



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

2054th MEETING: 15 DECEMBER 1977

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2054)	1
Statement by the President	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The situation in Cyprus: Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/12463 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.

2054TH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 15 December 1977, at 7 p.m.

President: Sir Harold E. WALTER (Mauritius).

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/2054)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/12463 and Add.1)

The meeting was called to order at 7.40 p.m.

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before turning to the first item on the agenda, I wish to state how pleased the Government of Mauritius is at having the honour to preside over the work of the Council, which has very important problems to solve. My presence here today is an expression of my Government's genuine solidarity with and firm belief in the noble purposes and lofty aims of the Organization, which are directed towards the achievement of world peace.

2. I am sure that I am expressing the feelings of all members when I ask the representative of Cyprus to convey to his Government our earnest hope that the President of Cyprus will very shortly have the joy of being reunited with his son.

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/12463 and Add.1)

3. The PRESIDENT: I have received letters from the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey in which they request to be invited to participate in the Council's discussion of the question before it. I therefore propose, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, and in conformity with the usual practice of the Council, to invite

those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

4. There is a slight hitch in the sense that Mr. Çelik is leaving New York tomorrow. We have had a hard day in the course of discussions and negotiations in which his co-operation has been forthcoming in a very genuine and open way. I know that many of us have obligations this evening, but, if we only take the vote tonight and defer until tomorrow morning the statements of members of the Council in explanation of vote and statements by the representatives who have asked to be allowed to participate in the discussion, that will certainly hamper Mr. Çelik's movements. I am, therefore, in the hands of the Council.

5. Perhaps we could find a solution by accepting the suggestion that the statements of the members of the Council should be handed over to the President, who will in turn hand them over to the Secretary-General. They can then be bound in one volume and considered as official documents of the Council. Since we met for consultations in Conference Room 5, I have discussed this question again with the representative of the United Kingdom. I believe that after the little legal tussle we had over it, even the United Kingdom delegation had some doubts about its own proposal, and I think that it would now go along with the suggestions I am making if it meets the wishes of the Council. This procedure would, of course, shorten the debate and enable the representative of Cyprus to be invited to speak, to be followed by the other representatives in the order in which they have been invited to take part in the discussion.

6. Mr. TROYANOYSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I am not quite sure what procedure the President is proposing. Is he proposing that the representatives of the parties directly concerned should speak tonight and that the statements of the members of the Council should be distributed as Council documents?

7. The PRESIDENT: What I meant was this. The members of the Council have priority in the debate. After the vote, members will ask to be allowed to speak in explanation of their vote. That procedure will take us into the early hours of the morning, even though we have had promises from certain delegations that their statements would be extremely brief. Therefore, if there is a consensus on the part of the members of the Security Council that they accept the procedure that statements in explanation of vote will be handed over to the President, it will save us the time that would be taken by that part of the debate. I know that I

am going against the current of tradition, but the time has come for us to break away from time-wasting procedures. We should get on with the job before us. Time is for action and not for words.

8. We are faced here with this typical situation where somebody has, as the result of very forceful persuasion and convincing arguments, agreed to go along with the other side to facilitate our task and I believe that in return we should be kind to him by allowing him to address us tonight so that he can leave tomorrow as planned.

9. I am only making a suggestion to members of the Council and they may, of course, overrule me; I am but their humble servant. Probably I have spoken out of turn and have gone beyond the limits of propriety, but it is time that something shook, and let us shake it now.

10. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I think that your proposal might create a situation which would be rather difficult and delicate for the Council. I thought we had agreed on a particular plan during our consultations, which was to adopt the draft resolution this evening and hear explanations of vote tomorrow. I think that that would be desirable, and, with all due respect and in all humility, should like to ask that you keep to that plan, on which my delegation thought a consensus had been achieved. In any event, my delegation intends to have its say in a sovereign manner in this debate, not to submit a written document to the Secretariat.

11. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I fully agree with the representative of Benin that there was a consensus before we left Conference Room 5. But something unforeseen has happened: I had not been aware that Mr. Çelik was leaving New York. That is why I made my suggestion to the Council. I can assure my brother that at no time did I wish to exceed my rights or the limits of propriety. I simply wanted to make a suggestion, acceptable or unacceptable.

12. Mr. LAPOINTE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): May I make a suggestion? Perhaps we could please everyone by deciding that the Council should hear only Mr. Çelik this evening and defer until tomorrow the statements to be made by Council members. Otherwise I am afraid we will be in a rather awkward position if we make it possible for a non-member of the Council to speak but prevent members from doing so and simply have their statements circulated. I think that would be somewhat abnormal. For its part, my delegation would be quite prepared to hear Mr. Çelik this evening and to defer any other statements until tomorrow.

13. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): I was going to propose something along the lines of what has just been suggested, namely, that we should vote and then hear Mr. Çelik and the representative of Cyprus, the remaining statements being deferred until tomorrow.

14. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I was going to make a proposal along the lines of that made by the representative of France.

15. I should like to be quite clear about this. If any of the parties is given the opportunity to speak this evening, I think that the same opportunity should be accorded to the others, because otherwise what international public opinion is going to hear is the news that a resolution has been adopted and that one of the parties has expressed its views. I think that would be unfair.

16. I should like to ask you, Mr. President, to proceed in this manner: that you invite the representatives of the parties—I am referring specifically to the representatives of the Republic of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece and, perhaps, the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community—to speak this evening if they so wish. If we proceed otherwise, then I should like to ask you to open the debate and to follow the usual procedure under the rules.

17. The PRESIDENT: May I request the representatives seated at the Council table to meet me in my office now? I shall suspend the meeting for five minutes; I have an important communication to impart to you in the light of what Canada and France have suggested, which *prima facie* seems acceptable but which I, as President, know will be unacceptable.

The meeting was suspended at 7.55 p.m. and resumed at 8.10 p.m.

18. The PRESIDENT: As I said, I have received letters from the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion. I therefore propose, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure as well as in conformity with the usual practice of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. If I hear no objection, I shall presume that the Council agrees to this request.

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

19. The PRESIDENT: I should also like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Turkey requesting that Mr. Çelik should be invited to participate in the consideration of the question on the agenda. I propose, if I hear no objection, to extend an invitation to Mr. Çelik, in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure.

It was so decided.

20. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 8 June to 30 November 1977 [S/12463 and Add.1]. In addition, the Council has before it the text of a draft resolution contained in document S/12489, which was drawn up in the course of consultations.

21. I shall now put the draft resolution in document S/12489 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none.¹

One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

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

23. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, I should like to thank you and the other members of the Council for having invited my delegation to participate in this debate. We are particularly gratified to see you, Sir, the Minister for External Affairs of Mauritius, the representative of a fellow non-aligned country, presiding over the Council's deliberations. We are convinced that under your wise and able leadership the Council will conduct fruitful deliberations.

24. I should like to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to Sir Harold Walter, our President, for the concern he showed in his statement of sympathy to my President, Mr. Kyprianou, on the sad event that has taken place today.

25. I should also like to place on record our deep sense of gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his continuing efforts to promote a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem in accordance with his mandate. Our warm thanks and appreciation go also to Under-Secretaries-General Mr. Roberto Guyer and Mr. Brian Urquhart, for their dedicated work in promoting the objectives of the United Nations. I should also like to pay a warm tribute to the Commander of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), Major-General James Quinn, as well as to the senior political adviser, Mr. Rémy Gorgé, for their significant contribution to the cause of peace in our island.

26. It is indeed with real regret that we see the highly esteemed Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar relinquishing his duties in Cyprus, which he handled in a most exemplary way and in the best traditions of the United Nations. The integrity of his character and his sense of justice have been deeply appreciated by the Cypriot people. We most sincerely wish him every progress and happiness in a brilliant career.

27. Furthermore, we are particularly indebted to those States which, through voluntary contributions of personnel and funds, enable UNFICYP to function in Cyprus.

28. The Security Council is meeting for the renewal of the mandate of the Force. On this occasion, it seems pertinent to have a brief look at the sequence of events that have taken place since July 1974, namely, since the time when the situation in Cyprus in its implications and repercussions became one of the present grave international problems, as referred to in the latest report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization.²

29. Three years have already elapsed since the armed attack and invasion of Cyprus by Turkey. Its occupation

army still holds under its sway 40 per cent of the island's territory, in contemptuous affront to the United Nations, whose mandatory resolutions demand the withdrawal without delay of the occupying forces from the territory of the Republic. Worse still is the series of international crimes that followed in the wake of the invasion, under a pre-planned design to change by force the demographic structure of the island. The inhumanity involved in the massive uprootings of the indigenous majority people has rarely been paralleled in history.

30. These expulsions still continue; they are coupled with looting and illegal confiscation of property, even including the New Famagusta area. What began in July 1974 is still continuing. These are facts that cannot be overlooked, no matter how much we would wish to avoid stating them. The continuing expulsions increase the number of refugees, in direct conflict with United Nations resolutions in Cyprus, all of which call for the urgent return of the refugees to their homes in safety. So, again, on this urgent appeal by the Security Council there has been no response.

31. The right to return is a fundamental and inalienable human right. No passage of time can affect it, nor can the criminality of faits accomplis create acceptable realities. In any case, at no time will the Government of Cyprus forsake the inalienable rights of the 200,000 refugees to return to their homes and properties.

