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# SECURITY COUNCIL

## OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-FIRST YEAR

*SUPPLEMENT FOR APRIL, MAY AND JUNE 1976*

UNITED NATIONS





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**UNITED NATIONS**

**New York, 1977**

#### NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

**CHECK LIST OF SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENTS ISSUED DURING THE PERIOD  
1 APRIL-30 JUNE 1976**

The titles of the documents printed in the present *Supplement* appear in bold type.

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DOCUMENTS S/11663/ADD.25-27\*

Further reports on the status of the cease-fire in the Israel-Lebanon sector

DOCUMENT S/11663/ADD.25

[Original: English]

[1 April 1976]

The Chief of Staff of UNTSO has submitted the following report on developments in the sector during March 1976:

1. Activity remained at a low level during the month.

2. Israel forces personnel continued to occupy daily, during daylight hours, five positions on the Lebanese side of the armistice demarcation line (ADL) near border pillars 11 (AMR 1799-2788)<sup>1</sup> (except on 13 March), 14 (AMR 1838-2734) (except on 5 to 7, 9, 13, 14, 16 to 19, 21 and 30 March), 18 (AMR 1880-2740) (except on 13, 14, 16, 21, 22 and 30 March), 19 (AMR 1907-2749) (except on 13, 16, 21 and 22 March) and 33 (AMR 2004-2904).

3. There were 24 cases of firing across the ADL and three crossing violations. The incidents were reported as follows:

(a) OP Lab (AMR 1643-2772), south of the village of Labbouna, reported small-arms fire on 5 March and automatic-weapons fire on 7, 12 and 21 March, all by Israel forces. It also reported a crossing violation by Israel forces on 30 March (maximum penetration 150 metres).

(b) OP Hin (AMR 1770-2790), east of the village of Marouahine, reported mortar fire on 1 March, automatic-weapons fire on 2, 3, 7, 10, 12, 14, 17, 19, 26, 28 and 31 March and artillery fire on 4 March, all by Israel forces.

(c) OP Ras (AMR 1920-2785), south-east of the village of Maroun Er Ras, reported automatic-weapons fire by Israel forces on 18 March.

(d) OP Mar (AMR 1998-2921), south-east of the village of Markaba, reported rocket fire by unidentified forces west of the OP on 3 March and small-arms fire by Israel forces on 31 March. It also reported a crossing violation by Israel forces on 4 March (maximum penetration 300 metres).

(e) OP Khiam (AMR 2071-3025), south of the village of El Khiam, reported mortar fire by Israel forces on 2 March.

(f) An UNTSO mobile patrol, while located at AMR 1811-2787, reported mortar fire by Israel forces on 25 March and, while located at AMR 2117-2987, reported a crossing violation by Israel forces on 7 March (maximum penetration 50 metres).

\* For documents S/11663 and Add.1-5, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth year, Supplement for April, May and June 1975*; for documents S/11663/Add.6-15, *ibid., Supplement for July, August and September 1975*; for documents S/11663/Add.16-19, *ibid., Supplement for October, November and December 1975*; for documents S/11663/Add. 20-24, *ibid., Thirty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1976*.

<sup>1</sup> AMR = approximate map reference.

4. There were 21 overflights reported during the period. Overflights by Israel forces jet aircraft were reported on 1, 4 and 15 March (one each day), on 3, 5, 27 and 28 March (two each day) and on 11, 25 and 26 March (three each day). One overflight by an unidentified jet aircraft was reported on 2 March; United Nations military observers were unable to identify the aircraft owing to high altitude.

5. The Lebanese authorities submitted 18 complaints during the period under review as follows:

(a) Five complaints were submitted alleging that Israel forces fire had fallen on Lebanese territory on 29 February, 2, 3, 7 and 10 March. Two of these complaints were confirmed by United Nations observation, except for damage.

(b) Seven complaints concerned Israel forces jet aircraft overflights on 1, 2 and 4 March (one complaint each day) and on 3 and 11 March (two complaints each day). Five of these complaints were confirmed.

(c) One complaint concerned an Israel forces light aircraft overflight on 9 March. The complaint was not confirmed.

(d) Three complaints were submitted alleging that Israel forces penetrated Lebanese territory in the vicinity of Yarine (AMR 1723-2789) and Dheira (AMR 1708-2789) on 6 March, in the vicinity of border pillar 22 (AMR 1935-2774) on 8 March and in the vicinity of Aita Ech Chaab (AMR 1815-2780) on 9 March. The complaints were not confirmed.

