



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

2032nd MEETING: 15 SEPTEMBER 1977

NEW YORK

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NOTE

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2032ND MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 15 September 1977, at 3 p.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/2032)

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 3.50 p.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: Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to draw attention to the text of a draft resolution which has been prepared in the course of intensive consultations. It appears in document S/12394.

3. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your assumption of office and also to express admiration for the excellent manner in which your prede-

cessor led the Council during the month of August. I am confident that his work laid a sound basis for carrying the present debate forward to a positive conclusion under your own able and distinguished leadership.

4. My delegation has from the beginning of this debate consistently worked towards an outcome which would reflect a consensus among the Council members. We are gratified that in the end this goal appears to have been achieved. We have been deeply impressed by the tireless and patient efforts of those delegations which worked so hard to bridge the gaps separating the parties in order to find a generally acceptable solution. In this regard, I should like particularly to pay a tribute to our colleague Ambassador Jaipal, whose thoughtful and constructive approach has been so helpful to us all.

5. We have listened with great care to the statements of both sides in regard to the present situation in Cyprus. The Secretary-General has summarized for us [2028th meeting] the facts which gave rise to the complaint before the Council. We have also heard a clarifying statement on this matter by Mr. Çelik, speaking on behalf of the Turkish Cypriot community [2026th meeting]. Mr. Çelik's assurances that no resettlement of the new section of Famagusta is under way are especially welcome in view of the concern expressed by members of the Council in regard to the situation there.

6. The fact that the decision of the Council has been cast in terms which go beyond this immediate issue reflects accurately, I believe, the broader concerns of the majority of the Council. All the statements we have heard here have, in one way or another, expressed concern in regard to the continuing underlying tensions in the island. Members of the Council appear to be in general agreement that the best course for relieving those tensions is through direct inter-communal negotiations, and the Council has therefore welcomed the statements made by both sides here indicating a readiness to resume those talks.

7. The United States believes that the Council has acted in a constructive manner to focus the attention of the parties on the vital issues facing them in the coming months. While we have spent considerable time and energy discussing among ourselves the exact wording of our decision, our intentions have been clear. Both in the statements of its members and in the draft resolution the Council is adopting, we have urged both sides to exercise the utmost restraint in their actions and statements, so as to create an atmosphere in which the larger issues before them can be seriously tackled. It is now incumbent on all of us--on the

Governments of all represented here—to express to the parties themselves the hope and, indeed, the expectation that they will move directly and expeditiously in the direction of a negotiated solution.

8. For its part, my Government will do all that it possibly can to encourage the earliest possible resumption of the intercommunal talks. As in the past, the United States stands fully prepared at any time to assist the parties, should they so desire, in the effort to achieve a settlement that will be just and lasting. The time is indeed long overdue to settle this problem through serious negotiation. We are convinced that it is not beyond the powers of representatives of the two communities in Cyprus to build successfully on the foundation established in earlier rounds of talks and to bring those talks to a successful conclusion.

9. My Government hopes that this debate will mark the renewal of concerted efforts by the two communities to work out through direct negotiations a solution to the difficult problem which has afflicted the island of Cyprus for too long. If that is the case, then the time spent in this debate will have been well worth while.

10. The PRESIDENT: There are no more names on the list of speakers. I therefore wish to make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.

11. I should like to begin my statement by offering my delegation's sincere condolences to the Cypriot delegation on the untimely and tragic death of Archbishop Makarios last month.

12. The Federal Republic of Germany, both within the European Community and bilaterally, has continuously tried to contribute to a solution of the question of Cyprus by helping the parties to come together for negotiations and by lending its full support to the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General. In this my Government has been guided by the firm conviction that a settlement of the Cyprus conflict can be brought about only through direct negotiations between the parties concerned. My Government continues to hold the view that the talks between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities, in order to be successful, must be based on mutual concessions both on questions of territory and on questions of the constitutional framework. Therefore my Government is deeply concerned at the persistent lack of progress in the intercommunal negotiations. For the same reason, it regards with particular apprehension any incident which may impede a resumption of the negotiating process.

