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NOTE

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2055th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 16 December 1977, at 10.30. a.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/2055)

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 11.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/12463 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2054th meeting, I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate in the debate without the right to vote.

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

2. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed that the Secretary-General wishes to make a statement and I now call on him.

3. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The Security Council yesterday adopted resolution 422 (1977) which extends the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for another six months and requests me to continue my mission of good offices. I shall of course use my best efforts to carry out the provisions of that resolution and to keep the members of the Council informed.

4. I am confident that, thanks in good part to the efforts of UNFICYP and with the continued co-operation of the

parties, the cease-fire will be maintained in Cyprus and the situation will continue to be quiet.

5. I shall make every effort to help to bring about a resumption of the intercommunal talks as the best available method of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem. As I have repeatedly indicated, I consider it essential to ensure that, when the talks are resumed, they will result in a genuine negotiating process. My Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, has just completed visits to Ankara and Athens in the course of which he discussed the problem of resuming the talks in the most effective way possible. In this connexion, I wish to inform the Council that I myself plan to visit the area in the not too distant future with the same purpose in mind.

6. Before concluding, I wish to pay a warm tribute to Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, who made a distinguished contribution during his tenure as representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus. Naturally, I shall inform the Council as soon as I have designated a successor.

7. Mr. CHOU Nan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): In our statement at the meeting of the General Assembly of 8 November,¹ the Chinese delegation already expounded in a comprehensive way its Government's position on the question of Cyprus. I am not going to repeat it here. In view of the fact that the draft resolution contained in document S/12489 mainly concerned the question of the United Nations Force, on which we have always held a different position in principle, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the vote on this draft.

8. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, let me first say how pleased we are to see you here today presiding over this meeting of the Security Council. I welcome you both as a distinguished Minister for External Affairs of a fellow member of the Commonwealth, a country which is bound to mine by long historical ties of friendship, and as a personal friend. We are very conscious of the special effort that you have made yourself in coming to New York to preside over the Council and are pleased that this meeting should be taking place under your wise and skilful leadership. We are grateful also for the great diplomatic skill which you demonstrated in bringing us to the agreement which was reached last night.

9. Before turning to the subject of today's debate, I should also like to say that we were saddened indeed to

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 61st meeting.

learn of the kidnapping yesterday of the son of the President of Cyprus. We very much hope that he will be released soon and returned unharmed to his family.

10. The United Kingdom voted in favour of the resolution which we adopted yesterday because we agree with the judgement of the Secretary-General as expressed in his latest report, namely, that the continued presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus remains indispensable at the present time in keeping the peace in Cyprus. We therefore support his proposal that the mandate of the Force should be extended for a further six months. My Government hopes to maintain the British contingent at its present strength during this period and we shall continue to meet its full cost. We shall also continue to supply UNFICYP with logistic support.

11. I wish to thank the Secretary-General for once again providing us with an excellently clear and comprehensive report on the operations of the United Nations in Cyprus over the past six months. I should also like to convey our most sincere gratitude to the Commander of the Force, Major-General Quinn and to his officers and men for the excellent job which they are doing in not always easy circumstances.

12. At the same time, I should also like to say how sorry we are to see Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar relinquishing his post as Special Representative of the Secretary-General. He has served with great distinction and I should like, on behalf of my Government, to pay him a special and personal tribute for all his efforts in the cause of peace in Cyprus.

13. Turning now to some of the less positive aspects of the Secretary-General's report, I wish to emphasize my Government's serious concern about the critical financial situation of UNFICYP. In spite of repeated appeals by the Secretary-General for additional funds, there has been virtually no real improvement in the situation and the deficit has now reached \$56.7 million. We have already seen one result of this situation in the decision taken by the Secretary-General a few months ago not to replace the Finnish battalion. The Secretary-General has warned in his current report that any further deterioration in the financial situation may jeopardize the continued functioning of the Force. As one of the two troop-contributing members on the Council, I should also like to support what the Secretary-General has said about the difficulties faced by some of the troop-contributing Governments as a result of the financial burdens placed on them and to recall the concern which we have already expressed at the disproportionate burden which is borne by relatively few countries. We have supported the appeals made by the Secretary-General over the past few months and are pleased to see that these have met with some response, though the contributions collected still fall short of UNFICYP's requirements. We find it most regrettable that many countries, some of which are closely concerned with the Cyprus problem, continue to turn a deaf ear to the Secretary-General's appeals and, in spite of voicing their support for the continuation of UNFICYP, do little or nothing to facilitate this in practice. It would be tragic if UNFICYP's ability to continue operating effectively and to play the essential role that it does in Cyprus were to be prejudiced for lack of funds.

14. The financial problems faced by UNFICYP add yet another element of urgency to the need for an early settlement of the political problems. I set out in the debate in the General Assembly last month² our views on the Cyprus question and will not repeat them now. We entirely agree with the Secretary-General's view that the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the United Nations still provide the best available method of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem. The presence of UNFICYP should provide an opportunity, not a substitute, for such a settlement. Despite the disappointments of the past year, we believe that the next few months may nevertheless provide a real opportunity to make progress. In the past, too many such opportunities have been missed. It is of great importance, therefore, that any new one should be seized.

15. Finally, I should like to conclude by expressing our gratitude to the Secretary-General himself for his continuing efforts in what must often have seemed a thankless task. We believe that the role which he and his Special Representative in Cyprus have played has been and will continue to be of the greatest importance.

16. Mrs. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation would like once again to express its appreciation for the work done during the last two weeks by your representative, our brother and friend, Ambassador Ramphul, whose absence we regret. Thanks to his skill and diplomatic experience, Ambassador Ramphul led the Council in its work of taking an important decision for Africa, namely, the setting up of a Security Council Committee entrusted with the task of ensuring the effective application of resolution 418 (1977) imposing an obligatory embargo on arms to South Africa. We would like to express, through you, our profound and fraternal sympathy to Ambassador Ramphul and we wish him a prompt recovery and return to the Council.

17. My delegation is very pleased at the honour you have done us by coming yourself in your capacity as Minister for External Affairs of Mauritius, to preside over the proceedings of the Council in this discussion. Thanks to your authority, the Council was able to prevail upon the parties to agree to the draft resolution which we adopted yesterday.

18. The position of my country, the People's Republic of Benin, on the subject before the Council is well known. I have no intention of going into details with regard to its position. Nevertheless, having participated for two years in the deliberations of the Council on this subject, my delegation now believes it to be necessary to highlight a few particular points.

19. Strict respect for the sovereignty and particularly for the territorial integrity of a sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations, is for us a cardinal principle of international life. That principle is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Failure to respect that key principle automatically entails the implementation against the offending State of the measures prescribed in the Charter,

² *Ibid.*, 62nd meeting.

such as those in Chapter VII. Hence, there is a political and juridical machinery provided for in order to settle questions like the Cypriot crisis where, without any doubt, there is on the one hand the State which has been the victim of aggression, that is the State of Cyprus, and, on the other, the aggressor, international imperialism and the zealous lackeys of imperialist policies in that part of the Mediterranean.

20. For the two years in which Benin has sat on the Security Council, my delegation has noted with bitterness that this body has been systematically blocked and rendered unable to play its role of a defender of international justice. The periodic report of the Secretary-General has constantly sounded the alarm each time the mandate of the United Nations Force has been renewed, but the longer the crisis persists the greater the risk of its becoming complicated. This is a very disappointing picture and my delegation hopes that the Council will be able to overcome its political inertia and face up to its responsibilities.

21. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, my delegation is appreciative of the fact that you have found it possible and convenient to take some time off from your onerous duties as Minister for External Affairs in order to preside over the Council and to assist us in extending the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. Your presence here today is further proof of the active role that your country has been playing in the Council. Your skilful handling of the present difficult item has evoked our admiration. I am sure that you are glad to learn that it was also during this month, during the presidency of the representative of Mauritius, that the Council decided to set up a Committee to supervise the observance of the arms embargo against South Africa, which is, if I may say so, an additional feather in your country's cap. We look forward to further co-operation with Mauritius during the next year in the Council.

22. I should like to recall that the draft resolution adopted last night was formulated by the Secretariat—by Mr. Gleissner, in fact—at my own suggestion that what was needed was nothing more than an updating of the resolution adopted six months ago [*resolution 410 (1977)*] and that this updating could be safely entrusted to the neutral and non-political Secretariat. I am happy that my suggestion was accepted by the Council and that the representative of Mauritius, who was President of the Council before your arrival, Sir, requested the Secretariat to produce a re-draft. I am sure that the Council is grateful to you for having persuaded the parties concerned to accept the renewal of the mandate of the Force for six more months.