(e) One complaint was submitted alleging that Israel forces flares had fallen on Lebanese territory on 4 March. The complaint was not confirmed.

(f) In addition, one complaint was submitted with a request that an inquiry into it be conducted by United Nations military observers. The inquiry has been dealt with in a special report (see S/11663/Add.24).

DOCUMENT S/11663/ADD.26

[Original: English]

[1 May 1976]

The Chief of Staff of UNTSO has submitted the following report on developments in the sector during April 1976:

1. Activity remained at a low level during the month.

2. Israel forces personnel continued to occupy daily, during daylight hours, five positions on the Lebanese side of the armistice demarcation line (ADL) near border pillars 11, 14 (except on 4, 5, 7, 15 and 16 April), 18 (except on 4, 5, 7 and 16 April), 19 (except on 4, 5 and 16 April) and 33 (except on 23 and 24 April).

3. There were 14 cases of firing across the ADL or across the line between Lebanon and Israel-occupied Syrian territory, one of which involved an exchange of

fire. There were also seven crossing violations. The incidents were reported as follows:

(a) OP Lab reported mortar and automatic-weapons fire on 8 April and a crossing violation on 13 April (maximum penetration 150 metres), all by Israel forces.

(b) OP Hin reported an exchange of fire on 1 April, initiated by the Israel forces and involving automatic-weapons fire by Israel forces and small-arms fire by unidentified forces east of the OP. It also reported automatic-weapons fire on 10, 11 and 13 April and mortar and rocket fire on 13 April, all by Israel forces.

(c) OP Ras reported small-arms fire on 8 April and automatic-weapons fire on 9 and 10 April, all by Israel forces.

(d) OP Khiam reported artillery fire on 13 April and mortar fire on 18 April, all by Israel forces.

(e) Naqoura outstation (AMR 1629-2805), on the coast near the village of Naqoura, reported that an Israel forces naval vessel penetrated Lebanese territorial waters on 1 April (maximum penetration 600 metres).

(f) UNTSO mobile patrols, while located at AMR 2117-2987, reported crossing violations by Israel forces on 9, 11 and 27 April (maximum penetration 50 metres in each instance). Other patrols while located at AMR 1795-2795 and in the vicinity of border pillar one (AMR 1603-2775) reported crossing violations by Israel forces on 20 April (maximum penetrations 600 metres and 25 metres respectively).

4. There were 20 overflights reported during the period. Overflights by Israel forces jet aircraft were reported on 1, 3 and 24 April (one each day), on 11, 13, 25, 26 and 29 April (two each day) and on 14 April (six overflights). One overflight by an unidentified jet aircraft was reported on 3 April; United Nations military observers were unable to identify the aircraft owing to high altitude.

5. The Lebanese authorities submitted two complaints during the period under review as follows:

(a) One complaint was submitted alleging that Israel forces fire had fallen on Lebanese territory in the vicinity of Meiss Ej Jabal (AMR 1991-2862) on 28 April, causing the death of one Lebanese child and damage. The complaint was not confirmed.

(b) One complaint concerned an Israel forces jet aircraft overflight on 29 April. The complaint was confirmed.

[Original: English]  
[1 June 1976]

The Chief of Staff of UNTSO has submitted the following report on developments in the sector during May 1976:

1. Activity remained at a low level during the period.

2. Israel forces personnel continued to occupy daily, during daylight hours, five positions on the Lebanese side of the armistice demarcation line (ADL) near border pillars 11, 14 (except on 6, 10, 13 to 15, 18, 19, 22 and 27 May), 18 (except on 20 and 27 May), 19 (except on 20 and 27 May) and 33.

3. There were 18 cases of firing across the ADL or across the line between Lebanon and Israel-occupied Syrian territory. The incidents were reported as follows:

(a) OP Lab reported mortar fire on 7, 15 and 16 May, automatic-weapons fire on 7, 10 and 13 May and small-arms fire on 7 May, all by Israel forces.

(b) OP Hin reported automatic-weapons fire on 17, 25, 26 and 29 May and small-arms fire on 22 May, all by Israel forces.

(c) OP Khiam reported artillery fire by Israel forces on 15 May.