32. The report of the Secretary-General [S/12463] shows that the number of Greek Cypriot refugees has reached the figure of exactly 198,556, that is, one third of the total population of the island has been turned into destitute, bereaved and desolate refugees. Their ancestral hearths and properties are being openly usurped by Anatolian settlers massively brought in from Turkey in an ongoing process to change by force the population ratio of the island. Thus, daily, Greek Cypriots have been passing through the ordeal of cruel harassment to the sad lot of refugees.

33. A recent variety of terrorist activity to that end--that is, to the end of expulsion--is the burning alive of elderly women through setting fire to their habitations, of which we have had a number of recent instances. These and other crimes with the Greek Cypriots as the victims go unrestrained by any action on the part of the United Nations and are rampant in the occupied area. Lists and details are available. Nowhere has such a pattern of officially sanctioned racial discrimination exceeded in criminality these actions.

34. The report of the Secretary-General points out in paragraph 32 that UNFICYP's freedom of movement in the northern part of Cyprus continues to be restricted and that the Force has no access to Greek Cypriot habitations. The reason for this can be seen in the results of this absence of contact with Greek Cypriot habitations.

35. This continuing aggression against Cyprus and the multiple crimes against its people remain unchecked, in flagrant violation of international law, the Charter and unanimous General Assembly and Security Council resolution. These acts should be and are wholly unacceptable to the world community. They mark a dangerous breakdown

¹ See resolution 422 (1977).

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-Second Session, Supplement No. 1.

in legal order and make manifest the implications from the failure of the United Nations to carry out its main responsibility for international security through the effective implementation of its decisions, that is, the decisions of the Security Council as mandatorily provided in the Charter.

36. The report of the Secretary-General, referring to the intercommunal talks, notes that

“The efforts to achieve a solution of the underlying problems . . . have continued to yield disappointing results.” [*Ibid.*, para. 69.]

Nevertheless, the Secretary-General continues

“to hold to the view that the negotiations between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities . . . are the best available method of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem” [*ibid.*, para. 70].

37. We fully concur with this view. The process of negotiation is the best available means for the peaceful solution of problems and my Government firmly supports the intercommunal talks provided they are meaningful and constructive, as required also by the Secretary-General. In the progress of negotiations there must, however, be concrete proposals from both sides on the constitutional and territorial aspects, as is indeed demanded by Security Council resolution 414 (1977) and General Assembly resolution 32/15. Such concrete proposals from the Turkish side have been totally lacking all through the negotiations, which has resulted in the meaninglessness of the talks. It is therefore pertinent and necessary to inquire into the causes that have been rendering the negotiations unproductive for these three years. Bearing in mind the statements of the various Members of the United Nations on different occasions regarding the importance of the intercommunal talks, we must inquire into the causes that make it impossible for these negotiations to proceed any further.

38. I wish in this respect to refer to the fundamental requirements for any negotiations—and Cyprus could not be an exception. These requirements are good faith and common purpose. Both must be present for any negotiations: good faith in honouring agreements made and obligations undertaken in the course of the negotiations; good faith, also, in the conduct of the parties during the negotiations by refraining from unilateral actions contrary to the very purpose of the talks, which would undermine them and lead to their frustration.

39. A demonstrable example of the regrettable lack of all good faith in the course of the intercommunal talks is the manifest renegeing on the solemn agreement reached between the parties in the third round of talks on 2 August 1975 under the auspices and in the presence of the Secretary-General, which is recorded in his report as follows:

“Mr. Denktaş reaffirmed, and it was agreed, 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.*]

40. A corresponding obligation by the Greek Cypriot side in the agreement was that the Turkish Cypriots in the south who wanted to go to the north would be allowed to do so. This obligation was promptly and completely complied with by the Greek Cypriot side. However, no sooner had the transportation of the Turkish Cypriots to the north been completed, than the Turkish side wholly renegeed on all its commitments in the agreement.

41. Thus, none of the conditions to provide for normal life as specified in the agreement were in the least degree honoured. As appears from the Secretary-General's report, Greek Cypriot farmers in the Karpas region are severely restricted and can hardly cultivate their fields for their livelihood, teachers are expressly not allowed to proceed to the north, medical teams are refused clearance, and UNFICYP's freedom of movement in the north is prohibitively restricted in violation of a specific paragraph in the agreement of 2 August 1975 providing for free access of UNFICYP to Greek Cypriot habitations.

42. But worse still, not only has the Turkish side renegeed on the agreement, not only has it not provided the facilities agreed upon, not only has it not allowed freedom to stay and to live normal lives, but its forces of occupation have renewed and intensified the expulsion of Greek Cypriots through harassment and terror in a manner calculated to effect their elimination from the occupied area or else from life itself. The choice forced upon them in such a dilemma is now presented by Ankara as “voluntary departure”.