23. Incidentally, my delegation is of the view that it is not necessary for the parties concerned to be consulted and to approve every single word or sentence or paragraph in the draft resolution renewing the mandate of the Force, especially when they have no bearing whatsoever on the main point, which is the continued presence and functioning of the Force in Cyprus on the same basis. We should bear this fact in mind for the future. In our view, it is sufficient to have a separate, simple resolution dealing with the extension of the Force, as distinct from resolutions related to the other aspects of the Cyprus problem.

24. My delegation voted in favour of extending the Force for another six months in the hope that further extensions would not be necessary. We have the right to expect some real progress soon towards the settlement of the two outstanding issues, namely, the territorial and constitutional aspects of the bi-zonal State of Cyprus. The differing views of the two communities on these issues are not unbridgeable and I trust that they will respond positively to outside suggestions and advice in the form of arbitral procedures to resolve territorial questions and to benefit from the practical constitutional experience of other federal States to resolve their differences on constitutional issues.

25. I must make it clear, however, that my delegation will increasingly resist attempts to exploit the presence of the United Nations Force in Cyprus in order to perpetuate the *status quo* and to prevent the emergence of a realistic and pragmatic political solution.

26. We should like to place on record our appreciation of the work of the Secretary-General, who has continued his peace efforts under difficult circumstances. We have no doubt that he will persist in his endeavours and good offices. But we feel that he deserves and needs the supporting actions especially of the big Powers and also of those who are in a position to exert their beneficent influence on the parties concerned.

27. We wish also to record our appreciation of the work of Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, who functioned as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General with great distinction for more than two years and is now returning to his own country. We extend to him our good wishes for the future.

28. We should like to add our tributes to those of the others who have commended the Force Commander, Major-General Quinn, and his contingents. We must also not fail to thank the countries—Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom—that have generously contributed their men and equipment to constitute the Force.

29. Before concluding, I should like to extend, on behalf of my delegation, to the President of Cyprus and Mrs. Kyprianou our deep sympathy and concern over the kidnapping of their son by certain misguided terrorists. We hope and pray that he will soon be released safe and unharmed.

30. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): Mr. President, I should like first to extend a very warm welcome to you and congratulate you on the way you are fulfilling the task that you have assumed as President of the Security Council. In particular, I should like to express deep gratitude for the leadership that you have demonstrated in facilitating a solution of the problem on the Council agenda.

31. The action of the Council yesterday in renewing the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus underscores our continuing interest in encouraging a peaceful resolution of the Cyprus problem. Our action is

based on the belief that only the maintenance of peace and stability in the island will permit the two communities to resume the negotiating process on a constructive basis in the near future. The progress made to date towards the establishment of a joint committee to trace missing persons is a positive indication that there is a willingness on both sides to resolve their differences through negotiation. It is our hope that the early conclusion and implementation of this agreement will promote a spirit of accommodation that will inspire the intercommunal talks when they resume.

32. During the past six months, UNFICYP continued to carry out its mandate in an exemplary manner. In his report, the Secretary-General has ably and accurately described the highly professional work of this peace-keeping force. He has also highlighted the severe financial difficulties with which it must contend. The UNFICYP deficit has continued to grow and now exceeds \$56 million. This has placed an inordinate financial burden on the troop contributing countries, which are necessarily reimbursed behind schedule and some of which absorb large parts of their expenses.

33. UNFICYP's precarious financial situation exists in part because countries that have a special responsibility to maintain international peace are not willing to pay their fair share of the costs. My Government urges them to consider their larger interests in stability in the eastern Mediterranean and on that basis to contribute their share of UNFICYP's costs.

34. The financial crisis facing UNFICYP has reached a point where realistically we can speak only of "managing" the deficit in order to permit the Force to continue to perform its vital function. We strongly urge all Member States to ask themselves whether they can afford not to give financial support to this international effort to maintain political stability in Cyprus and in the eastern Mediterranean. The United States, for its part, will continue to support this important international peace-keeping operation.

35. We would echo the caution that British Foreign Secretary David Owen expressed in the General Assembly this year³ to the effect that United Nations peace-keeping involvement should not become an excuse for political inactivity or a substitute for serious negotiation. Mr. Owen reminded us that the United Nations did not enjoy infinite resources and that its commitment in Cyprus could not be taken for granted. The parties, with the help of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, must come to grips with the central political issues that must be resolved in a peaceful settlement. The Secretary-General must be supported in his efforts to achieve a resumption of serious negotiations as soon as possible.

36. I should like to conclude by expressing our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his continuing efforts to promote a lasting settlement of the Cyprus dispute. I wish also to pay a special tribute to his Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, whose departure will be deeply regretted. I would note the significance of the tributes paid

to him—most sincerely, I know—by all parties to the conflict. Whatever their differences, the parties clearly have found Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar to be fair-minded and dedicated in his efforts to find solutions to the problems that afflict Cyprus. We wish him all continued success in the years ahead.

37. Finally, I would extend our thanks and admiration to Under-Secretaries-General Urquhart and Guyer and their hard-working staffs, as well as to the officers and men of UNFICYP, for the highly professional manner in which they discharged their duties during the past six months.

38. I should not want to close these remarks without expressing our deep regret over the shocking news of the abduction of President Kyprianou's son. We fervently hope that he will be released promptly and that the perpetrators of this outrageous act will be brought swiftly to justice.

39. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I am particularly pleased to welcome you here and to express our great satisfaction at seeing you preside over the Security Council, a fact that proves, among other things, the importance attached to the United Nations by your Government and by you. I also take this opportunity to recall the major contribution made by our colleague, Ambassador Ramphul, to the debates, consultations and decisions of the Security Council, in particular with respect to the important issue of the arms embargo against South Africa. Your country, Sir, is an example of the important role that small and medium countries can play in the international arena by means of a constructive contribution to the solution of international problems.

40. I should also like to express our feeling of sadness and to extend our deepest sympathy to the President of Cyprus for the kidnapping of his son by terrorists.

41. Romania has joined with other members of the Council to support the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for a further six-month period. We realize that this action by the Council is, under present circumstances, essential, particularly in view of the precariousness of the situation in Cyprus and the lack of any tangible progress towards its political settlement. Indeed, the presence of the Force is an essential element for the maintenance of a climate of calm and moderation and consequently for the beginning of serious negotiations between the two communities in pursuit of a lasting settlement of the dispute that separates them at present.

42. In this connexion, my delegation attaches particular importance to two provisions of the resolution adopted by the Council on the extension of the mandate of the Force [*resolution 422 (1977)*]. On the one hand, the Council reaffirms once again its support for General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which, *inter alia*, called for the continuation of negotiations between the two Cypriot communities with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable political settlement. On the other hand, the Council urges the parties concerned to act with restraint by refraining from any unilateral action likely to affect adversely the prospects of a just and lasting settlement of this problem.

³ *Ibid.*, 9th meeting.

Moreover, the General Assembly, in its resolution of 9 November last [*resolution 32/15*], also called for the urgent resumption in a meaningful and constructive manner of the negotiations between the representatives of the two communities. The Assembly also requested that these negotiations should be conducted freely on an equal footing on the basis of comprehensive and concrete proposals of the parties concerned.

43. These provisions contained in Security Council and General Assembly resolutions invite the parties to take a positive attitude and to act in good faith so as to ensure their urgent implementation. By the same token, they reflect the widespread opinion that the extension of the mandate of the force should not be regarded as an end in itself. The presence of the Force should be used to facilitate and actively and effectively promote harmony between the parties. In our view, resumption of the negotiations for a just and durable settlement in Cyprus can no longer be postponed. To evade or further postpone the moment of decision is not calculated to bring about the most favourable conditions for a just and equitable solution of the problem.

44. Romania has always supported settlement of the Cyprus problem through negotiations between the two communities in the island. We are particularly interested in a lasting peace in Cyprus because our country is close to the area of conflict. The President of my country, Nicolae Ceaușescu, and President Josip Broz Tito of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia stressed in a joint communiqué adopted at their meeting last week

“the need to adopt measures concerning the immediate settlement of the Cyprus problem by negotiations between the two Cypriot communities, in conformity with United Nations resolutions and on the basis of the assurance of full respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and policy of non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus”.

45. I take this opportunity to express once again to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our great appreciation and gratitude for his persevering efforts to ensure the resumption in the near future of the negotiations for the solution of the problem of Cyprus. Any new initiative that he may deem appropriate and effective in breaking the present deadlock will, as in the past, be fully supported by my country. In this activity we see the affirmation of the increasingly effective role that the Organization is called on to play in the solution of international problems.