4. There were 18 overflights reported during the period. Overflights by Israel forces jet aircraft were reported on 1, 5, 9, 24, 25, 29, 30 and 31 May (one each day), and on 30 April, 3, 7, 16 and 23 May (two each day).

5. The Lebanese authorities submitted 11 complaints during the period under review as follows:

(a) Seven complaints concerned Israel forces jet aircraft overflights on 2, 9, 11, 16, 17, 20 and 25 May. The complaints were not confirmed.

(b) Three complaints were submitted alleging that Israel forces naval vessels penetrated Lebanese territorial waters on 9, 14 and 17 May. The complaints were not confirmed.

(c) One complaint was submitted alleging that Israel forces penetrated Lebanese territory on 13 May in the village of Meiss Ej Jabal. The complaint was not confirmed.

## DOCUMENT S/12034

Letter dated 1 April 1976 from the representative of Turkey  
to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[1 April 1976]

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 31 March 1976, addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, Acting Representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) İler TÜRKMEN  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

### ANNEX

Text of the letter dated 31 March 1976 from  
Mr. Nail Atalay to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 26 March 1976, addressed to you by Mr. Rauf R. Denktas, President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this letter as a document of the Security Council.

The letter of the Greek Cypriot representative at the United Nations, Mr. Zenon Rossides, dated 16 March 1976 and circulated as document S/12014 of the Security Council, has recently been brought to my attention.

With reference to its contents, I would like to state categorically that we utterly reject the allegation that Turkey is preparing for the construction of a military air base near Kyrenia (in the areas of Ayios Epiktitos, Karakoumi, Kazaphani and Klepini). We also refute the allegations by Mr. Rossides to the effect that Greek Cypriots are forcefully evicted from the above-mentioned areas. On the contrary, Greek Cypriots who reside in the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus are transferred to the south either on their own written request or on the request of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) on their behalf. The re-settlers in these houses are not "colonists" from Turkey, as alleged, but Turkish Cypriot refugees who fled from Greek oppression in the south to safety in the north, as well as Turkish Cypriots who had emigrated in their thousands to various parts of the world in the face of an unbearable dimension of economic and social discrimination by Greek Cypriots in the past and are now returning home.

Blatant distortion of truth reflected in the inventory of slanderous Greek Cypriot accusations can in no way discredit

the legitimate and justified intervention of Turkey in Cyprus. This intervention was carried out under international agreements in order to save the Turkish community from complete annihilation and to safeguard the independence of the island, that independence which Archbishop Makarios has been trying to destroy for the last 12 years. Resort to malicious propaganda can in no way hide the 12-year-old barbarism, tyranny and oppression which has been inflicted upon the Turkish community of Cyprus by the Greek Cypriots and its leadership. Neither can it conceal the expansionist colonial ambition of Greece embodied in the struggle for *enosis* (union of Cyprus with Greece), which culminated in the tragic events of 1963, 1967 and 1974. The Greek Cypriot leadership as well as the Government of Greece have not yet denounced *enosis*. Neo-colonization of Cyprus by Greece still remains a "supreme national goal of Hellenism".

We deplore very much that at a time when the intercommunal talks are reactivated, the Greek Cypriot leadership, presenting itself as the so-called "Government of Cyprus", a "government" which does not exist in law or in fact, still maintains its intransigent attitude and resorts to political propaganda which cannot but undermine prospects for a negotiated settlement.

I shall be grateful if this letter is circulated as a document of the Security Council.

#### DOCUMENT S/12035

#### Letter dated 1 April 1976 from the representative of Iceland to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[2 April 1976]

Acting under instructions from my Government I have the honour to bring the following to your attention regarding continued British aggression in Icelandic waters.

British naval deployment within the fisheries jurisdiction of Iceland continues to be as extensive and aggressive as ever before, and if anything, this has been stepped up of late. No less than six naval frigates, assisted by some five support and supply vessels, have lately been operating in this fashion, protecting a British fishing fleet of about 25 trawlers engaged in unlawful fishing inside the Icelandic fishery zone. The British frigates are of the so-called Leander class, approximately 2,500 tons in size, with a speed of 30 knots. These are deployed against an Icelandic Coast Guard fleet consisting of seven ships, varying in size from some 200 tons to 1,050 tons, commissioned for the purpose of dealing with fishery protection, salvage and rescue work, hydrographic research, surveying and light-house tending duties. The British frigates are thus almost three times as large as the Icelandic vessels and have twice their speed.