13. My delegation has nevertheless noted with great satisfaction the statements made to the Council to the effect that the developments in the new town of Famagusta, brought to the attention of the Council by the Government of Cyprus, are limited in nature and do not constitute the beginning of a colonization or resettlement. My Government thus feels justified in the sincere hope that further tension will be avoided and that intercommunal talks will be resumed without further delay.

14. More generally, my Government believes that any unilateral action, however limited in scope, should be

avoided in order not to give rise to understandable apprehensions. It therefore urges both parties to refrain from any acts which might in any way give rise to such apprehensions. It further urges the parties to resume the intercommunal talks as soon as possible with concrete proposals for resolving their differences.

15. It is on this understanding that my delegation will support the draft resolution before us. It has been my Government's conviction throughout the present debate that the outcome of this Security Council meeting must not in any way be regarded or used as an obstacle to intercommunal negotiations but should, on the contrary, be conducive to such negotiations. My Government believes that the present text—the result of extensive, careful, patient and time-consuming consultations—will finally help to meet these requirements. I should like to take this opportunity to express my special gratitude to Ambassador Jaipal and all those who have helped to bring about this result.

16. In concluding, let me reiterate what I said on the occasion of the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus, on 16 June this year [2013th meeting]. My delegation once again urges the parties seriously to consider and recognize their common interests and not to miss the opportunity still open to them to overcome their differences through direct negotiations, by adopting a more conciliatory and realistic attitude.

17. I now resume the functions of PRESIDENT. I shall suspend this meeting for a few minutes and invite the members of the Council to join me in the President's office for a brief consultation.

The meeting was suspended at 4.05 p.m. and resumed at 4.45 p.m.

18. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution in document S/12394. It is my understanding that the Council wishes to adopt the draft without putting it to the vote. If there is no objection, I shall declare the draft resolution adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.¹

19. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): I shall speak briefly on the resolution that has just been adopted by the Council without a vote.

20. The position of my delegation was stated when we spoke in the Council some two weeks ago [2028th meeting]. It was implicit in that statement that, in the view of Pakistan, the subject-matter of the complaint being considered by the Council was not such as to justify a protracted debate and an exchange of charges and counter-charges in the Council. Other means are available to the parties, including those afforded by the presence in the island of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, to resolve such difficulties.

21. After the statements made by the representative of Turkey and the representative of the Turkish part of

¹ See resolution 414 (1977).

Cyprus to the effect that no colonization of the new city of Famagusta was in progress as alleged, it would have been enough, in our view, for the Council to take note of that assurance in a statement of consensus and to remind the parties of their commitment to and their common interest in seeking a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus question through the intercommunal talks. We note with satisfaction that this idea is the central point of the resolution adopted.

22. I wish to say, however, that had the draft resolution been put to the vote, my delegation would not have been in a position to support it. Nevertheless, we did not wish to stand in the way of the wish of the majority of the Council to adopt the draft without a vote.

23. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus.

24. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): I should like to make some remarks on the resolution just adopted.

25. Although we strongly feel that the situation in Cyprus, aggravated by the recent developments in the New Famagusta area, warranted a resolution expressed in more categorical terms, yet we can understand the reasons for the way the Council chose to express itself, bearing in mind its concern for unanimity or near unanimity in the adoption of its resolutions. We acknowledge that the resolution taken as a whole constitutes a positive response on the part of the Council to the basic and urgent demands of the situation and has in essence met its needs and achieved the objectives which necessitated our recourse to the Council.

26. The resolution, in response to the complaint by the Cyprus Government, expresses the concern of the members of the Council over the unilateral actions of Turkey in the New Famagusta area, in violation of the Council's resolutions, and particularly resolution 367 (1975). The Council, fully conscious of the disastrous repercussions of unilateral actions on the prospects for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem, calls upon the parties to refrain from such actions, whether in the New Famagusta area or anywhere else in Cyprus. It is, of course, abundantly clear that this call is directed at Turkey which, by its endless series of faits accomplis undermines all efforts for a negotiated settlement. Further, the Council reaffirms its resolution 365 (1974), by which it endorsed General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), and its resolution 367 (1975) and calls once again for their urgent and effective implementation. Thus the Council once again reaffirms that its resolutions constitute the appropriate basis and the valid framework for a just solution of the Cyprus problem.