46. I should also like to assure our colleague and friend, Ambassador Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, of our admiration for the devotion and talent that he has so generously consecrated to his mission as Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus. I am certain that future negotiations will bear the seal of his appreciable contribution to the cause of peace in Cyprus and in the Mediterranean area.

47. In conclusion, I should like to say a few more words. It is quite probable that this meeting of the Council will be the last in which my country will participate as a member

under its present term. This is why I should like to take this opportunity to express to all my colleagues sitting in this important body of the United Nations my deep gratitude and my satisfaction at the spirit of friendly co-operation, mutual understanding and friendship that they have shown towards me as the representative of Romania.

48. I should also like to express the warm gratitude of the Romanian delegation to the Secretary-General, to his assistants, to the staff of the secretariat of the Council, to the interpreters and to all those who, in their work, have assisted us with professional competence and with devotion throughout our two-year term on the Council.

49. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Romania for the very kind words he addressed to me. We can only regret his departure, but that is life. We wish him good luck in his other activities.

50. Mr. von HASSELL (Federal Republic of Germany): Mr. President, I take pleasure in welcoming you to the Security Council. It shows the importance of our debate that you have taken the trouble to join us in New York. The results you were able to achieve in such a short time amply justify your reputation as a skilful negotiator and a gifted diplomat.

51. I should like to express my sympathy to the delegation of Cyprus concerning the events of the last few days at Nicosia. My country is, obviously, especially sensitive to crimes of this kind. I do hope that this day will bring a happy outcome of this regrettable affair.

52. My delegation has voted for a further renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus in order to prevent the present situation from deteriorating. It considers this situation, however, far from being satisfactory and would like to repeat its view that all efforts should be made to reach a viable and fair solution to the serious problem of Cyprus in the near future.

53. In this context, I should like to thank the Secretary-General for his excellent report of 1 December 1977 [*S/12463*]. However, I deeply regret that he was obliged to report that no progress had been made in the last six months. In fact, he speaks of the disappointing results of his efforts.

54. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany firmly supports the opinion expressed in the report of the Secretary-General that negotiations between the two communities are the best available method of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question. It therefore holds the view that a new effort towards this end should be made next year. It sincerely appeals to the parties directly involved to co-operate with the Secretary-General and to give proof of their willingness to negotiate concretely and substantively on all major aspects of the problem.

55. The Federal Republic of Germany, both within the European Community and independently, has continuously endeavoured to contribute to a solution of the question of

Cyprus by helping the parties to come together and by lending its full support to the invaluable efforts of the Secretary-General. My Government appeals to the parties not to miss any opportunity, but rather to concentrate on their common interests instead of insisting on their continuing differences.

56. My delegation is gratified by the statement of the Secretary-General that the situation in Cyprus has been quiet during the last six months. It would like to express its deep appreciation and gratitude to the officers and men of UNFICYP who have demonstrated exemplary dedication.

57. My Government sincerely appreciates the valuable contributions of the countries which provide troops for UNFICYP. The Federal Republic of Germany has always tried to accept a fair share of the burden by substantially contributing to the financing of the Force.

58. I should particularly like to thank the Secretary-General, Under-Secretaries-General, Mr. Brian Urquhart and Mr. Roberto Guyer, and their excellent staffs, for their untiring efforts to keep the situation under control.

59. My special tribute on this occasion goes to Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, who has just completed his difficult and important mission. He exerted tireless efforts and great diplomatic skills to reduce tensions and remove difficulties. If for some time the Secretary-General has been able to report to the Council that the situation in Cyprus has remained calm, it is to a large extent due to the dedicated work of Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar.

60. I would conclude, Mr. President, by thanking you and Ambassador Ramphul for your intensive work and skilful negotiations which have been so instrumental in preparing the ground for the extension of UNFICYP's mandate and the adoption of our present resolution.

61. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the Soviet Union, permit me to welcome you cordially to the presidency of the Security Council as a distinguished statesman from the State of Mauritius with which the Soviet Union enjoys friendly relations. I should like to mention particularly the services of Ambassador Ramphul in the exercise of the presidency of the Council. We wish him a speedy recovery.

62. Before turning to the substance of the matter, I should also like to express my sincere hope that the family of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, will soon be safely reunited.

63. Yesterday the Security Council adopted a resolution once again renewing for a further six-month period the stationing of United Nations forces in Cyprus. As has often been pointed out by the delegation of the Soviet Union, the question of the extension of the mandate is intimately linked with the substance of the Cyprus problem. This also flows from the resolution just adopted, which reconfirms resolution 365 (1974) by which the Council endorsed General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX). That resolu-

tion, which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly, is of cardinal significance for the solution of the Cyprus problem. It is no accident that the provisions of resolution 3212 (XXIX) were confirmed in decisions on the question of Cyprus taken during subsequent sessions of the General Assembly, including the present session, and adopted by an overwhelming majority.

64. Unfortunately, we have once again to note that the decisions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly designed to bring about a settlement of the Cyprus crisis have so far not been implemented. This cannot fail to arouse serious concern.

65. The position of the Soviet Union on the question of eliminating the explosive hotbed of tension in Cyprus is well known to members of the Council. We should once again like to state that the Soviet Union, from the very beginning of the outbreak of conflict in Cyprus, has consistently believed that the means of bringing about a settlement should be sought on the basis of unreserved respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, as well as for its policy of non-alignment. This presupposes the withdrawal from the island of foreign troops and the elimination of foreign bases.

66. The Soviet Union opposes any attempt to solve the problem of Cyprus within the narrow circle of the members of NATO. The Soviet Government has repeatedly stressed the danger of attempts to exploit the difficult situation in which the Republic of Cyprus finds itself, as a result of outside intervention, in order to impose decisions which are quite extraneous to the interests of the Cyprus people.

67. The development of the situation in Cyprus strikingly vindicates the substance and the timeliness of the proposal of the Soviet Union to consider the Cyprus problem within a broad international forum and to convene for this purpose, within the framework of the United Nations, a representative conference.

68. The Soviet Union believes that the two national communities in Cyprus should be given the opportunity themselves to solve the question of their internal arrangements within their State, which would take judicious account of the interests and rights of both the Greek and Turkish communities, without outside interference. We take a favourable view of the understanding arrived at between the late President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr. Denktas, on questions pertaining to a solution of the Cyprus problem, and we believe that that understanding is of great significance. However, it has not yet been followed up. In this regard, the delegation of the USSR would like to stress the need for further efforts to re-establish a spirit of mutual confidence and co-operation between the two communities in the island.

69. As was stressed by Comrade A. A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Foreign Minister of the USSR, when he spoke in the General Assembly at its present session:

"It is clear that there [in Cyprus] a most intricate knot has been tied, but given goodwill it can be untied by

peaceful means. The Soviet Union is prepared to facilitate this, and our relevant proposals remain valid.”⁴

70. The delegation of the Soviet Union made no objection to the extension of the mandate for a further six-month period, inasmuch as the Government of the Republic of Cyprus had duly given its consent. However, we did this on the understanding that the financing of those troops would be carried out under the previous conditions, that is to say, on a voluntary basis.

71. In conclusion, the delegation of the USSR wishes to express the hope that a further extension of the mandate will be used by the parties for the intensification of efforts to bring about a settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of ensuring the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its policy of non-alignment, as is provided in the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

72. Mr. LAPOINTE (Canada): Mr. President, let me first congratulate you on the impressive manner in which you have discharged your heavy responsibilities as President of the Security Council. We Canadians, who pride ourselves on the bicultural nature of our institutions, have been able to recognize in you a perfect example of what many of us are still striving to achieve. We are extremely pleased to have you amongst us and wish you the best of success in your endeavours to give leadership to your own country as well as to the international community at large.

[The speaker continued in French.]

73. Canada has voted in favour of the Security Council resolution to extend the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus to 15 June 1978. My Government has also authorized me to announce that Canada is prepared to continue its participation in the Force at the present manning level for the period of the renewed mandate. Canada has participated in UNFICYP since its inception and this will bring the length of our involvement in Cyprus to over 13 years at the conclusion of the present mandate.

74. The military situation on the island during the last six-month period has been a relatively quiet one, characterized by a low level of incidents along the cease-fire line. This is important, as the primary responsibility for peace and quiet in Cyprus rests, of course, with the two communities. UNFICYP, however important its presence may be, can only assist in this objective.

75. As a troop-contributing nation, Canada is also pleased by the co-operative working relations existing between the Force and officials of the communities, as noted by the Secretary-General in his report. Unfortunately, as the Secretary-General notes also, this fails to extend to freedom of movement in the northern part of Cyprus, where UNFICYP's access has been seriously limited. As I have stated previously in the Council, with reference both to

UNFICYP and to other peace-keeping operations, Canada supports the principle of freedom of movement as an essential condition that must be met if peace-keeping activities are to be fully effective.

