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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.

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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.

2031ST MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 15 September 1977, at 11.30 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/2031)

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 11.55 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. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, permit me first to offer you the congratulations of my delegation upon your assumption of the presidency of the Council. We are particularly happy to see this important post occupied for the first time by a representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, a neighbour with which for many years now we have maintained links of very close co-operation and which is one of our principal partners in the European Community.

We are especially pleased because we are familiar with your distinguished personal qualities as a negotiator, which guarantee complete success in your new post.

3. Permit me also to thank the delegations which have been kind enough to convey their compliments to the representative of France for the way in which he carried out the functions of President of the Council during August.

4. Before dealing with the question under discussion, I should like to pay a tribute to the memory of President Makarios, who died on 3 August last. I wish to honour his gifts as a statesman and a great patriot, qualities which over the last 20 years have brought him to the forefront of international life.

5. Two weeks ago the Security Council held its first meeting [*2026th meeting*] in response to the request of the Cypriot delegation and now it is on the point of taking a decision on a draft resolution. One might be tempted, in view of the amount of time that has passed since the beginning of our debate, to express regret at the protracted nature of negotiations which only now have allowed us to arrive at a text. For our part, we would have liked to see the Council taking an earlier decision. We do feel, however, that it was wise to seek an appropriate response to the request of the Government of Cyprus, a response which could also enjoy the broadest possible support among members of the Council. The difficulties which we have encountered and overcome in attempting to achieve this objective, far from diminishing the value of the text on which we are to take a decision, in fact, in our eyes, lend it greater authority.

6. Having listened to the statements made on 31 August [*ibid.*] and 9 September [*2030th meeting*] by the parties concerned and also the statement made in this very chamber on 1 September [*2028th meeting*] by the Secretary-General, my delegation believes that the various developments which have taken place in Varosha, the new town of Famagusta, fully justify our meeting.

7. Although the actual events in question only amount to apparently minor measures taken on a modest scale, we do feel that they are the kind of actions which could have dangerous consequences. Such measures, in fact, within a context of great tension, are liable to give rise to misunderstandings. They arouse legitimate apprehensions. Further, since they are benign in appearance and because they do not in themselves bear any collective significance, they could be followed by other measures which, taken together

with the first set of measures, might significantly change the state of affairs. It is up to those responsible to understand and realize the global effect of the events. It is for them, too, to prevent or limit these initiatives which, although they may be local, are none the less fraught with danger. If they do not do this, they will be shirking their responsibility, as indeed the Council would be shirking its responsibility were it to disregard the risk that at any moment a chain reaction might be provoked which might cause the situation to deteriorate further and to get out of hand to the point where the parties could no longer control it, and this at a time when the process of intercommunal negotiations, to which my country has always given its full support and to which it remains firmly attached, is passing through a delicate phase.

8. It seems to us necessary, in the circumstances, for the Council, which has repeatedly in the past called upon the interested parties to demonstrate the greatest moderation and to refrain from any unilateral action liable to jeopardize negotiations between the representatives of the two communities, to reiterate that appeal. It also seems to us indispensable that the Council should call upon the parties to take no initiative that might alter the climate required for the success of these negotiations. My delegation is convinced that, in the present circumstances, everything possible must be done to preserve the bases and the framework for the negotiations to which the parties have agreed. We therefore feel that it is the Council's duty to make its contribution to a reduction of tension. It is the duty of Member States to act likewise. I note in this respect the statement that "there is no 'mass colonization' or resettlement of [Varosha] in progress" [2026th meeting, para. 68]. A more complete assurance would be welcome and would, I am sure, greatly contribute to an atmosphere of calm.

9. It must be made absolutely clear and unanimously recognized that any development liable to lead to a transformation of the conditions for the negotiations cannot be unilaterally brought about without jeopardizing not only the success and the very continuation of the talks even the implementation of the resolutions of our Organization.

10. We have always stressed that the prospects for a settlement necessarily depended upon negotiation based upon the fundamental and legitimate rights of the two communities within the framework of the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the island. That is why we call upon the Council to spare no effort to ensure the resumption at an early date of meaningful negotiations. For all these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the text which is to be submitted to us.

11. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to me and for the friendly remarks he made about the close relations between our two countries.

12. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*translation from Chinese*): First of all, in the name of the Chinese delegation, I wish to express deep condolences on the recent untimely death of

Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus. The late President Makarios made positive contributions to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, to the attainment and safeguarding of the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus and to the development of friendly relations and co-operation between China and Cyprus. In honouring his memory, we believe that the people of Cyprus will win continued victories along their road of advance.

13. The Chinese delegation has repeatedly expounded the consistent principled position of the Chinese Government on the question of Cyprus both at General Assembly sessions and at Security Council meetings. On the basis of this position, we voted in favour of a number of relevant Assembly and Council resolutions.

14. The Chinese delegation has always held firmly that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus should be respected. We sincerely hope that the two Cypriot communities and the parties concerned, bearing in mind the over-all interests of opposing imperialism and hegemonism, will take a positive attitude and continue to work for an early reasonable settlement of the Cyprus question through patient negotiations on an equal footing and in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. It is also our earnest hope that all the parties concerned will heighten their vigilance, exercise restraint, gradually narrow and eliminate, rather than aggravate and widen, their differences, and thus guard against super-Power meddling and, in particular, avoid giving openings for exploitation by that super-Power which is bent on sowing discord and fishing in muddied waters. This is not only in the fundamental interests of the two Cypriot communities and the parties concerned but is also a common desire of the people of all countries who are really concerned about the destiny of the people of Cyprus.

15. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I begin by offering you our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are particularly pleased that this meeting should be taking place under your chairmanship in view of the very close relations between our two countries as fellow-members of the European community. I should also like to offer our thanks to your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Leprette of France, for the skilful manner in which he handled our affairs during the month of August and indeed presided over the beginning of this debate.

16. Before turning to the subject of the present debate, I should like to offer our most sincere condolences to the delegation and people of Cyprus for the tragic death last month of Archbishop Makarios.

17. We have listened carefully to the contributions made during this debate and particularly to the statements of the parties directly concerned. We have also followed closely, and indeed taken part in, the intensive consultations which have taken place over the past two and a half weeks to try and reach a result in this debate which could be supported by the whole of the Council.

18. Governing our approach to this debate has been the conviction that the most urgent requirement at the present

time is to get the negotiations going again through a resumption of the intercommunal talks and therefore of the need to ensure that any action taken by the Council should help and not hinder this process. We believed that this could best be done by a resolution which, while taking account of the proper concerns of the Cyprus delegation, was fair and balanced and took account of the legitimate concerns and apprehensions of both sides. I must say, however, that my delegation has a great deal of sympathy with the remarks made by the Foreign Minister of Cyprus in the debate last Friday [2030th meeting] in which he complained about the amount of time that it was taking for the Council to reach a decision. But we are pleased that the time spent has not been in vain in that it has enabled us to reach a decision which we believe does meet the concerns I have just mentioned and which will, I understand, be supported by the great majority of the members of the Council. The draft resolution¹ before us is inevitably a compromise. It does not entirely meet the wishes of the parties nor is it perhaps what any individual member of the Council would have ideally wanted. Nevertheless we do believe that, in the present circumstances, it represents a reasonable outcome to our present debate.

19. Looking now to the future, there can I think be no doubt about the urgency of reaching a settlement in Cyprus and of the reality that such progress as has been made so far is sadly limited. The longer the problem remains unresolved the greater the danger that the rift between the parties will widen, that positions will harden further and that the present situation, already an explosive one, could become even worse. We believe therefore that the important thing now is to bring home to the parties once again the urgent need for early and substantial progress.

20. Like many others who have already spoken in this debate, I should like to reiterate again the very great importance we attach to the intercommunal talks as the only forum which offers a real prospect for progress. In saying this I would in no way wish to underrate the value of the deliberations which we undertake here at the United Nations nor to downgrade the important influence that the Security Council or the General Assembly can bring to bear. But, at the end of the day, it is only through direct talks between the parties themselves that a settlement can be reached. We have therefore been pleased to note the support that has been voiced during this debate, by all the parties concerned, for the continuation of the intercommunal talks. We were encouraged by the meetings which took place at Nicosia earlier this year between Archbishop Makarios and Mr. Denktas, which led in turn to the resumption of the talks at Vienna in March. It was also encouraging that at that latter meeting, in spite of the very wide gulf which was evident between the positions of the parties, some progress was made and that that meeting was then followed by further meetings at Nicosia under the auspices of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. We are, however, disappointed that, following Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar's return to Cyprus in early

July, the talks have not yet been resumed in spite of a number of efforts on his part. In the view of my Government, it is of great importance that the talks should be resumed as soon as possible and that the two sides should be prepared to come to them with comprehensive and concrete proposals.

21. In this connexion, I should also like to say how much we appreciate the efforts made so far by the Secretary-General and by his Special Representative in assisting the progress of the negotiations. We hope that they will be ready to continue these efforts and make their good offices available in any way which could help the negotiating process.

22. Turning now to the particular subject of the present debate, my delegation has pointed out on frequent occasions in the past that if the talks are to make progress this can be done only in an atmosphere undisturbed by actions or statements which could prejudice the chances of reaching a settlement. This means in particular that there should be no unilateral moves to alter the existing *status quo* in the island. I should also like to recall paragraph 3 of resolution 410 (1977), adopted less than three months ago, which urged the parties to act with restraint and to refrain from any action likely to affect adversely the prospects for negotiation. In view of this, my delegation has been pleased to note the assurances given to the Council in this debate that recent moves in New Famagusta do not constitute colonization or resettlement. We believe that these assurances are extremely important because if there had been or were to be any development of that kind it would inevitably lead to serious consequences. Such a move could hardly fail to undermine the climate of confidence necessary if the talks are to make progress. It would thus do serious damage to the prospects of reaching an eventual settlement.

23. To sum up, we believe that the urgent need now is to get the talks restarted, under the auspices of the United Nations, and with the assistance, as needed, of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative. We urge both sides to contribute all that they can to making this possible and in particular to come forward with comprehensive and concrete proposals for resolving their differences. Meanwhile we call once more upon the parties to act with restraint and to refrain from any unilateral action that may affect adversely the prospects for success in the talks. The resettlement of Varosha would, in our view, be a serious impediment to the negotiating process, and one which this Council could hardly ignore. The main requirement now is to get the talks going again in a meaningful way. Only if this is done will there be any real prospect of reaching a solution to this problem—one which has remained unresolved already for far too long.

24. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me, as well as for his friendly remarks about the close relations between our two countries.

¹ Subsequently circulated as document S/12394.

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