities of the invading army.

35. The Secretary-General, to whom we express our respect, has made consistent statements on the three cases. When this problem was raised by Mr. Ecevit before his caretaker Government ended, on 22 July the Secretary-General had the following statement published through official United Nations channels:

“The Secretary-General is concerned at the statement made by Mr. Ecevit, while still Prime Minister, concerning proposed steps in relation to Varosha. Such steps, if implemented, would certainly create a serious situation and would have a negative effect on the future of the negotiating process.”

The Council hopes that the good offices of the Secretary-General will be successful. The Secretary-General has very clearly pointed out that this type of unilateral action has a negative impact on the possibility of a successful conclusion of the negotiations.

36. However, I repeat that this is not an isolated position on the part of the Secretary-General but a very consistent one. Let us look at the position he has taken on the occupied Arab territories. Press release No. 4071, dated 27 July 1977, of the Office of Public Information published the following statement made by a United Nations spokesman:

“The Secretary-General considers it most unfortunate that the Israeli Government has decided to legalize three settlements in the occupied West Bank of the Jordan. This cannot but affect the current efforts to resume the negotiating process in the Middle East. In this connexion, the statement by the President of the Security Council on behalf of the Council on 11 November 1976 is recalled [1969th meeting].”

Since the presidency of the Council on 11 November 1976 was held by Panama, I must point out that that statement was not a statement by the delegation of Panama but a statement by the Council, adopted by consensus, with the consent of all its members. That statement said that the establishment of those settlements not only affected the negotiating process but totally lacked legal validity.

37. If that occurs with regard to bantustanization and also with regard to the question of the occupied Arab territories, how could there be an exception in the case of Cyprus? That would not be possible. Recently, the Secretary-General, at the Lagos Conference¹—and I wish to emphasize the consistency of his statements—made a more vigorous statement regarding the situation in South Africa.

38. The situation is serious and we should welcome the efforts of Council members to maintain an atmosphere of moderation and understanding. But this atmosphere is not something that Council members can bring about through mere words. We need the co-operation of the parties. Basically, we need the co-operation of the country that has its armed forces in Cyprus.

39. If bantustanization is to be deplored in Africa, if the settlements in occupied Arab territories are to be deplored in the Middle East, then colonization is also to be deplored in Cyprus. I say this with all due respect; there are ethical, religious and political values which, in a Moslem mosque, in a Christian church or in a Jewish synagogue have and must have the same significance. This must be so if mankind is to hope for a climate of peace, respect and tranquillity ensuring for man on this planet a good and secure future in keeping with the ideals of the United Nations.

40. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Panama for his reference to the excellent relations between our two countries and for the kind words addressed to me. I shall treasure the memory of my official visit to his beautiful country for the negotiations in Panama City.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.

¹ See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid*, held at Lagos from 22 to 26 August 1977 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.3), annex III.

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