The aggressive behaviour of the British naval ships has created serious incidents in the last few days. On Saturday, 27 March, the British naval frigate *Diomedea* made more than 20 deliberate attempts at ramming the Icelandic Coast Guard vessel *Baldur* when she was engaged in carrying out lawful patrol duties some 52 nautical miles east of the peninsula of Langanen in north-eastern Iceland. Four of the aforementioned ramming attempts were successful, resulting in extensive damages by the British frigate to the Coast Guard vessel on her port-side bridge-wing, as well as to the starboard of the

ship. Immediately following this incident the naval frigate *Galatea* came sailing up to the Coast Guard vessel *Baldur* pointing guns and rockets in her direction. The Commander of the *Baldur* has reported that these guns were manned by their special crews in full battle-dress who were clearly fully prepared to fire at the *Baldur* and in fact made threatening moves to do so, while following her at close range as she sailed in the direction of the Icelandic coast. Needless to say the Icelandic Government has made strong protests against this irresponsible and highly hazardous practice by the British warships of attacking an Icelandic Coast Guard vessel, while performing her lawful duties, thus gravely endangering the lives of Icelandic seamen and the safety of their ships. The Government of Iceland has also reserved the right to claim full reparation for damages caused during the incident reported above.

Another serious incident created by British naval frigates took place on Tuesday, 30 March. At 1252 hours on that day, the Coast Guard vessel *Aegir* spotted the British frigate *Bacchante F 69* at location 65 degrees 13'5 north latitude and 13 degrees 26'8 west longitude, which is well within the internationally recognized territorial waters of Iceland. The frigate had neither requested nor obtained permission from Icelandic governmental authorities, nor had she notified anyone of her movements or her business inside the territorial limits of a foreign sovereign State. This unexplained presence of a British warship in Icelandic territorial waters has also been protested at and an explanation requested from the British Government.

It seems obvious to the Icelandic Government that this behaviour of the British warships has the sole in-

tent of creating and provoking incidents in the first place possibly to sink one of the ships belonging to the small fleet of the Icelandic Coast Guard, and in the second place with the objective of spying on the movements of the Icelandic Coast Guard vessels as they go about their lawful duties of law enforcement.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ingvi INGVARSSON  
Permanent Representative of Iceland  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12038\*

Letter dated 6 April 1976 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[6 April 1976]

In reference to the letter dated 29 March 1976 circulated under the symbol S/12028, I wish to state the following.

Mr. Herzog has taken issue with a remark which I made at the 1897th meeting of the Security Council. When I said that the "racist entity in the Middle East must be destroyed", he chose to interpret my comment as an aggressive one calling for the destruction of a Member State.

By making this charge, Mr. Herzog in fact concurs with the equation of his Zionist so-called State with my term "racist entity", and thus admits the validity of General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX).

In this, he finds himself in notable company. Writing in the major Israeli weekly *Ha'olam Hazeh* of 24 March 1976, its editor, Uri Avneri, former member of the Zionist parliament, wondered if "the solution is to put the Arabs in a new Auschwitz—or make them a nation of slaves, Rhodesia style".

The solution at the moment seems to be to shoot and kill those Arabs who dare to protest against military occupation, but Auschwitz may well be the next step.

It is not the fault of the Palestinian Arabs that they were born in Palestine instead of Ireland, and that they were born to the wrong faith. Nor is it their fault that they are denied the privilege of Member Statehood with all the protection that that status implies, as is so amply emphasized by Mr. Herzog.

Still, along with privilege and protection must come responsibility. If a Member State is deserving of pro-

tection from destruction, then, by the same token, a Member State must be responsible for not bringing about the destruction of another people, be they a Member State or not. And yet we have a Member State which has systematically, for almost 30 years, tried to destroy a people, through expulsion and removal, through the eradication of the Arab culture and Arab character of Palestine, through the denial of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national sovereignty and, in all too many cases, through the destruction of the individual people themselves. We are amazed that the representative of the Zionist entity can talk about moral standing while his Government carries out a campaign of aggression and suppression against the Palestinian people, who are entitled by right of birth to the land occupied by the racist Zionists.

In my remark, against which Mr. Herzog has protested, I said that the "racist entity in the Middle East must be destroyed". Is not the destruction of racism a leading principle of the United Nations? It is too bad, as Mr. Herzog seems to imply, that the racist character of the Zionist entity is so closely intertwined with its very existence that the first cannot be eliminated without bringing about the destruction of the second.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mansur Rashid KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of the  
Libyan Arab Republic  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/76-S/12038.