43. In consequence, the number of Greek Cypriots remaining in the north has perforce been constantly dwindling. Thus, their original number fell to 3,631 at the end of 1976 and in the six-month period to June 1977 fell further to 2,000. It dwindled further during the period covered by the report.

44. Can it therefore be assumed that there is any degree of good faith shown by the Turkish side in the negotiations? We see by this one example—and there are more—with what degree of respect or disrespect the agreements reached in the negotiations have been treated by the Turkish side.

45. As regards the good faith which must be demonstrated by refraining from unilateral actions, as demanded by United Nations resolutions, the fictitious setting up of a State within a State in Cyprus as a means of promoting Ankara's objective of partition and annexation could not be considered evidence of that good faith.

46. As is natural, the unilateral declaration of the so-called Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was disapproved and rejected by the relevant United Nations resolutions and this State was not recognized by the international community. Yet, Ankara tries to impose this illegal entity and repeatedly puts forward its representative in order to provide a means of creating confusion and eclipsing itself from the

scene of the drama, thinking that it can thus escape its heavy responsibilities.

47. A striking evidence of lack of good faith in the negotiations is the very recent attempt to legalize, through an illegal law, the usurpation of the properties of the exiled Greek Cypriots from the invaded area. These properties have been distributed to Turkish Cypriots alien to the land and to colonizing settlers from Turkey to whom fake "titles of ownership" are issued in violation of all concepts of legality. Indicative of the underlying intent in these actions is that the said law describes the rightful indigenous owners of the properties as "aliens"—aliens to Cyprus.

48. A further essential element in the negotiations is that they should be freely conducted. The oppressive presence of the Turkish army of occupation and the faits accomplis perpetrated by it inevitably affect the conduct of negotiations, which cannot be said to be freely conducted. This situation needs to be remedied so as to render the talks positive and productive, as they should be.

49. Negotiations conducted from a position of strength and from a semblance of force cannot be meaningful or lead to a just and lasting solution. It has by now become manifest that the implementation by Turkey of its obligations under the relevant resolutions is becoming compellingly needed for any progress towards solution and for the conduct of meaningful and productive negotiations on this subject.

50. Furthermore, a spirit of mutual understanding between the two communities should prevail. But this will be unattainable so long as the policy of Ankara, which dominates the Turkish Cypriot leadership, is based on intensifying the division and raising the walls of separation which are being imposed on the rank and file of the Turkish Cypriots.

51. One hopeful element towards such a positive spirit of understanding between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities is the fact that the bulk of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot people would eagerly conciliate and co-operate if left free from outside interference—interference for purposes alien to the true interests of the Cypriot people of Greek and Turkish origin alike.

52. In this respect, it was repeatedly remarked in a number of reports of the Secretary-General that there was a yearning and impatience of the ordinary people of Cyprus for a full return to normal conditions and that this yearning was obvious. The report of 10 March 1966 states:

"There have been recently a number of indications that both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot populations of Cyprus are increasingly impatient for a return to normal conditions." [S/7191, para. 148.]

But meanwhile, the wave from Ankara is stifling the Turkish Cypriots' will for such conciliation.

53. The tragedy of Cyprus in its very nature becomes the tragedy of the United Nations in that it makes manifest the

breakdown of any vestige of world order and security in relations among nations. Among the effects of such situations is the spill-over of anarchy into the domestic domain through the increasing incidence of terrorism, hijacking, the taking of hostages and other manifestations of growing insecurity in the international society of our days.

54. General Assembly resolution 31/12 expressed the hope "that the Security Council [would] consider appropriate steps for the implementation of its resolution 365 (1974)". Security Council resolution 365 (1974) is the resolution reaffirming General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), by which Turkey was called upon to withdraw, without delay, its military forces from Cyprus and to allow the return of the refugees to their homes in safety. Regrettably, there has been no response from the Security Council as yet to that expression of hope by the General Assembly. Hence, the General Assembly, in its current session, by its resolution 32/15, more emphatically recommends that the Security Council should "adopt all practical means to promote the effective implementation of its relevant resolutions in all their aspects". My Government trusts that the Council will not fail in its responsibility to take early steps in accord with the aforesaid recommendation of the General Assembly.

55. This is the crux of the whole problem of Cyprus and of its solution. Indeed, the practical road to the solution of all problems, in general terms, lies in the effective implementation of Security Council decisions as appears from the tenor of other resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its present session.

56. At the present critical times in the history of my country, and while I have at this moment the privilege of addressing this principal organ of the United Nations, may I, on behalf of my countrymen and the hundreds of thousands of desperate, desolate refugees, echo a fervent and deeply felt appeal that the Security Council should take the positive decision to proceed to the appropriate measures required from it by the Charter, in order to give meaningful content and effect to its vital decisions on matters of international security and peace, so that justice and respect for fundamental human rights may prevail in our world.