76. Although the situation in Cyprus has remained calm, the underlying tensions remain for the simple reason that no progress has been made in resolving the fundamental political differences between the parties. It is a matter of particular disappointment to us that, during the period since the last mandate renewal, no intercommunal discussions have been held. We have noted with concern an apparent return to the unfortunate pattern that developed, not only following the 1974 conflict but also during the decade before, when there was a failure by the two communities to come to grips with the differences which led to UNFICYP's deployment. That raises the question of whether UNFICYP's contribution to a settlement by creating conditions in which negotiations could be pursued by the parties is perhaps being more than offset by the fact that the Force, in its present configuration, may, by shielding the parties, remove the incentive which they might otherwise have to make earnest efforts to deal with the issues that divide them. Maintaining UNFICYP for 13 years without any appreciable political progress is certainly cause for serious disappointment and reflection. As we pointed out *[2013th meeting]* on the occasion of the last mandate renewal, it should not be expected that UNFICYP will be maintained in Cyprus indefinitely. Unless progress is made towards settling the dispute, the danger of conflict will remain and perhaps intensify, as will the possibility of a further exacerbation of international relations well beyond the island of Cyprus itself.

77. The financial situation of UNFICYP also continues to be a matter of serious concern. Its deficit currently stands at \$56.7 million and is increasing by several million annually. Even the high-level appeals to selected Governments mentioned by the Secretary-General's report, which Canada and a number of other troop contributors supported, have failed to improve matters. Furthermore, as the Secretary-General's report points out, the published figures do not include the full costs being borne by troop-contributing nations. In Canada's case, for example, the "extra costs" for which we bill the United Nations—and for which we have been reimbursed only to 31 December 1974 owing to the Force's deficit—represent only a small fraction of the costs we absorb for maintaining our contingent in Cyprus. I call upon all Member States, particularly those in the European region, to give strong financial backing to the Force to enable it to continue its mission in favour of a peaceful settlement of this very serious, prolonged dispute. Without this support, UNFICYP and the concept of shared responsibility by the United Nations membership for peace-keeping operations will be seriously undermined.

78. Finally, I wish to record my thanks to the United Nations Secretariat, the Force Commander, Major-General James Quinn, and all personnel of the Force, for the very commendable manner in which UNFICYP continues to function. Member States should be proud of them. Special thanks also is owed to Ambassador Pérez de Cuélliar, who yesterday relinquished his appointment as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus. He has served the cause of peace admirably.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 8th meeting, para. 144.

79. As this is probably the last meeting of the Council this year, I wish to say good-bye to our colleagues who are about to leave us. I should like to express the full appreciation of my delegation for the friendship and co-operation extended to us by our colleagues from Benin, Romania, Panama, Pakistan and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in the course of this year. We wish them great success in their future tasks.

80. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, may I first express to you my delegation's great pleasure at seeing you once again at the United Nations, this time to preside over the debates of the Security Council. You are doing so with authority and skill and it was with full confidence that we greeted your accession to the presidency. You have just concluded negotiations on a very delicate matter. We extend to you, as well as to your Permanent Representative, Ambassador Ramphul, who has made a major contribution to the work of the Council since Mauritius joined it, our wishes for full success in the exercise of your mission.

81. In the report he submitted on 1 December [S/12463], the Secretary-General, after having stressed the precariousness of the situation in Cyprus, once again considered that the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus remained essential to check the potentially dangerous situation in the island. The Security Council did not hesitate yesterday to endorse that view by renewing the mandate of the Force for a further six-month period [resolution 422 (1977)]. Thus, the Security Council has made possible the maintenance of calm in the island and has facilitated the search for a peaceful settlement. My delegation is gratified by this. However, this, it need hardly be said, is not enough to ensure the return of peace. Nothing, indeed, can be undertaken in the direction of a just and durable settlement without the firm resolve of the two communities, individually and collectively, to seek a solution to their own problems. That is why peace requires, in our view, the resumption of intercommunal talks. Since June last, the results of efforts to that end have been disappointing. My delegation would like today to renew the appeal made by the Council on 15 September last to the representatives of the two communities to resume as soon as possible their negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General [resolution 414 (1977)]. Those constructive negotiations should be based on detailed and concrete proposals. The terms of the appeal are clear and we hope that, after the important stage marked by the Nicosia meeting of last February, no one will refuse to assume, as soon as possible, the responsibilities incumbent upon him.

82. I should like, in this connexion, to welcome the efforts made by the Secretary-General to promote the resumption of negotiations, and to reiterate the full confidence my Government has in him. I should like, also, to pay a tribute to the work of his Special Representative, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, whose presence here I welcome and to whom I express, together with our heart-felt gratitude, our deep regret at seeing him relinquish his duties.

83. Before concluding, I should like very briefly to comment on a few elements contained in the Secretary-General's report.

84. As in the past, my delegation feels bound to point out that restrictions have been placed on the freedom of movement of the Force in the northern part of Cyprus and that it is in that same part of the island that relations between the two communities, where they live side by side, remain a matter of concern.

85. On the other hand, there was no serious violation of the cease-fire to be regretted. Thus, the Force has discharged its task in the best conditions. I should like to pay a tribute to its Commander, Major-General James Quinn, to its officers and to its constituent contingents. In the fulfilment of their essential mission, as well as in their humanitarian and very valuable activities, we would assure them of our full gratitude and confidence.

86. In conclusion, I wish to extend the deep sympathy of my delegation to the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou, and his family in this moment of trial of which we are all aware. The French authorities express the hope that the events to which I am referring will have a happy outcome very soon indeed.

87. As it is probable that we are meeting here for the last time this month, I should like to associate myself with the remarks already made by expressing the gratitude of my delegation to all those of our colleagues whose term of office is about to end. I have had the benefit personally not only of their spirit of co-operation but also of their advice, which was most welcome to me as a newcomer. I thank them all for this and also wish them every success in their activities in the United Nations.

88. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I can assure the representative of France that I am very gratified by his words of appreciation of the work of the delegation of Mauritius in the Council.

89. Mrs. HYDER (Pakistan): First, Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's pleasure at seeing you preside over the meetings of the Security Council while it is seized of the question of Cyprus. The Council has indeed been fortunate in having a person of your eminence, skill and vast experience to guide its deliberations. The adoption of the resolution without dissent yesterday was to a large extent due to your tactful and patient handling of a difficult situation.

90. We are sorry to learn that Ambassador Ramphul is indisposed and, through you, we should like to convey to him our appreciation for the way in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council earlier this month and our best wishes for a speedy recovery.

91. Yesterday, the Council adopted a resolution extending the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for another six months and requesting the Secretary-General to continue the mission of good offices entrusted to him in paragraph 6 of its resolution 367 (1975).

92. The Secretary-General's report clearly states that the continued presence of UNFICYP remains indispensable in keeping the potentially dangerous situation in the island

under control, supervising the cease-fire, maintaining the *status quo* in the area between the lines and helping to resolve incidents and other problems arising between the parties. In helping to maintain calm in the island, the Force also facilitates the search for a peaceful settlement.

93. In view of these considerations, my delegation supported the resolution extending the mandate of UNFICYP.

94. We should like to associate ourselves with other speakers in paying a tribute to the two parties, which have displayed great understanding and flexibility, thereby making it possible for the Council to adopt this resolution.

95. I also wish to place on record the deep appreciation of my delegation for the services rendered by UNFICYP and to pay a special tribute to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, for his contribution to the peace-keeping efforts in the island.

96. From the report of the Secretary-General, we have noted with satisfaction that, despite recurring difficulties, UNFICYP has succeeded in keeping the situation around the cease-fire lines quiet and that there have been no serious breaches of the cease-fire during this period. However, as the Secretary-General has noted, the tensions in the island have shown no signs of abating and the underlying political differences between the people of Cyprus are no nearer solution. We feel that the extension of the UNFICYP mandate should provide the impetus for setting up efforts to find a settlement, instead of making the Council oblivious of this need because of the outward calm it has been able to restore.

97. My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General 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. In this context, my delegation would like to express our deep appreciation of the work done by the Secretary-General and his untiring efforts in this direction.

98. It is to be regretted that it has not proved possible, either at Vienna or at the subsequent consultations held at Nicosia by the Secretary-General, to move the parties towards a resolution of their conflicting positions. My delegation hopes that the parties concerned will make every effort to overcome the obstacles that stand in the way of genuine negotiations for a just and durable settlement of the Cyprus problem based on the fundamental and legitimate rights of all concerned.

99. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the Venezuelan delegation is very pleased at seeing you presiding over the work of the Council, especially in connexion with the delicate matter before us. We should like to express to you our appreciation for your coming to New York despite the many activities that require your presence in Mauritius. We feel fortunate in being able to count on your qualities as an excellent diplomat which are reflected in the results of our work today.

100. We have before us the report of the Secretary-General in which we are told that, in view of the present circumstances in Cyprus, the presence of the United Nations Force in Cyprus remains indispensable in keeping the potentially dangerous situation in the island under control, supervising the cease-fire, maintaining the *status quo* in the area between the lines and helping to resolve incidents and other problems arising between the parties. In extending the mandate of UNFICYP for a new six-month period, it was our wish to contribute to the maintenance of calm in Cyprus, whose population is our main concern. However, the Secretary-General has warned us that underlying tensions have shown no sign of abating and the political differences separating the various sectors of the Cypriot population are no nearer solution.

101. The delegation of Venezuela continues to hope that a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem will be reached through negotiations between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities, with the constant participation of the good offices of the Secretary-General, to whom we should like to address words of encouragement and gratitude.

102. We also express our gratitude to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Ambassador Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who today ends his mission, which in our view was discharged in a praiseworthy and distinguished manner, as well as to the Commander of the Force and the military and civilian personnel accompanying him in his selfless task.

103. Before concluding, Mr. President, we should like through you, to express to the Government of Cyprus our regret at the kidnapping of the son of the President of that country and our hope that he will soon be free.

104. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the delegation of Panama would very much like to thank you for your efforts in coming here to preside over the proceedings of the Security Council in the second part of the month of December.

105. We should like to register our pleasure at the fact that around this table today there are three distinguished ladies, delegates from Africa, Asia and Latin America, who, because of their professional expertise, are an effective demonstration of the new role being played by women in the third world.

106. Mr. President, your presence to conduct our proceedings is a very positive phenomenon and we congratulate you upon your success, thanks to your distinguished qualities as a negotiator, in seeing to it yesterday that the parties and the Council approved the draft resolution prepared, with the co-operation of the Secretariat, by Ambassador Ramphul. The Council recognizes and appreciates his work as the architect of resolution 421 (1977), adopted unanimously, creating a Committee having the task of ensuring a total arms embargo against South Africa. Your work and that of your predecessor are a measure of the great prestige and international standing of Mauritius in the international arena.

107. The delegation of Panama voted in favour of resolution 422 (1977), which was adopted by the Council last night and in accordance with which the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established by resolution 186 (1964), has once again been renewed for a period of six months ending 15 June 1978. The affirmative vote of Panama was motivated by the hope that, during the period of the renewed mandate of UNFICYP, it would prove possible to find a just and lasting peaceful solution.

108. Furthermore, my delegation has noted the opinion expressed by the Secretary-General in his report to the effect that

“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” [S/12463, para. 62].

Evidence of that atmosphere of tension and conflict, which has been corroborated by the opinion of the Secretary-General, is the deplorable event of the kidnapping on Wednesday, 14 December, of Lieutenant Achilles Kyprianou, son of President Spyros Kyprianou of the Republic of Cyprus. We express the sincere hope that the feelings of civilized peoples will prevail and that Lieutenant Kyprianou will be returned safe and sound to his family, thus avoiding a deterioration of the distressing and unfortunate situation which still afflicts the island.

109. The Secretary-General goes on to say:

“I continue 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.]

That view is in keeping with the wishes expressed by the Council in resolution 414 (1977) of 15 September and with a similar appeal issued by the General Assembly in resolution 32/15 of 9 November, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority of 116 votes in favour, with only 6 against.

110. It is clear that psychological barriers exist which so far have barred the way to substantial progress in the negotiations, barriers which should be overcome by coherent action on the part of the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

111. With regard to the psychological barriers, Panama also has accumulated a certain amount of experience. My country needed 13 years of negotiations in order to overcome psychological resistance on the part of the Executive Branch of the United States Government so as to arrive at the formulation of the new Panama Canal treaties. Those treaties are the result of a compromise between the two nations. Both nations made concessions in order to reach a peaceful solution of the problem. Thanks to the fighting spirit and anti-colonialist vocation of General Torrijos, on the one hand, and the democratic spirit and moral conscience of President Carter on the other, the new

treaties were signed with the unanimous blessing of the peoples and Governments of Latin America and also of the rest of the international community. Those treaties, which have already been approved by the Panamanian people by a proportion of 2 to 1 in a national plebiscite effected in the presence of the United Nations, will now be submitted for the approval of the United States Senate, for which a majority of two thirds of the Senators present and voting is required.

112. Just as in the case of Cyprus, psychological barriers and ethnic prejudices must be overcome in order to reach a peaceful solution. In the process of ratifying the Panama Canal treaties, the responsible circles in the United States, who deserve our wholehearted gratitude, will have to carry out coherent and sustaining action in order to overcome the mental resistance, anachronisms, misguided concepts and obstacles on the part of those who still cling to the colonialist thinking of the beginning of this century and to the obsolete doctrines of foreordained destiny, gun-boat diplomacy, the policy of the “big stick” and the function of the standard bearers of civilization in both the north and south of the American continent.

113. In the face of those manifestations of reaction, which are opposed to the changes called for by the spirit of our times, the demands of contemporary man for the solution of existing problems in accordance with the ideals of peace and justice of the international community are daily becoming more insistent.

114. There is a new outlook making its way in the world, in particular in our continent. In the Declaration of Washington, signed on 7 September 1977, the heads of State, heads of Government and other representatives of the American republics, including the Prime Minister of Canada, stated that

“the Panama Canal Treaty is based on the recognition of the sovereignty of the Republic of Panama over the totality of its national territory”

and that

“settlement of the Panama Canal issue represents a major step toward strengthening of relations among the nations of the Western Hemisphere”.⁵

115. It is encouraging that a new generation of leaders from all geographical and political latitudes in the hemisphere have been giving their support to the new Panama Canal treaties, inasmuch as they believe that those instruments will contribute to the creation of a climate of cordiality and understanding between the United States and the countries of Latin America, whose interests in the Canal, from the standpoint of its position as a universal artery of trade and friendship, are identical. For this reason, it is logical to hope that the Torrijos-Carter treaties will in due course receive the approval of the United States Senate, in accordance with the constitutional procedures of that country. When that happens, Panama will have to wait until

⁵ See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. LXXVII, No. 1999, p. 502.

the year 2000 in order to obtain, with regard to the Panama Canal, what the Egyptians obtained 20 years ago with respect to the Suez Canal.

116. With regard to the question of Cyprus, my delegation is very much concerned, as is the international community, with the findings of the Secretary-General to the effect that:

“The efforts to achieve a solution of the underlying problems confronting the two communities have continued to yield disappointing results. Thus, it has not been possible since 3 June to continue the intercommunal meetings at Nicosia under the auspices of my Special Representative, despite the agreement to that effect reached at the conclusion of the first round of the new series of intercommunal talks at Vienna and recorded in the communiqué of 7 April.” [*Ibid.*, para. 69.]

117. In the course of our informal consultations on the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP, some delegations went beyond the procedural aspect and entered into considerations of substance of the problem. My delegation believes that this is the right moment to make a few brief comments on the path to follow to arrive at a final solution of the Cyprus problem.

118. The demographic situation and the ethnic composition in Cyprus, and also the internal political events in the territories of the parties to the conflict, give no grounds for considering now that the good offices of the Secretary-General will lead to the acceptance of a formula for a just and lasting peace.

119. It should be pointed out, in this respect, that the General Assembly, in resolution 31/12 of 12 November 1976, paragraph 5, expresses the hope “that the Security Council will consider appropriate steps for the implementation of its resolution 365 (1974) of 13 December 1974”. Similarly, the Assembly, in resolution 32/15 of 9 November 1977, paragraph 5, recommends that the Council should keep the question of Cyprus under constant review and adopt all practical means to promote the effective implementation of its relevant resolutions in all their aspects.

120. The Security Council, in the exercise of its duties and also in response to the urgent appeal of the General Assembly, taking account of the bleak outlook given to us by the Secretary-General in his report, should not and cannot delay any longer the adoption of measures under the Charter to put an end to this conflict.