#### DOCUMENT S/12039\*

Letter dated 5 April 1976 from the representative of Luxembourg to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[6 April 1976]

In my capacity as the Permanent Representative to the United Nations of the country currently holding the presidency of the Council of the European Communities, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of the statement on Rhodesia which was issued after a meeting of the European Council held in Luxem-

bourg on 1 and 2 April 1976. I should be grateful if you would kindly arrange for it to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Jean RETTEL  
Permanent Representative of Luxembourg  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/77-S/12039.

ANNEX

Council of the European Communities—  
statement on Rhodesia

The nine countries of the European Community reaffirm the principles set out in the ministerial statement of 23 February 1976 and in particular the right of the Rhodesian people to self-determination and independence. They therefore deplore the fact that recent events have made a peaceful transfer of power to the majority more difficult in Rhodesia.

The nine vigorously support the objectives laid down by the British Government on 22 March and the efforts it is making to achieve them.

They appeal solemnly to the Rhodesian minority, which at present is opposing a system of majority rule, to accept a rapid and peaceful transition to such a system.

They confirm that they will continue to apply strictly the Security Council decisions concerning Rhodesia.

DOCUMENT S/12040

Letter dated 5 April 1976 from the representative of Indonesia  
to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[6 April 1976]

I have the honour to transmit the text of a communication from the Head of the Special Team of the Indonesian Red Cross. I would be grateful if you would arrange for it to be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) August MARPAUNG  
Deputy Permanent Representative of Indonesia  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

GOVERNING BOARD OF THE INDOONESIAN RED CROSS

Special team of the Indonesian Red Cross for East Timor  
stationed in Dili

No. : 079/Tesus PMI/76 Dili, 19 February 1976  
Encl.: 1 copy To the Chief Executive of  
Re : Tracing people taken the Provisional Government  
by FRETILIN of East Timor in Dili

In reference to your note No. 48/1976 dated 3 January 1976 [see S/10244, annex] addressed to the Head of the Indonesian Red Cross in Jakarta, of which we received a copy, we herewith submit a report on the outcome of the efforts to trace the missing people which have been carried out by the following members of the Indonesian Red Cross: Mr. M. Mushadi, M.D., Mr. M. Sabaroellah, M.D.

Enclosed is a report for your attention.

Head of the Special Team  
of the Indonesian Red Cross  
(Signed) WADYONO

Copies sent to:

1. H.E. The President  
of the Republic of Indonesia
2. Governing Board of the Indonesian  
Red Cross in Jakarta

ENCLOSURE

Report on the tracing of missing persons

On request of the Chief Executive of the Provisional Government of East Timor in his letter of 3 January 1976, No. 48/1976, we, the members of the Indonesian Red Cross, Mr. M. Mushadi, M.D., who resides at Jl. Cipinang Jaya II/H 16 Jakarta, and Mr. M. Sabaroellah, M.D., who resides at Jl. Cipinang Jaya II/H 16 Jakarta, in order to fulfil the request, have undertaken the tracing and investigating of the missing persons, in accordance with the local situation and conditions.

From our investigation, we have uncovered the following data:

1. Periods of tracing:  
15 February 1976 in Aileu;

- 16 February 1976 in Aileu;
- 17 February 1976 in Same.
2. Hardships and difficulties faced:
  - (a) Insufficient means of transportation;
  - (b) Insufficient manpower willing to undertake the excavation.
3. The main source of information came from the local inhabitants.
4. Procedure of tracing:

First day in Aileu

We have investigated two grave sites. The first site was located east of the town of Aileu on the bank of the river. The size of the grave cavity was 3 x 3 metres. At a depth of 80 centimetres, the corpses were found. We could see a pile of bodies, one on top of the other with their hands tied behind their backs. No traces of bullet wounds were found. The bodies were scattered with one tied to the other at the limbs, making it difficult to untie the corpses from each other. Very likely, before the victims were buried, they were still alive. The conditions of the corpses indicated a great degree of decomposition, making it difficult to recognize them because their faces were badly damaged. One of the inhabitants, Francisco Paraisa from the village of Maulau Rita, who was present at that time, knew about the killings and he also knew some of the people who were in that grave. These people were the following:

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. Antonio Fatima;   | 5. Gasparo Tnsicain;                          |
| 2. Luis Coemedo;     | 6. Bereman;                                   |
| 3. Domingus Rumalu;  | 7. E. Peter Santa (Deputy<br>Regent of Dili); |
| 4. Benyamin Mendosa; | 8. Liongsi Riberlo.                           |

This mass grave contained, mainly, members of the UDT Party. The body of Liongsi Riberlo could be recognized because of the wallet that was found in his remains. The first grave contained about 40 to 50 victims. Because of the lack of sufficient manpower, the bodies were left in the grave and sand was placed to cover the bodies again.