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

58. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): Mr. President, I take great pleasure in extending to you the warmest congratulations of my delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your prestige and the important role that your country and you personally have played in the affairs of the United Nations and in the non-aligned movement, as well as your authority and well-known diplomatic skills, give us great confidence that this debate will be successfully concluded. It is, indeed, a great privilege and honour for us to be guided in the discussion on this important item by the Minister for External Affairs of Mauritius, Sir Harold Walter. I also wish to thank you and the members of the Council for having allowed me to participate in this discussion.

59. The Security Council has, on the proposal of the Secretary-General, decided to renew the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months. This resolution, to which the Government of Cyprus has agreed, has the support of my Government.

60. I avail myself of this early opportunity to express, on behalf of the Government of Greece, profound appreciation to the Member States that are providing contingents to UNFICYP at considerable financial burden to themselves. Our appreciation goes also to the Governments that are making voluntary contributions for the maintenance of the Force. Further, we wish to join in the tribute paid to the Finnish contingent which, after 13 years of distinguished service, has been withdrawn from Cyprus. Finally, I wish to express our sincere thanks to the Force Commander, Major-General Quinn, and to the officers and men of UNFICYP who are discharging with exemplary devotion their difficult responsibilities and humanitarian tasks.

61. The question of Cyprus has been debated twice during recent months: first in the Security Council following an urgent request made by the Government of Cyprus in view of an impending threat of colonization of the new city of Famagusta, which debate led to the adoption of resolution 414 (1977); secondly, in the General Assembly itself during the current session, which debate resulted in the adoption of resolution 32/15 by an overwhelming majority of 116 votes to only 6. Therefore it is perhaps not necessary to deal at length with what the Council already knows. Equally well known is the framework in which the Council has been called upon to extend UNFICYP's mandate, namely, the framework established by the unanimously adopted General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), endorsed by Council resolution 365 (1974), as well as by subsequent Council resolutions and by General Assembly resolutions 3395 (XXX), 31/12 and 32/15.

62. All these resolutions provide for respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, abstention from unilateral actions and interventions directed against that Republic, including changes in the demographic structure of the island, withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the Republic of Cyprus and cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs, the return of all refugees to their homes in safety, and the resumption of meaningful and constructive negotiations between the representatives of the two communities, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, on the basis of comprehensive and concrete proposals with a view to arriving at a just and lasting settlement.

63. Now, we have before us the Secretary-General's report, document S/12463 of 1 December 1977, and we have once again, regrettably, to bear witness to the fact that no progress whatsoever has been made as regards the implementation of United Nations resolutions, the result being that we are no nearer to a solution than we were last year or the year before. We certainly share the disappointment expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 69 of his report.

64. The Council is fully aware of the reasons behind the stalemate that is exacerbating the deterioration of an already dangerous situation, and I will confine myself to repeating them in very brief terms.

65. First, there is the continuation of the aggression against the Republic of Cyprus through Turkish military occupation of about 40 per cent of its territory in the name of a minority community not exceeding 18 per cent of the island's total population, in contravention of the principles of the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

66. Secondly, 200,000 refugees—refugees in their own country—are being kept by force from returning to their ancestral homes. That is in itself a gross violation of human rights, to which is added the usurpation of their properties, in spite of basic international legal norms and, specifically, of the fourth Geneva Convention, regarding the treatment of the inhabitants of occupied territories.

67. Thirdly, the other side is utilizing all kinds of delaying or "salami" tactics, instead of conducting negotiations properly, in order to perpetuate faits accomplis and to create the notorious "irreversible situations" and "new realities".

68. I shall spare the Council and refrain from going through the various paragraphs of the Secretary-General's report, which faithfully describes a pattern with which the Council must by now be painfully familiar: the need for concern for the Greek Cypriots remaining in the north, who have been reduced to the token number of 1,814 souls and whose numbers are still being diminished, despite the monitoring of departures by the United Nations, through such devices as the withholding of schooling facilities for children or of adequate medical attention, the continuation of the restrictions on UNFICYP's freedom of movement in the occupied part of Cyprus and on the performance of UNFICYP's humanitarian tasks on a limited scale; harassment of the Greek Cypriot farmers in the Karpas and restrictions on their cultivation of their fields; the confiscation of Greek Cypriot-owned land and further looting of appreciable quantities of commercial commodities and other movable properties from houses and other premises in the Famagusta area, and so on.

69. What makes the present situation in Cyprus all the more revolting is that whereas we, the Security Council and the General Assembly, have constantly been hearing from the other side about their alleged readiness to negotiate, particularly when there is to be a debate at the United Nations on the Cyprus problem, or when it serves some other purpose, nothing at all has ever been done that could promote a serious negotiation, let alone bring about a settlement.