27. As is known, those resolutions, in their basic provisions regarding the external aspects of the problem, demand the cessation of all foreign interference in the affairs of Cyprus and the withdrawal of all foreign troops without further delay and call for the urgent return of the refugees to their homes in safety. Those demands are addressed to Turkey, which alone they concern. Turkey, however, continues to violate them. This attitude led the General Assembly to address to the Security Council in its resolution 31/12 the request that it consider taking appropriate steps for the implementation of its unanimous

resolution 365 (1974). If Ankara continues to disregard those resolutions and to show the same contempt towards them, there will remain no alternative for the Council but to take appropriate action as provided under the Charter to ensure a long-delayed compliance.

28. The negotiations between the representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, to which reference is made in paragraphs 4 and 5 of the resolution and which concern the internal aspects of the Cyprus problem, have been going on for two and a half years without any positive result. This is manifestly due to the negative attitude of the Turkish side. We are very pleased therefore to observe that the resolution contains a call for the resumption of the negotiations, emphasis being placed on the need for their being conducted in a meaningful and constructive manner on the basis of comprehensive and concrete proposals. Thus the proposals must not only be concrete but also comprehensive, and to be comprehensive they have to refer to all subjects under negotiation. In this respect it can be hoped that the effect of the resolution will be to prevent the Turkish side from any longer using the talks for the sole purpose of covering up faits accomplis and as a means of deflecting the pressures of third parties and international public opinion.

29. My Government fully supports this new resolution, as indeed it has supported the previous Council resolutions on Cyprus. We shall also co-operate in all respects with the Secretary-General in its implementation.

30. However, our support and co-operation would not be enough to bring about the results envisaged by the resolution, for it is well known that, without a positive response from Turkey, the party primarily responsible, this new resolution, like all the other Council resolutions on Cyprus so far, will remain ineffective. If this unacceptable state of affairs were to continue, it is to be hoped that the Council would ultimately decide to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter by adopting effective measures for implementation. In this respect, we find reassuring the request to the Secretary-General contained in paragraph 6 of the resolution that he should keep the Council informed of developments which may adversely affect its implementation.

31. I express my Government's appreciation to the members of the Council for their concern at the situation in Cyprus and for their interest in the promotion of a just solution of the Cyprus problem. We are particularly grateful to those among the members of the Council who, through their statements before the Council, through their sponsoring of the draft resolution and through their active and constructive involvement in the intensive consultations of the past three weeks, have acknowledged the merits of our recourse and supported the just cause of Cyprus. A special tribute is due to Ambassador Jacques Leprette, the representative of France, under whose presidency the debate on the item "The situation in Cyprus" commenced and continued until 31 August and to you, Ambassador von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, the current President of the Council, who took over the difficult task of the presidency on 1 September. The outstanding ability and diplomatic skill of both Presidents, their untiring

efforts and the statesmanlike manner in which they have handled the discussions and consultations have been in the best traditions of the high office of the presidency of the Council and have greatly contributed to the adoption of the resolution. We are indeed grateful to them both.

32. I also take this opportunity to reiterate our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his continued interest and efforts to promote a just solution of the Cyprus problem in accordance with the United Nations resolutions.

33. Before concluding, I wish to express our gratitude to the members of the Council who paid a tribute to our late President, Archbishop Makarios. On behalf of my Government and the people of Cyprus I thank them warmly.