The second site was located about 1.5 kilometres east of the first grave and was also found on the river bank at a distance of 2½ kilometres from Aileu. The size of the grave cavity was 6 x 9 metres. At a depth of 75 centimetres, one could see the bodies placed one on top of the other in random positions. Each corpse was tied up with its hands behind its back. The bodies were unrecognizable because they were decaying. In this grave cavity, there were about 60 corpses of members of the APODETI Party. A bag was found which contained a Bible, a crucifix, Bayer aspirin pills, a razor, a comb, a mirror, a medallion, books/documents, a diary and a notebook with pages of legible handwriting. These items belonged to Casimiro Assunção de Araujo. On another body, an identification paper was found with the name of Sose Batista

Pinto. According to information we received from the people who were present, all those victims were formerly detainees of FRETILIN. Because of the lack of manpower, the grave cavity was filled up again.

#### Second day in Aileu

The third grave site was located 2½ kilometres south of Aileu and west of the main road of Aileu-Maubesi. The size of the mass grave was 5 x 6 metres. At a depth of 60 centimetres, we uncovered a pile of bodies which were already decomposing; only the bones remained of part of the corpses. Therefore it was very difficult to recognize the victims. In this grave cavity, there were about 45 bodies. An automatic Seiko watch was found on one of the corpses. The watch had stopped on the 7th, so we concluded that the victims died the day before. On another corpse, a wallet was found containing an identification paper of Januari da Costa Gusmão with pictures of his wife and family. The grave cavity was covered again.

#### Third day in Same

The fourth grave site was located near a gorge behind a school building on the upper part of the town of Same. The size of the grave cavity was about 1½ x 15 metres. At a depth of 30 centimetres, we found the remains of decaying bodies. They were disjointed and bones were scattered around the grave site. According to the information given by the local inhabitants who were present at the time of the investigation, the killings occurred on 29 January 1976. A witness, who escaped from his captors and was also present at the time of the investigation, said that he knew some of the victims by name. They were:

- |                           |                         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Cristova Perai Santeo; | 8. Fernando Costa;      |
| 2. Jorquin Fernandes;     | 9. Fiales;              |
| 3. Muriano Soares;        | 10. Mario Franco;       |
| 4. Sebastian Soares;      | 11. Francisco da Costa; |
| 5. Carlos Lemas;          | 12. Antonio Roberto;    |
| 6. Aniceta;               | 13. Evaristo;           |
| 7. Filipe de Costa;       | 14. Enrique Simoes.     |

In this mass grave cavity, there were about 40 bodies. According to the information given by the people, all the corpses were detainees held by FRETILIN. The grave was filled up.

#### Conclusion

1. The corpses in the mass graves probably include those of the missing persons sought by the Provisional Government of East Timor.

2. From the information given by the local inhabitants, it is very probable that among those corpses are the following:

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. Antonio Fatima;                         | 13. Jorquin Fernandes;          |
| 2. Gasparo Tuscain;                        | 14. Muriano Soares;             |
| 3. Luis Cosemedo;                          | 15. Sebastian Soares;           |
| 4. Domingus Rumalu;                        | 16. Carlos Lemas;               |
| 5. Benyamin Mendosa;                       | 17. Aniceta;                    |
| 6. Bereman;                                | 18. Filipe da Costa;            |
| 7. E. Peter Santa (Deputy Regent of Dili); | 19. Fernando Costa;             |
| 8. Lionsi Riberlo;                         | 20. Fiales;                     |
| 9. Casimiro Assunção de Araujo;            | 21. Mario Franco;               |
| 10. Sose Batista Pinto;                    | 22. Francisco Roberto da Costa; |
| 11. Januari da Costa Gusmão;               | 23. Antonio Roberto;            |
| 12. Cristova Perai Santeo;                 | 24. Evaristo;                   |
|  | 25. Enrique Simoes.             |

3. Among the corpses, there were about 195 which were in an advanced stage of decomposition and whose faces were beyond recognition.