70. Indeed, despite eight rounds of intercommunal talks held at Vienna over the past three years under the auspices of the Secretary-General, and the first round of the new series of those talks which took place last April, it has not proved possible to reach the stage of serious and meaningful negotiations.

71. I wish to repeat the deepest appreciation and thanks of my Government for the painstaking and untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, in search of a peaceful solution for Cyprus. We also extend our sincere thanks to his colleagues, Under-Secretaries-General Mr. Roberto Guyer and Mr. Brian Urquhart, as well as to their staffs.

72. May I again 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. We fully agree with him when, in paragraph 70 of his report, he states that the negotiations between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities are the best available method of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem. For our part, we wish again to stress that, in order to have a chance of success, these negotiations must be carried out in a substantive way on the basis of concrete proposals covering all major aspects of the problem, including territorial and constitutional questions. I need not remind the Council that the concrete proposals made by the Greek Cypriot negotiator on those questions are still awaiting a reply from the other side. Repetition of dilatory methods and of faits accomplis can only worsen the situation and diminish the prospects of a peaceful solution. Therefore we share the Secretary-General's concern about the need for him to obtain assurances that the parties are prepared to negotiate concretely and substantively on all major aspects of the problem before initiating a new round of talks. That is exactly what is called for in resolution 414 (1977) and resolution 32/15.

73. As the Secretary-General observes in his report, the situation in Cyprus continued to be quiet during the period under review, but the underlying tensions have shown no sign of abating and the political differences confronting the people of Cyprus have been brought no nearer to a solution. This is prolonging a crisis which continues to endanger international peace and security, as has been recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 32/15 and in previous resolutions. It is therefore urgent that the Cyprus problem should be settled by means of a just and lasting solution in conformity with the basic principles of the Charter and through the effective implementation of the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

74. I have waited until the end of my statement to pay a tribute to the outgoing Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Ambassador Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar has served with great distinction and unswerving dedication and has rendered invaluable services to the cause of peace and to the people of Cyprus. He has gained our gratitude, and we shall certainly miss him very much. He takes with him our warm and heartfelt wishes for the success, of which we are confident, of his future endeavours.

75. The PRESIDENT: I am informed that Mr. Çelik, who has been invited by the Council under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, would like to address the Council. I therefore call upon him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

76. Mr. ÇELIK: Mr. President, I should like to thank you and each and every member of the Council for having decided at this late hour to convene a meeting in order to give me the opportunity to make a statement before I leave New York tomorrow. I should also like to express our thanks for and appreciation of your efforts and your diplomatic skill, which made possible the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP tonight.

77. Allow me also once again to express, on behalf of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, our profound gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his dedicated and untiring efforts to achieve a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem.

78. On this occasion, our special thanks and appreciation go to Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, the outgoing Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, who has decided to relinquish his post and return to the diplomatic service of his country. I should like to express to him our deep appreciation for the exemplary and most efficient manner in which he carried out his assignment in Cyprus and to wish him every success in the future.

79. I should also like to thank the staff of the Secretariat, and in particular Under-Secretaries-General Mr. Roberto Guyer and Mr. Brian Urquhart, as well as Mr. George Sherry, for the efficient and impartial manner in which they have discharged their difficult responsibilities.

80. Last but not least, I should like to express our gratitude to the Commander of UNFICYP, Major-General Quinn, to the senior legal and political adviser, Mr. Rémy Gorgé, and to all the officers and men of UNFICYP, as well as to all contributing countries in Cyprus.

81. The resolution that has just been adopted for the fourth consecutive time with very minor changes is being considered by the Council as a vehicle for the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP without due regard to the fact that some of its contents have become obsolete and irrelevant. Had it not been for the shortage of time, we would have insisted on a new procedural resolution that would have better met the needs of the present situation. Our views on and reactions to this resolution are already on record. The resolution has been adopted four consecutive times since June 1976, and our reactions to it have been placed on record on all four previous occasions. Therefore at this late hour I shall not repeat our views on the subject.

82. I should also like to place it on record that, although we have given our consent to the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP for a further six months with a view to avoiding a last-minute crisis, in view of the present situation in the island the mandate in its actual form is no longer realistic and must therefore be changed to conform with the present situation.

83. The points made and the allegations raised by the Greek Cypriot representative in the statement the Council has just heard are not new. We have been hearing them for the last few years; they have been adequately answered and the answers put on record, so I shall not go into detail in answering each and every one of them at this late hour.

84. We have left behind us yet another year characterized by futile political struggles, fruitless acrimonious debates, ever increasing Greek Cypriot political and economic warfare against the Turkish Cypriot community and an apparent lack of willingness on the part of the Greek Cypriot leadership to concentrate efforts on a realistic and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem.