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

35. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): Mr. President, I avail myself of this first opportunity to speak before the Council since our initial discussion in order to extend to you the warmest and most sincere congratulations of my delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of September. Your great diplomatic skill, your prestige and your profound experience in United Nations affairs, which are appreciated by all in the Organization, have been highlighted once again by the successful conclusion to which you have brought this debate. We are particularly gratified by the fact that you represent a country, the Federal Republic of Germany, with which Greece has the closest ties of deep friendship and co-operation.

36. May I also once more express our sincere thanks to your distinguished predecessor, the representative of France, Ambassador Jacques Leprette, for the able way in which he began the examination of the agenda item.

37. It is not my intention to prolong this debate. May I just say that its outcome fully vindicates the action taken by the Government of Cyprus in bringing this matter to the Security Council and that we are very appreciative of the positive response made by the Council in adopting the present resolution.

38. As to the resolution itself, I will confine myself to referring to the comments and remarks made thereon by His Excellency Mr. Christophides, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus. None the less, I wish to emphasize that we support the new resolution, which, as we have just heard, enjoys the full support of the Government of Cyprus. We share the hope that respect for and implementation of this resolution will pave the way, as the Council wishes, for a just, peaceful and lasting solution to the problem, ensuring the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

39. The PRESIDENT: I am informed that Mr. Çelik, to whom the Security Council extended an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, would like to address the Council. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

40. Mr. ÇELİK: Mr. President, I should like to thank you and the members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to express the views of the Turkish Cypriot side on the resolution just adopted.

41. As I stated earlier during the debate, we saw no justification for the present Greek Cypriot recourse. In fact, it has already transpired from the statements made during the deliberations of the Council, and particularly that made by the Secretary-General /2028th meeting/, that there is in actual fact no crisis in Cyprus. Indeed, the fact that it has taken almost three weeks since the original Greek Cypriot recourse for the Council to reach any decision on the matter goes to show that there was no urgency in the situation.

42. It is evident that the present recourse has been prompted by internal political considerations. That this is so is confirmed also by impartial political observers. An article by William Farrell in yesterday's *New York Times* states that:

"The prevailing view [among Greek Cypriots] ... is that the time from now and February, when Greek Cypriots hold elections, will be marked by internal politicking as Greek Cypriot leaders seek a replacement for Archbishop Makarios ..."

This view is also shared by members of the diplomatic community. That shows that this whole thing is motivated by internal political considerations.

43. Efforts to internationalize the Cyprus problem are exhausting the time and energy of the parties concerned and cannot but fail. Nevertheless, because of the insistence of the Greek Cypriot side, the Council has decided to adopt yet another resolution on Cyprus.

44. During the deliberations of the Council, and also during the consultations held outside the Council chamber, we tried to explain why we were against the adoption of a resolution by the Council, pointing to the drawbacks and the adverse effects such a resolution might have on future developments in the island. Yet we have before us a new resolution on Cyprus, which, I am afraid, contains harmful elements that cannot possibly help to create a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement.

45. There already exists an established framework for the solution of the Cyprus problem. That framework was endorsed and further elaborated at the summit meetings held earlier this year between President Denktaş and the late Archbishop Makarios—more particularly, by the four-point agreement reached at the second of these meetings /S/12323 of 30 April 1977, para. 5/, which envisages the establishment of an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal, bi-zonal Federal Republic.

46. Therefore, any involvement of the Security Council in details which could be prejudicial to one of the parties or could be interpreted by one side as prejudging the final settlement, and hence might adversely affect the negotiated settlement, should in our view be avoided.

47. Greek Cypriot efforts to internationalize the Cyprus issue and solve the problem through resolutions instead of through negotiations cannot but fail.

48. We already have many intricate problems facing us, making the way towards a settlement difficult. A profusion of resolutions only serves to hinder progress towards a negotiated settlement and make an already complicated problem even more complex. This tendency to internationalize the issue is time-consuming as well as energy-consuming, and unfortunately leaves very little opportunity for constructive negotiations.

49. Our aim should be to create an atmosphere conducive to the carrying out of intercommunal negotiations, to build bridges of co-operation between the two sides, and not—as has happened here—further to widen the gap between them and create additional hurdles for the resumption of the talks.