This report has been made for your information.

Dili, 17 February 1976

Investigator II

(Signed) M. SARAOELLAH, M.D. (Signed) M. MUSHADI, M.D.

Investigator I

## DOCUMENT S/12041

### Letter dated 5 April 1976 from the representative of Indonesia to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[7 April 1976]

I have the honour to transmit the text of a communication from Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, Chief Executive of the Provisional Government of East Timor.

I would be grateful if you would arrange for it to be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) August MARPAUNG  
Deputy Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Text of the telegram dated 25 March 1976 from Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo to the Secretary-General

On behalf of the Provisional Government of East Timor, I have the honour to reply to the allegations made by the so-called representative of FRETILIN, in his letter to the distinguished members of the Security Council. The letter, among other things, quoted the Deputy Head of the Provisional Government, Mr. Francisco Lopez de Cruz, as saying that "60,000 Timorese people . . . were killed in the last six months". Making capital of this, the so-called representative tried to mislead the distinguished members of the Council by asserting that the

figure mentioned confirmed FRETILIN's accusation of "indiscriminate pillaging, shooting and outright massacre of the population of [East Timor] by Indonesian troops", etc., etc..

In relation to these insinuations, the Provisional Government of East Timor deems it necessary to convey the following clarification:

1. The 60,000 victims of the civil war during the last six months since the outbreak of hostilities in the former Portuguese colony, as mentioned by Mr. Lopez de Cruz, was the total number of victims, including the more than 40,000 refugees who had fled from FRETILIN's brutal persecution. All this occurred during the time of FRETILIN's high-handed rule of Dili and other places in East Timor.

2. Regarding Indonesia, we can only say that the people of East Timor are very grateful to what the Indonesian people have given us when they were requested to help. The world knows that the Indonesian Government was the only foreign Power which sent humanitarian aid in the form of food, medical supplies and teams, and other necessities to the refugees and victims of FRETILIN's terrorism. Many a time, the Indonesian people themselves were caught off guard in their territory by bands of the FRETILIN who infringed the border, plundering and stealing food and cattle.



3. Soon after East Timor came under its control, the Provisional Government conducted extensive search parties for missing persons and prisoners taken away by FRETILIN forces when they fled before the advancing joint forces of the APODETI, UDT, Trabalhista and KOTA parties. Relying upon the reports and directions given by the population, fresh, shallow mass graves were discovered along the road from Mau-besse to Same and near other places where the people were predominantly in favour of the four parties. When the graves were dug open, everyone present was disgusted with what they saw. The sight was horrible. It is beyond human comprehension how such savagery could have been committed by man upon his fellow-man. All the victims were tied with wires, and many of them had broken arms and legs, fractured skulls and their necks twisted. There were indications that many of them were buried alive. One of the victims was my own son, Casiemero. Furthermore, the mass graves between Lautém and Viqueque revealed that thousands of supporters of the four parties, men and women, children and old people, had been murdered with assegais or had had their heads blown off. Identifications disclosed that among the political prisoners mas-

sacred by FRETILIN were the Vice-President of the APODETI party, members of its Presidium, the Secretary-General, the Secretary of Social Affairs, the Treasurer and the head of physical education, as well as members of the political directorate of the KOTA party. A documentary film and photos of this tragedy can be shown by our representatives who are in New York now to attend the Security Council meeting.

4. The cruelty of FRETILIN's terrorists, who were, in general, professional soldiers of the former Portuguese colonial army, has again been borne out by statement and testimony made by Mr. Rex Syddell, an Australian, before Indonesian and foreign pressmen, in Jakarta, on 15 March 1976. He and his wife had lived on their plantation at Los Palos, East Timor, for eight years until their evacuation to Jakarta, on 23 February 1976 for medical treatment of Mr. Syddell. They were, together with other white people and East Timorese people, kept prisoner by FRETILIN forces for five months, with no decent food. Mr. Syddell testified that on the eve of Dili's fall only last December, about 30 white people were executed by FRETILIN.