85. Despite the fact that promising developments took place earlier in the year—in particular the meeting between the leaders of the two communities on the initiative of President Denktaş—and although the vastly improved security situation in Cyprus afforded an unprecedented opportunity to carry out a meaningful dialogue between the two communities on an equal footing, unfortunately the political struggle waged by the Greek Cypriot side left us with no time or energy to pursue constructive negotiations. I am sorry that the year 1977 will no doubt go down as yet another year of missed opportunities in the history of Cyprus.

86. Instead of building upon the framework agreed upon by President Denktaş and the late Archbishop Makarios for the establishment of a bi-communal and bi-zonal, independent, non-aligned federal republic, the Greek Cypriot leaders chose to erode the very essence of that agreement through statements evincing an intention to create a unitary State, and destroyed the momentum brought about by the meeting through their divisive actions and their constant reference to and preparation for a “long struggle”.

87. It should be realized that there is no going back to the pre-1974 period, that the two communities are destined to co-exist and that there can be peaceful co-existence only within a bi-communal State with equal rights and equal opportunities for both sides.

88. We do hope that during the coming year, and in particular after the expected political developments in the south, a more constructive and realistic approach will be forthcoming and new opportunities will arise for concerted action to bring about normalization as a first step towards solving the Cyprus problem. We sincerely hope that a new spirit of co-operation and harmony will be established.

89. The Turkish Cypriot side, for its part, is and has always been ready and willing to solve the Cyprus problem in accordance with the legitimate rights of both communities. We shall be prepared, as always, in the coming year to do our share in the efforts to reconcile the differences between the two sides.

90. Indeed, in line with this policy, throughout the past two years, the Turkish Cypriot side, in an effort to find a political settlement, has repeatedly proposed the establishment of a joint federal transitional government or an *ad hoc* joint administrative arrangement; it has offered to run some common services jointly; it has offered to open the international airport and the international Famagusta port to intercommunal use—actions which would have brought an end to the political war between the two communities and encouraged the re-establishment of trust and confidence that is a definite prerequisite for normalization and a political settlement.

91. These offers still stand, for we believe that the establishment of such co-operation would constitute the very foundation of an eventual partnership in government within the agreed federal framework which we are trying to bring about. In this spirit we have even invited Greek Cypriot hoteliers to come to Maras—Varosha—and operate their hotels.

92. We are always open to co-operation in all areas, provided that it is carried out on the basis of equality and mutual respect. A positive response to our appeals would have reduced the growing rift between the two communities. A positive response would have contributed to the strengthening of the areas which bring the two communities together rather than allowing the present circumstances to perpetuate the differences which divide them.

93. Unfortunately, however, all our appeals fell on deaf ears. All our efforts to secure co-operation were of no avail, for not only did the Greek Cypriot leaders resolutely refuse to establish any links between the two communities but, with their policies and actions, they have helped to increase mistrust and friction and deepen separation.

94. In response to our appeals, we were met with a further intensification of the Greek Cypriot policy of isolating the Turkish Cypriot community politically and economically. The refusal to open the Nicosia International Airport to civilian traffic, the efforts to disrupt international trade between the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus and the outside world, the attempts to undermine the development of tourism in northern Cyprus and the obstruction of sea and air services to northern Cyprus are only a few of the actions of the Greek Cypriot leadership calculated to pressure the Turkish Cypriot community into submission.

95. At the risk of repeating myself, I should like to take this opportunity to state once more that the Turkish Cypriot side wants nothing more in Cyprus than its right to exist as an equal partner in an independent State. We still consider valid the agreement reached between the two leaders earlier in the year. We are for a bi-national, bi-zonal federation. We want a new set-up which will give us effective guarantees for life and property. We want a new arrangement that will permit the effective participation of the Turkish Cypriot side in the government of the island and that will give us an equal opportunity to participate in the economic life of the country without discrimination. We demand actual effective guarantees against a repetition of the unfortunate past, on which I need not elaborate here.

96. If our Greek Cypriot friends accept the fact that there is no going back to the pre-1974 days and are prepared to negotiate with us within the aforementioned framework, there is no reason why the year 1978 should not be the year of a permanent settlement for Cyprus. I do hope that this spirit will prevail and that this debate will be the last of the series of acrimonious debates that have characterized the past three years.

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

98. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): Mr. President, I should like to express to you the congratulations of my delegation upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. It is significant that you have decided personally to come to New York to preside over the proceedings of the Council. You have thus underlined in a very symbolic way the importance you attach to the United Nations and to the Security Council. We were looking forward to having, during the consultations, the benefit of your wisdom, your wide experience and your diplomatic ability. However, the change in the presidency has caused a departure from the procedures normally followed during previous meetings of the Council on the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. I, for one, was not consulted by the President on the text of the draft resolution until 4.30 p.m. this afternoon, barely seven and a half hours before the expiration of the mandate. That is unprecedented.