50. We fear that resolutions such as this one will merely provide the Greek Cypriot side with further pretexts for undue recourses to the Security Council, and I leave it to the Council to decide how the negotiating process will be affected in the event of similar Greek Cypriot recourses to the Council in the future, without any sound justification, in connexion with other areas of northern Cyprus.

51. How this resolution will affect the future of the intercommunal talks, and whether or not a completely new framework will be necessary if and when the talks start, I am not in a position to say right now. This is something that will have to be evaluated and decided upon by the Government of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. It is unfortunate, however, that Greek Cypriot leaders are more concerned with short-term personal political gain than with genuine efforts to solve the Cyprus problem. I hope the Greek Cypriots realize that this resolution, which is totally unacceptable to us, defeats the purpose.

52. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Turkey.

53. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): As this is the first time I have spoken in this debate, Sir, since your assumption of the presidency of the Council two weeks ago, I should like to express to you, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, our warmest congratulations. In paying a tribute to you for your eminent diplomatic skills and the efficient and tactful manner in which you have conducted the consultations, I should like also to stress the satisfaction we feel in seeing as President of the Council the representative of a country with which Turkey has traditionally enjoyed friendly and cordial relations.

54. I shall be brief. I wish to state that my Government does not find the resolution just adopted by the Council acceptable. Our position is based mainly on the following reasons.

55. First, the resolution refers to the letter from the "Permanent Representative" of Cyprus. Such a reference presupposes the existence of a government representing the whole of Cyprus, which, in our view, is not the case.

56. Secondly, the resolution is based on the premise that there is a situation in Cyprus which, owing to certain recent developments, justifies a decision by the Council. We do not agree with that assessment. There is no crisis in Cyprus. The only crisis related to the island is the artificial one created in this chamber and in the adjoining rooms and corridors during the past three weeks.

57. Thirdly, certain points in the resolution constitute interference in what are the internal matters of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus until a final settlement of the problem is reached.

58. Fourthly, by its very terms and implications, the resolution damages the basis of intercommunal negotiations under the good offices of the Secretary-General. Some of its wording is incompatible with any negotiating process at all.

59. We regret particularly the fact that the Council has adopted a resolution which can negatively affect the intercommunal talks. The Turkish Government has always considered these negotiations to be the only way which might lead to an agreed settlement of the Cyprus issue. Whatever the Greek Cypriots say, the conflict is between the two communities and they will have to resolve it between themselves. But, in the circumstances created by the resolution, a new agreed framework will probably be required, and this will be no easy task.

60. I wish to add that we in the Turkish delegation have been distressed by the haughtiness and arrogance of the Greek Cypriot delegation in its attitude towards the Turkish Cypriot community. Mr. Christophides has lost no opportunity to make derogatory and humiliating remarks about the Turkish Cypriot community. He has constantly referred to that community as the puppet of Ankara and alleged that the Turkish Government dictates the Turkish Cypriot position in the intercommunal negotiations. The Greek Cypriot representatives know perfectly well that the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus is not dependent on anyone in its decisions and course of action. Why, then, do they insist on constantly repeating their false allegations? Is this a tactic designed to implicate Turkey in every development in the relations between the two communities, or can they not bring themselves to consider the Turkish community as their interlocutor and partner?

61. In any case, this position is contrary to the resolutions of the Security Council which have called for negotiations between the two communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General. It is at the same time incompatible with the political realities existing in the island. In the short run, it affects negatively the atmosphere of the intercommunal talks and, in the long run, it cannot but undermine the confidence which should exist between the two communities if they are to embark on a new venture of partnership. It inevitably brings back to memory the sad and tragic ordeal which the Turkish Cypriot community endured for 11 years under the ruthless Greek monopoly of power which ended in 1974. Unless the Greek Cypriot community renounces its yearning to recreate the past and liberates itself from the nostalgia of a bygone tyrannical supremacy, the chances of a solution are indeed slim.

62. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Panama wishes to place on record its pleasure at the adoption of resolution 414 (1977). Mr. President, that action crowns the efforts made with the help of your well-known diplomatic skill, your dedication and your infinite capacity for understanding. It was made possible by the atmosphere of serenity and by the consultations initiated by your predecessor, Ambassador Leprette of France, during his presidency. We must also recognize the indefatigable efforts of our colleague and dear friend Ambassador Jaipal of India, who, by a magnificent alliance of justice and conciliation, was largely responsible for the Council's achieving this, in my view harmonious, conclusion.

63. I should like to state that, in my delegation's opinion, resolution 414 (1977) is to be understood as a positive contribution towards creating the desirable and necessary atmosphere so that negotiations between the parties may be resumed and brought to a successful conclusion. That is why I ventured to speak, because, in spite of the statements made by the parties, which, in my view, do not cast any shadow on the quality and effectiveness of the resolution, it is fitting that we should insist upon the desire of the Council—and I believe that I am not exaggerating when I say that it is the desire of all its members without exception—that the negotiations should be resumed. That is why paragraph 5 of the resolution, on which we must lay stress,

"Calls on the representatives of the two communities, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, to resume negotiations as soon as possible meaningfully and constructively on the basis of comprehensive and concrete proposals."

The mission of good offices of the Secretary-General is recognized both by the members of the Council and by the parties. The Secretary-General has consistently sought to reconcile all the legal, moral and political factors which come into play in a conflict of this kind.

64. In closing this debate, it is appropriate to address ourselves once again to the parties, not only through the resolution but also by recalling the expressions of goodwill of those same parties and placing them on record at the conclusion of the discussion.

65. At the first meeting dealing with this question, which was held on 31 August, Ambassador Papoulias of Greece said the following:

"It is well known that the intercommunal negotiations on the problem of Cyprus should lead, inter alia, to a settlement of the basic question concerning the territorial aspect, which is linked to the return of the refugees to their homes." [2026th meeting, para. 50.]

66. When the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community, the distinguished public official, Mr. Çelik, spoke before the Council he said the following—and this is the thinking of the Turkish Cypriot community:

"Our main aim at this juncture should be to encourage and foster intercommunal talks with a view to reaching a

just and mutually acceptable solution, and not to engage in futile political fights in international forums.

"The Turkish Cypriot side has always been and still is in favour of the intercommunal talks. We hope that, despite recent developments in the south which have caused a temporary interruption in the negotiating process, it will be possible for the talks to resume on a mutually agreed date in the near future, and it is our ardent hope that this time they may be more constructive and fruitful." [Ibid., paras. 64 and 65.]

Nobody will dare to deny that this statement is fully in accordance with the purpose of the Security Council's resolution.

67. Our friend Ambassador Türkmen of Turkey, speaking at the same meeting, expressed what is, in my opinion, a mental or psychological attitude when he said that the Turkish community wished to avoid a new obstacle to the resumption of the intercommunal talks, and he added that that was why they "acted with the utmost restraint and moderation". Later in his statement he added:

"Indeed, Mr. Çelik also reiterated that the Turkish community was firmly supporting the mission of good offices entrusted to the Secretary-General and was ready for a resumption of the intercommunal talks on a date to be agreed upon by both communities." [Ibid., para. 80.]

In that statement, Ambassador Türkmen expressed his pleasure at the Turkish Cypriot community's attitude in its ardent desire to resume the negotiations. Then he made a statement which I consider to be of great value, a value that is in no way lessened by what he said a few minutes ago. It reads as follows:

"The Turkish Government will continue to support fully the mission of the Secretary-General within its present framework. We earnestly hope that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General at Nicosia will be able to pave the way for substantive progress in the next round of talks." [Ibid.]