121. In the light of the fact that the Security Council has already clearly determined that the foreign military occupation of the Republic of Cyprus should cease and respect should be shown for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, the Council is now in a position to exercise the powers granted it under Article 39 of the Charter, whereby it is empowered to make recommendations or to decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

122. In the course of the process of solving the conflict, as it has been envisaged by the Security Council, this body would also be empowered to appoint a commission of inquiry composed of some of its members to identify and evaluate new situations that may have arisen since the foreign invasion and to take any additional measures that the Council may deem necessary, in accordance with the powers which, I repeat, are granted it under Article 39 of the Charter. In our judgement, taking into account the circumstances and most particularly the appeal issued by an overwhelming majority of the members of the General Assembly, the Council should take those measures before the expiry of the new six-month period of the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

123. In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its sincere gratitude for the distinguished services rendered to the United Nations, UNFICYP and the people of Cyprus, as well as to the ideals of the United Nations, by Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, a distinguished diplomat from Peru, with vast experience and great qualities of mind and heart, who yesterday concluded his work as Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus. For more than two years, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar performed distinguished work as colleague and adviser in the good offices mission entrusted to the Secretary-General by the Security Council. My delegation associates itself with Mr. Waldheim's eloquent expression of gratitude for the meritorious services of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, gratitude which, I am sure, is shared by all members of the Council. We hope that Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, who is returning to his country's diplomatic service, will have great success in his new post.

124. Similarly, my delegation would like to express its sincere gratitude to those Governments which have made contingents available to UNFICYP and those which have contributed voluntarily to the financing of the Force, which is in difficulty. This is a fundamental operation for the maintenance of peace that enhances the image of the United Nations in the world.

125. We also venture to express to the Force Commander, Major-General James Quinn and, through him, to all the officers and men and the civilian personnel of UNFICYP, how highly we appreciate their efforts and devotion to the cause of peace and justice. We should like to assure them that we shall always recall with gratitude and admiration their outstanding work in the service of the cause of the United Nations.

126. This may perhaps be the last meeting of the Council for this month. Panama will conclude its tenure of office in this organ at the end of 1977. I should therefore like to take this opportunity to express to the statesmen with whom we shared institutional responsibilities over the last two years in this body our cordial gratitude for the many proofs of friendship, co-operation, solidarity and understanding that they have so generously afforded my country, my delegation and me personally.

127. The PRESIDENT: As there are no more names on the list of speakers, I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of MAURITIUS.

128. The purpose of our meetings was to consider a further examination and extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus—the operative words being “peace-keeping”—providing the breathing space for the parties to get together and find a just and durable solution to the problem.

129. The report of the Secretary-General has been of fundamental assistance in helping us to ascertain the facts. The affirmative vote of my delegation on the resolution adopted yesterday is in keeping with our belief that the United Nations Force in Cyprus must continue to discharge the mandate entrusted to it by the Council. On the basis of the recommendations in the report of the Secretary-General, everything seems to indicate that the most reasonable course is to maintain the Force for the performance of its delicate task until such time as negotiations between the two parties in Cyprus produce sufficient progress to render unnecessary its presence there.

130. My delegation wishes to avail itself of this opportunity to congratulate the Secretary-General, who in his enlightened report gives us a clear picture of the present situation in Cyprus and a detailed account of the events that occurred during the period of the mandate that has just expired.

131. I wish at this stage to answer the opening remarks made by the representative of Turkey in his statement yesterday—not that I take umbrage at them, because they do not deserve such consideration. I can assure the members of the Council that I am satisfied that at no moment have my Permanent Representative or the Secretariat lapsed in any of their duties regarding protocol or procedure.

132. Despite the emphasis placed by the Secretary-General himself on his good offices, there has been no significant progress between the parties, although it is to be hoped that, in accordance with the wishes shared here, I am sure, by the entire international community, the quest for a negotiated settlement will go on.

133. My delegation, during this period of goodwill among men, wishes to urge the parties directly concerned in the difficult problem that overwhelms Cyprus to continue the dialogue in the hope that they can progress towards the desired goal of a just and lasting peace and establish the new order to which Cyprus has a right as an independent and sovereign nation.

134. It is amazing how the wind blows sometimes, how the brothers of yesterday have become the enemies of today in Cyprus. Is there no hope that men of goodwill will renew their dedication to peaceful coexistence in their motherland? Let them try to find the peace they deserve and achieve the social justice every human being is entitled to. Perhaps, in this connexion, I should turn to the source from which I sometimes derive my inspiration and, in the words of the poet, say to the two parties:

“If it is too much to ask of frail mankind
To forgive those that trespass against us,
At least spare yourself the anguish of hatred
And, if you cannot pardon, yield to oblivion.”⁶

⁶ Quoted in French by the speaker.

I omit a few lines, so as not to tire the assembly, and conclude:

“Why should you turn against this lesson of your youth and hate an evil for which you are the better?”⁶

135. Resuming my functions as PRESIDENT, I now call on the representative of Greece who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

136. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): I do not intend to indulge in polemics with the representative of Turkey. In his statement yesterday, he referred again to the question of who committed or is committing aggression against Cyprus. In view of the fact that there is a whole series of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the matter—which, incidentally, Turkey has consistently opposed—we may leave judgement to the appreciation of the Council.

137. As regards the invoking by Mr. Türkmen of the Treaty of Guarantee⁷ as justifying the armed attack against the Republic of Cyprus, suffice it to say that that is contrary to Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter, to the provisions of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, and to so many other international instruments. I would further point out that the Treaty of Guarantee provides in its article IV that any action would have “the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs created by the present Treaty”.

138. The return to the *status quo ante* was pledged by the Turkish Government at the time of the armed attack against Cyprus in July 1974. No stretch of the imagination can make the Council believe that that pledge has been honoured. I understand that my colleague from Turkey wishes to pass over this very important point in silence, but, before speaking of double talk by others, he should first look into his own files.

139. I fail to grasp the significance of his second remark about the relationship between the communiqué recently signed at Brussels by the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey and my statement yesterday in the Council. We have always stood for settling the Cyprus problem through intercommunal negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General, and that presupposes that these negotiations must be serious and substantive. That still has to happen after three years. Let us hope it will.

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

141. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, in the first place I should like to thank you and the other members of the Council for your sympathetic references to the tragic events regarding the kidnapping of the son of our President and your wishes for a happy outcome. They reflect the wishes of the whole international community, I understand, and the wishes of the people of Cyprus without exception.

⁷ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, p. 3.

142. I should like to thank those members of the Council who made a significant contribution towards a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem by making statements which went to the root of the problem, emphasized the need for a solution and moved away from the perfunctoriness of speeches without content.

143. First of all, I should like to thank the representative of India for having made the important point that, in considering the adoption of the draft resolution to renew the mandate, the parties concerned need not be consulted on every detail of that draft. I agree with that view. We must distinguish between the parties concerned, in accordance with the original Security Council resolution 186 (1964), and the consent of the Government of Cyprus. The party that must give its consent to the renewal of the mandate is the Government of Cyprus. The concerned parties may be consulted but they have no deciding voice on the issue. That point was brought out very diplomatically by the representative of India, and it is time that it was brought out because much time is lost unnecessarily in renewing the mandate by giving extraordinary consideration, as though it required the consent of the parties concerned, contrary to the provisions of resolution 186 (1964), which restricts consent to the Government of Cyprus.

144. Next, I should like to refer to the importance of statements in regard to the resolution which was overwhelmingly adopted by the General Assembly at its current session by 116 votes [resolution 32/15], and to the recommendation that the resolution makes to the Security Council for the due implementation of the Council's own resolution 365 (1974), endorsing Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX). In the previous year there was the expression of hope that the Security Council would consider appropriate steps for the implementation of its resolution 365 (1974). This year the Assembly comes again, more emphatically, with a recommendation that the Council should adopt all practical means to promote effective implementation of the relevant resolutions. This surely is a matter that should not be evaded. Mention was made in the meeting of the renewal of the mandate being necessitated because the problem was not solved in the manner provided for in the Charter, as mentioned by the representative of Panama, namely, by complying with Article 39, which specifically says:

"The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42."

145. Surely the question of Cyprus comes within that definition. The moment the Security Council becomes seized of an item which involves a threat to peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, it shall make recommendations and shall decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42 which, as we all know, provide for action to enforce the implementation of its resolutions.

146. That part has been lacking in the function of the United Nations on Cyprus, although we have a plethora of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council that all remain unimplemented. It goes to the very root of the functioning of the United Nations in its very purpose. Is the United Nations here merely to adopt, in an academic discussion, resolutions which are not intended to be implemented? That is a matter which is brought to the attention of the Council by the two resolutions on Cyprus, and also more generally by other resolutions with the same tenor. Therefore it is high time the Council moved out of its present inaction and became the principal organ of the United Nations it is meant to be for the maintenance of international peace and security.

147. I am therefore very grateful to those members of the Council who have felt it their duty as members of the Council to bring this forward, for what I say here as a non-member of the Council is merely an appeal by my people, as I said yesterday, for application of the only means of solving the problem.