99. I wish to reiterate to the Secretary-General our gratitude for his tireless efforts in carrying out his mission of good offices. We trust that he will be able, in a not too distant future, to deploy new and fruitful efforts in this field.

100. We value highly the efforts of Under-Secretaries-General Mr. Urquhart and Mr. Guyer and of the Force Commander, Major-General Quinn, in the fulfilment of their functions.

101. A special and warm tribute is due to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, who is relinquishing his post. During the two years that he served as Special Representative, his contribution to the maintenance of quiet and tranquillity in the island and to the continuation of the negotiating process has been invaluable. He has distinguished himself by his remarkable diplomatic tact, his capacity to deal diligently and effectively with the most complex and intractable situations, and his ability to inspire confidence in all the parties concerned.

102. Mr. President, with our permission I should like to say a few words about the statement of the representative of Greece. The representative of Greece has again referred to the intervention of Turkey in Cyprus under the Treaty of Guarantee,³ which also bears the signature of Greece, as an aggression. The only intervention which can be termed an aggression is, as the representative of Greece knows only too well, the military coup initiated by the Greek Government in 1974 against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. The Turkish intervention was a lawful response to that aggression.

103. I shall not reply to the other distortions and false allegations contained in the remarks made by the representative of Greece. But I must say that I was surprised by those remarks only a few days after the Turkish and Greek Foreign Ministers met at Brussels and repeated their support for the continuation of negotiations. Does the Greek Government want serious negotiations or just

retorical exercises? What we need, anyway, is an end to double-talk and, for once, sincerity of purpose.

104. We have carefully studied the report of the Secretary-General contained in document S/12463. That report provides us with a balanced assessment of the situation prevailing in Cyprus at the present time. We note in particular that the situation in Cyprus continued to be quiet during the period under review. In his previous report, presented last June [S/12342], the Secretary-General had also described the situation as being quiet. It is apparent, therefore, that for a year now Cyprus has known tranquillity. It is on the basis of that sustained improvement in the situation that the Secretary-General has decided that the Finnish Battalion, which left Cyprus at the end of October, would not be replaced. In the light of what the Secretary-General has to say on the financial situation of the Force in paragraphs 73 and 74 of his report, that trend is certainly to be welcomed.

105. In paragraph 32, the Secretary-General makes reference to restrictions in the freedom of movement of UNFICYP, but he omits to 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. There is no mention of the exchange of letters, on the basis of a text which had been agreed upon long ago. As long as that situation continues, it is difficult to judge the criteria which are used in determining the exact nature of the restrictions mentioned.

106. The circumstances prevailing at present in Cyprus, the lack of an agreement on the functions of UNFICYP in northern Cyprus and the chronic deficit in the UNFICYP financial accounts are factors which have an important bearing on the mandate of UNFICYP as originally defined in Security Council resolution 186 (1964).

107. I should like now to state the position of my Government on the resolution just adopted.

108. In the eighth preambular paragraph there is again the irrelevant reference to a "Government of Cyprus". Our point of view in that respect has been repeatedly explained. A reference to an entity which does not exist either in law or in practice, is all the more misleading since the framework agreement of 12 February 1977 [see S/12323 of 30 April 1977, para. 5] established the basis of an independent, non-aligned, bicomunal Federal Republic and provided for the merging of the two separate Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot administrations. Consequently, this resolution is unacceptable to us *in toto*.

109. The resolution contains two basic and operative elements. First, it gives UNFICYP a mandate for another period of six months. We concur in that extension, having heard Minister Çelik who informed the Council of the consent of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. It should be noted, however, that Minister Çelik underlined the necessity of reviewing the mandate of the Force as established in 1964, in order to adapt it to the circumstances now prevailing in Cyprus and to new and reduced dimensions of the problem.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, p. 3.

110. In its second important operative element, the resolution reiterates the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General in the intercommunal negotiations. My Government resolutely supports that mission and has recently been doing all it can to create a propitious atmosphere for a resumption of the negotiating process. The Foreign Minister of Turkey has stated emphatically that Turkey supports the negotiations and that he believes the time has come for both sides to approach the existing problems in a constructive and positive manner. He stressed the need for a political reconciliation between the two communities and a mutually beneficial economic co-operation. The Turkish Government announced on 27 October

and on 14 December new and substantial withdrawals of troops from Cyprus. The latest announcement stated also that Turkey would be ready to make further adjustments in the number of its troops in the island in keeping with progress towards a final settlement. If all the parties act in the same spirit, we are certain that a favourable atmosphere for meaningful, new initiatives will emerge.

111. The PRESIDENT: As regards the first part of the statement of the representative of Turkey, I reserve my right of reply for tomorrow morning.

The meeting rose at 9.15 p.m.