68. We are aware of all the domestic political problems that confront statesmen representing the parties to the conflict, but since they all refer to negotiations, why not begin the talks in a frank and sincere manner, under the auspices of the Secretary-General and with the blessing of the Council? The framework for these talks, as was stated by the Foreign Minister of Cyprus, Mr. Christophides, is to be found in the guidelines laid down for the parties themselves by the late Archbishop Makarios and Mr. Denktas, the Turkish-Cypriot leader. Mr. Christophides said the following:

"At their last meeting,"—referring to the last meeting between President Makarios and Mr. Denktas—"held on 12 February in the presence of the Secretary-General, certain guidelines were agreed on, and this was considered at the time to mark a breakthrough in the intercommunal talks. It was agreed that the common objective was the creation of an independent, non-aligned bi-communal federal State, where fundamental principles such as

freedom of movement, freedom of settlement and rights of property for all Cypriots"—I stress the words "for all Cypriots"—"were to be safeguarded. It was also agreed that the territory under the administration of each community should be discussed in the light of economic viability or productivity and land ownership, and that the powers and functions of the central government were to be such as to safeguard the unity of the country. Those guidelines were intended to provide the interlocutors with the terms of reference on the basis of which to negotiate a political settlement of the constitutional and territorial aspects of the Cyprus problem, as provided under one of the provisions of the resolutions on the question of Cyprus, leaving for implementation by Turkey those provisions of the resolutions that concern it exclusively and which include the withdrawal of foreign troops, the cessation of foreign interference and, consequently, the return of the refugees to their homes in safety." [*Ibid.*, para. 10.]

69. I should like to conclude by stating to the Council, on the occasion of the adoption of resolution 414 (1977), that in view of the positions stated by the parties and, particularly, the guidelines agreed upon by the President of the Republic, Mr. Makarios, and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr. Denktaş, a basis exists for constructive negotiations to be successfully concluded. I believe that the two communities are heirs to the cultural values of two civilizations to which mankind is greatly indebted. We hope that the statesmen of our time will live up to their glorious past traditions.

70. The PRESIDENT: The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus wishes to exercise his right of reply and I call on him.

71. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): A while ago, the representative of Pakistan referred to the "representative of the Turkish part of Cyprus" [*see above, para. 21*]. I hope that that was not said deliberately. I do not have to repeat here that there is only one Republic of Cyprus, the territorial integrity of which is guaranteed under the Charter and the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, for some of which even Pakistan and Turkey voted. It is true that, as a result of the Turkish aggression and invasion in 1974, a part of Cyprus is under the military occupation of the Turkish armed forces, but

surely even the representative of Pakistan would agree that this illegal occupation does not make the occupied part of Cyprus the Turkish part of Cyprus. Therefore I should like to believe that the reference of the representative of Pakistan was made in error and not intentional.

72. I shall perhaps be allowed to make also a few brief remarks on the statement made by the representative of Turkey. He alleged that I had uttered derogatory remarks about the Turkish Cypriot community. I should like to assure the Council that we have nothing against the Turkish Cypriot community. As we have frequently said, we can and should live together, if only the Turkish intervention were to be removed, for I am sure that my Turkish compatriots feel the weight of the Turkish soldier's boot as much as we do.

73. There was a reference by the representative of Turkey to the effect that decisions are made in Nicosia by the Turkish Cypriot leadership and not by Ankara. The recent events of Famagusta illustrate, I think, very well that it is Ankara that makes the decisions in the Turkish-occupied area of Cyprus. As the Secretary-General has attested, it was only after Mr. Ecevit, the then Prime Minister of Turkey, made his statement of 20 July regarding Famagusta that Mr. Denktaş started to proceed with steps towards the colonization of the New Famagusta area. Perhaps I may be allowed to quote what the Secretary-General said:

"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. He rejected the impression that Varosha was being reserved for purposes of territorial concessions through the intercommunal talks. Mr. Ecevit's suggestion was endorsed by Mr. Denktaş." [*2028th meeting, para. 26.*]

So I think that the facts speak for themselves and give a clear and lucid reply to the question of who makes the important decisions in the occupied area of Cyprus.

74. With regard to the other remarks made by the representative of Turkey, I think that the unanimous adoption of the present resolution and its very provisions constitute a sufficient reply.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

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