148. Negotiations were meant to take place. We are fully in favour of negotiations, but it was amply pointed out in my statement that they must be meaningful and comprehensive, as the Secretary-General has demanded and still demands before resuming the negotiations. As I said before, we have to take a look at the negotiations. The Secretary-General refuses to go to these negotiations because he knows that they are meaningless and he knows why. But those who press him to proceed, irrespective of what these negotiations are, perhaps did not have time to look into the facts of the case.

149. One can see the facts of the case. Mr. Celik was kind enough to bring them out. He said that it was not possible to have meaningful negotiations because of the attitude of the Greek Cypriot side. He did not say what that attitude was; but we know very well that the attitude which the Secretary-General says prevents the progress of negotiations is the lack of concrete and comprehensive proposals from both sides.

150. As for the Greek Cypriot side, it is officially on record that, on three distinct occasions, concrete and comprehensive proposals were made on the territorial issue, with maps, and on those three occasions there was absolutely no response from the Turkish side, nothing said—no mention at all—about the burning territorial issue or imperfect constitutional provisions. There was nothing concrete, so that the Secretary-General tired of this situation.

151. But the international community, particularly the Security Council, should enter into this question. In this connexion, I am very grateful to the President of the Council for having read out to us that excellent poem in French about the need for human feelings, the human heart, the human spirit to come into play; for abandoning hatred and moving towards love and the good relations that existed between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. As I said yesterday—and I quoted the Secretary-General—those good relations still exist. And, at the last

series of Council meetings on Cyprus, I recalled [2013th meeting] that the representative of the World Council of Churches, when he went to Cyprus, even after the invasion, found that there was in the hearts of the ordinary rank-and-file Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots a willingness to conciliate and to work together. But they were and are prevented from doing so by the policy of division and partition of the Ankara régime. Therefore, what you said, Mr. President, was good. The people want it, and they have it in their hearts to do it, but they are prevented by force.

152. And now that Ankara is established in Cyprus as the occupying Power in the invaded area, Mr. Çelik, the dear little man who was here, is merely the instrument of Ankara. He could not be otherwise; he would not be here if he were not the instrument of Ankara.

153. Therefore we cannot ignore the facts. They are unpleasant and I should like not to have had to state them. But how can we have meaningful negotiations when we know that there is the overwhelming presence of a Power there with its army preventing conciliation, preventing negotiation in a meaningful way, preventing co-operation for the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus or for a viable State in that concept? There is but a semblance of negotiations so as to consolidate, by faits accomplis and unilateral actions, the aggressive occupation of part of the territory of Cyprus contrary to the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

154. Who says that the people of Cyprus if left alone could not negotiate sincerely and come to a solution? No one. But we say that there must be freedom of negotiation, not negotiation under the heel of the invader, the invader who is there not merely to hold territory but to divide and partition the island.

155. That is the position that Mr. Çelik, the dear little man who came here and who is in reality the instrument of Ankara, took when he said "Oh, we could not negotiate because we heard them speak about a unitary State". So, anything that means unity, anything that means getting together, anything that means conciliation is anathema. That is what he has to say. But I shall repeat what I said in my statement yesterday:

"Ankara tries to impose this illegal entity"—the so-called Turkish Federated State of Cyprus—"and . . . puts forward its representative [Mr. Çelik] 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" [2054th meeting, para. 46].

156. That brings me to say that when Mr. Çelik came here—perhaps under orders—he abused his position. I would have raised a point of order yesterday, but I did not want to take up the Council's time when it was under such pressure. He addressed the representative of Cyprus as "the representative of the Greek Cypriots". No Member of the United Nations can do that. It is inappropriate. It would be improper and an anomaly. This is even more so in the case of a person who comes under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure merely to give information, and goes out of his way to address a Member of the United Nations in a derogatory way.

157. I would ask you, Mr. President, to give a ruling on this because it is an anomaly to allow this situation to continue. If anybody speaking in the United Nations can address the Members as he pleases, we shall come to a situation similar to that of the Tower of Babel.

158. Furthermore, Mr. Çelik comes here as a person supplying information and he says that he is the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus—an entity that is not recognized by the United Nations and rejected by resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly; he comes with the brazen force of the aggressor Power under whose direction he acts. Now this is, again, another anomaly that should be put right; surely in the Security Council, order should prevail.

159. Since Mr. Çelik had to bring forward his so-called Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, I would ask: What is the territory and what is the population of this State? The territory is the invaded area, that is, nearly 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus, which has been occupied by force and aggression, from which the indigenous population has been forcibly ejected, creating 200,000 refugees, and in order to supplement the population of that area, been replaced by a crude Anatolian population imported from the interior of Turkey, in a manner that overwhelmed and destroyed the identity, civilization and level of culture of the Turkish Cypriots. These have been submerged in an influx into the island of aliens who are now, together with the army, ruling over the occupied area and putting forward representatives of the Turkish Cypriots. This is not a situation that can be accepted by the international community.

160. Therefore, I noted the idea proposed by the representative of Panama that a commission of inquiry should go and see this situation. The question of Cyprus has become an international problem because it makes it manifest that Security Council resolutions are neglected and the occupying force takes advantage of the situation to proceed further in its aggression, continuing now for three years.

161. I shall conclude by saying that I repeat my appeal that, in order to solve the problem, we have to proceed to implement the resolutions of the United Nations so as to relieve the situation from the oppression of an army and allow a spirit of harmony and co-operation to blossom in the hearts of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot people so that they can arrive at a solution in their negotiations, a just and lasting solution that cannot be outside the resolutions of the United Nations.

162. Therefore, by a logical exercise of reason and by a sense of justice that derives in part from the exercise of reason, we can see that there can be no solution otherwise, because, if the party negotiating is the instrument of the invader, he cannot proceed otherwise than for a continuing occupation of the territory of Cyprus in keeping with the narrowly conceived interest of Ankara, and therefore the negotiations could not produce results. Let the negotiations be freely carried out, as was said by a number of members of the Council. The Soviet Union and others have said it: they must be left alone, free of outside interference.

163. I see from an issued statement that Turkey has announced that it is withdrawing 7,000 of its troops from the island, but that does not make the slightest difference. We are not relying on arms and weapons. We do not have a big army there, so that if Turkey takes away a number of its troops it does not make any difference. What is called for by the resolution is the withdrawal of Turkish forces from the territory of Cyprus. If Turkey had announced that it had withdrawn its forces from the area of Famagusta or from some other area, I would understand it as being a gesture of goodwill aimed at improving negotiations. But to say that the army, instead of being 40,000, will be 35,000, well, that would merely help the economy of Turkey and not the situation in Cyprus. So we had better look at things as they really are. If Turkey wants to make a gesture in a move towards starting meaningful negotiations, it can do so by withdrawing from a part of the territory, as was suggested by the Secretary-General at, I believe, the first round of talks.

164. Therefore, even to mention that Turkey is withdrawing a part of its army does not mean anything. The statement is significant in that it contains a paragraph that says: "The army will remain until a final political solution is found". On what does a "final political solution" depend but on the negotiations? And if one party, being the instrument of Ankara, says "no" to the negotiations, there will be none.

165. I apologize if my statement has been too long, but I think that every word I have said reflects the actuality in Cyprus. I hope that the Council will reflect on this matter of helping to bring about a solution of the problem of Cyprus by proceeding to some form of implementation of its resolutions. Various means by which the Council can proceed to that end are provided in the Charter.

166. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have just received a letter dated 16 December from the representative of Turkey in which he requests that Mr. Nail Atalay should be invited to participate in the consideration of the question on the agenda. I propose therefore, with the consent of the Council, to invite Mr. Atalay to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Atalay took a place at the Council table.

167. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Atalay.

168. Mr. ATALAY: Mr. President, I wish to express my gratitude to you and, through you, to the other members of the Council for allowing me to make my statement. It is with reluctance that I speak and I shall be very brief.

169. My Minister, Mr. Vedat Çelik, has already and adequately replied, both last night and on previous occasions, to the allegations made by the representative of the Greek Cypriot Administration which are nothing new to this august body and are merely repetitions of what has been said over the past three years.

170. It is sad that the Greek Cypriot representative continues to distort the intercommunal nature of the problem and even at this late hour refuses to look upon the Turkish Cypriot community as a true counterpart to the Greek Cypriot community in the Cyprus problem. If this attitude prevails, how can it be possible for a meaningful negotiation to be conducted between the two communities?

171. It is also a pity that Mr. Rossides . . .

172. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Point of order.

173. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cyprus on a point of order.

174. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I did not want to raise this point of order last night because of the late hour, but since it is repeated now I request you, Mr. President, to inform the person appearing here now under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure that while he is speaking here he should address himself to all representatives of Member States by their proper titles and not affix to them titles imposed by others. Therefore, I request you to call the speaker to order.

175. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey on a point of order.

176. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I think that all countries and all representatives and all persons speaking in the Security Council or in the General Assembly have the privilege of addressing other representatives of countries as they wish. This has been an established practice in the United Nations for a very long time. There was a time, I remember, when a certain representative was described as "this gentleman who represents only himself". Some countries are called an entity. Therefore, I think that I have the right to address the representative who presumes to speak on behalf of Cyprus as I wish, and the representative of the Turkish community has the same right. On the other hand, Mr. Rossides has just referred to Mr. Çelik as "that little man". How does he expect Mr. Atalay to reply to him?

177. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cyprus on a point of order.

178. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The point raised by the representative of Turkey is that any Member of the United Nations can address any other Member in whichever way he likes. I, for my part, dispute that right because it is a tendency towards anarchy and anomaly. I am perfectly certain that if it were properly researched, it would be found to be not so. No one who respects the proper order of the United Nations would adopt that attitude. The representative of Turkey may not wish to do so, but others wish to respect the order and the propriety of the United Nations. But his point was that this is a right of Members. The person regarding whom I made the objection is not a Member of the United Nations and, therefore, the point of order of the representative of Turkey in itself does not stand.

179. The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, at the close of the meeting you are raising a very delicate issue. If we try to split hairs, this procedural wrangle might last for hours. I certainly will take note of the objection raised by the representative of Cyprus and will leave it to the wisdom of the legal pundits of the United Nations and the Security Council to disentangle it.

180. I now call on Mr. Atalay.

181. Mr. ATALAY: It is a pity that Mr. Rossides has chosen to indulge in his normal rhetoric which cannot possibly help the solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of goodwill and mutual respect. At this time, I am very sorry to say that the members of the Council will agree with me that a man of his age and experience could and should have done better.

182. As my Minister said last night, in the interests of contributing to the establishment of an atmosphere conducive to meaningful negotiations, we must avoid acrimonious debates and political wrangles at international forums at all costs.

183. I am also sorry to observe that Mr. Rossides has seen fit to repeat his familiar insults against the Turkish Cypriot leaders. It should be pointed out that these leaders have been elected by the Turkish Cypriot community through their democratic elections and, therefore, represent the will of the Turkish Cypriot community. Every such insult against the Turkish Cypriot leaders is also an insult against the Turkish Cypriot community as a whole. Surely, this is not compatible with the alleged will to settle the problem of Cyprus through negotiations between the representatives of the two communities on an equal footing. If the Greek Cypriot side genuinely desires friendship towards and co-operation with the Turkish Cypriot community, the least it can do is to refrain from insulting the Turkish Cypriot community and its democratically elected leaders.

184. As regards the allegations of the Greek Cypriot representative, Mr. Rossides, regarding mass colonization, they have also been adequately answered on previous occasions. It would suffice here to say that there is no colonization in northern Cyprus. It is also pertinent to state that our case is not based on the population ratio of the two communities, so we have no reason to increase our population. There is agreement to establish a bi-communal federation, and equality between the constituent States of a federation is inherent in any federation, no matter what the population of each State may be.

185. I should like to reiterate that the Turkish Cypriot side will continue to do everything in its power to facilitate the solution of the Cyprus problem. It is our hope that the Greek Cypriot side will reciprocate. As my Minister said last night, provided we can avoid acrimonious debates in international forums, and provided goodwill, realism and common sense prevail, there is no reason whatsoever why 1978 should not be the year of a permanent settlement for Cyprus.

186. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey in exercise of his right of reply.

187. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): First of all, I should like to assure you, Mr. President, that when I raised the question of procedure yesterday I meant no disrespect to you at all. I have read again what I said and I am also assured that I paid proper respect to you as an experienced diplomat and as the distinguished Minister for External Affairs of your country. I welcomed your arrival to New York and also said that we were hoping to benefit from your wisdom.

188. The only point I should like to take up with regard to the several rights of reply is the one raised by Ambassador Rossides. Referring to what the representative of India said, Mr. Rossides said that there was no need for the concurrence of parties for the extension of the mandate of the Force and that the only party to be consulted should be the so-called Government of Cyprus. I think he should read again the seventh preambular paragraph of the resolution adopted yesterday by the Council [*resolution 422 (1977)*]. The resolution notes

“the concurrence of the parties concerned in the recommendation by the Secretary-General that the Security Council extend the stationing of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months”.

189. I think that concurrence is a prerequisite for the extension of the mandate of the Force, and there is no doubt on that issue. I think he misunderstood what Ambassador Jaipal said. I stand to be corrected, of course, if I am mistaken, but what Ambassador Jaipal said was that we should adopt a simple resolution so that there would be no need to consult the parties on the wording of the resolution, because it would be a procedural resolution, addressing itself directly to the extension of the mandate of the Force. Therefore, the only thing on which to consult the parties would be whether they agreed or not to the extension of the Force. That is how I understood what Ambassador Jaipal said.

190. The PRESIDENT: I should like to make an appeal to my colleague, the representative of Cyprus, because no further wrangling over words will help us. We are all aware of the problems. I am making an appeal to him because this will only lead to the further exercise of the right of reply on the other side, and we shall never finish. Perhaps we can do so now on this harmonious note. Everyone is aware of all the facts of the problem concerning Cyprus and I can assure him that the whole Council has taken good note of what he said; he must have noticed the undivided attention with which the whole Council listened to his statement and to the other statements. I hope he will credit us with sufficient wisdom to be able to differentiate, to appreciate and to give the weight that each deserves to the different arguments submitted to the Council. I beg of you to leave us, as “members of the jury”, to evaluate the submissions of both “learned counsels”.

191. I call on the representative of Cyprus in exercise of his right of reply.

192. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I only want to correct facts; we cannot leave facts uncorrected.

193. The person who spoke under article 39 said that the present Turkish Cypriot leadership had been elected by the Turkish Cypriot community. This is contradicted by the facts, because the Turkish Cypriot community as we know and understand it does not include the Turkish army. Yet all 30,000 members of the Turkish army were given citizenship in Cyprus and were entitled to participate in the election. They did participate, and some of them even became candidates. Those facts cannot be ignored or whitewashed. The influx or invasion of about 50,000 Anatolian Turks was carried out on various pretexts as, for example, that those thousands were needed as workers—as if there were not enough workers in Cyprus—or with some other excuse. It is well known and has been published in international papers that their number was 50,000 or 40,000 and that they were given citizenship and the right to vote. We have the figures for the amalgam of persons who voted in the election of those people. They were not Turkish Cypriots alone, but included many others.

194. In a letter I sent to the Secretary-General about a month ago, I gave all those facts and I received no answer in contradiction of those facts. Now that speaker comes here and says "We are elected". We cannot allow this travesty which is contrary to reality.

195. I am very glad that the point is left to the Legal Department, but I want to emphasize that the point at issue is whether a person who comes under article 39 is entitled to address members of the Council otherwise than by their title.

196. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey in exercise of his right of reply.

197. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I just want to raise a factual point. No personnel of the Turkish army took part in the election. I think even the colleagues of Ambassador Rossides will correct him on that point.

198. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I circulated a letter to that effect and no reply came to the contrary. Why did they not reply to the letter I sent a month ago?

199. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Benin has asked to speak in exercise of her right of reply.

200. Mrs. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): As this is the last meeting of the Council before the end of Benin's term, I should like to thank all members for their understanding and co-operation. It was for us a real pleasure to work with them. We have drawn a wealth of experience from that work, and this will help us to discharge our diverse tasks in the various bodies of the United Nations.

201. In conclusion, I wish to express the gratitude of my delegation and my country for the solidarity shown with us by members of the Council and the other members of the international community throughout the various debates of the Council on the aggression of which Benin was the victim on 16 January 1977. The valiant people of Benin will always be grateful to them.

202. The PRESIDENT: Before I declare the adjournment of the meeting, as we are reaching the end of the year—and I hope very sincerely for everyone seated round this table that there will be no emergency meeting before midnight on 31 December—I should like to thank all members of the Council for their co-operation and the help they have given to the Mauritius presidency. I can assure you that the three days that I have spent here have been a very enriching and fruitful experience for me. Many a meeting have I chaired in other capacities, but here I notice the relevance of the appeal of St. Francis of Assisi: "Oh Lord, give me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, the courage to change the things I can change, and the wisdom to know the difference".

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

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