## DOCUMENT S/12042

### Letter dated 7 April 1976 from the representative of Turkey to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[7 April 1976]

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 7 April 1976, addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, Acting Representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ilter TÜRKMEN  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Text of the letter dated 7 April 1976 from Mr. Nail Atalay to the Secretary-General

The following is the unofficial translation of the text of a statement given by Mr. Glafcos Clerides, the Greek Cypriot negotiator, to the Greek Cypriot radio-television broadcasting station in Nicosia at 1800 hours (local time) on Tuesday, 6 April:

"At the fifth round of the intercommunal talks which were held in Vienna from 17 to 21 February 1976, Mr. Denktas insisted that, since it had been agreed in Brussels that discussion of the territorial problem would be given priority and that the Greek side would be the first to submit its proposals on it, the Greek Cypriot proposals should be given to the Turkish side first, through the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar.

"In the circumstances, with a view to depriving the Turkish Cypriot side of any pretext for not submitting comprehensive and concrete proposals, I agreed that the Greek Cypriot side should be the first to submit its proposals within a period of six weeks.

"I also took into consideration that, if I acted otherwise, a deadlock would be created on a procedural matter, which would prove detrimental to the Greek Cypriot side, would allow the creation of new facts accomplished by the Turkish side and would prevent the carrying out of the talks on serious humanitarian issues.

"As it was a confidential arrangement, I did not disclose it to anybody at the time or later, and I accept full responsibility for the manner in which I handled the whole matter."

The above statement is self-explanatory as it definitely clarifies the recent discussion on the nature of the accord arrived at in Vienna. It also shows, unfortunately, the difficulties encountered by the Turkish Cypriot community in the intercommunal talks, revealing the incomprehensible attitude of the representation of the Greek Cypriot side, their insistence in denying until the last moment the procedures to which they have completely agreed, their inadmissible tactics to twist the facts and their inability to come forward with a consistent, good-willed and reasonable approach to reach a solution.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/12043

### Letter dated 9 April 1976 from the representative of Indonesia to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[9 April 1976]

I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the persons named hereunder severally to address the Council in the course of its consideration of the

situation in Timor in order to supply the members with information concerning the conditions in that Territory:

1. Mr. Guilherme Maria Gonçalves, Chairman of the delegation of the Provisional Government of East Timor, and Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Government of East Timor.
2. Mr. Mario Carrascalão, member of the National Front and Chief of Protocol and Liaison of the Provisional Government.
3. Dr. Jose Gonçalves, Chief of the Department of Economic Affairs, Provisional Government.
4. Mr. João Pedro Soares, District Secretary of Manatutu Regency, Provisional Government.

(Signed) August MARPAUNG  
Deputy Permanent Representative of Indonesia  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12044

Letter dated 8 April 1976 from the representative of Indonesia to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[9 April 1976]

I have the honour to transmit the text of a letter from Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, Chief Executive of the Provisional Government of East Timor, to the Head of the Indonesian Red Cross in Jakarta.

I would be grateful if you would arrange for the letter and the appended lists of names to be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) August MARPAUNG  
Deputy Permanent Representative of Indonesia  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Text of the letter dated 3 January 1976 from Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo to the Head of the Indonesian Red Cross in Jakarta

We hereby kindly request your assistance to look for, or

at least to find out data concerning the fate of former APODETI, UDT, KOTA and Trabalhista members taken as hostages some time ago by FRETILIN, so as to enable us to know whether they are still alive or have already been killed by FRETILIN.

To facilitate your kind effort, lists of the above-mentioned hostages\* are enclosed. For all this, we send our sincere gratitude.

- cc: 1. H.E. President of Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta  
2. Head of Indonesian Red Cross in Dili

\* The lists attached to the mimeographed version of the present document, containing 265 names, are not reproduced here; they may be consulted in the archives of the Secretariat.

#### DOCUMENT S/12045

Letter dated 10 April 1976 from the representative of Guinea-Bissau to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[12 April 1976]

On the instruction of my Government I have the honour to request that, in connexion with the Security Council consideration of the situation obtaining in East Timor, the Council extend an invitation, under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. José Ramos Horta, Minister for External Relations and Information of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, in order to supply the Council with information related to the question under discussion.

(Signed) Gil FERNANDES  
Permanent Representative of Guinea-Bissau  
to the United Nations

Letter dated 9 April 1976 from the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[12 April 1976]

Acting under instructions from my Government, I have the honour to refer to the Icelandic Permanent Representative's letter of 1 April 1976 to you [S/12035]. The United Kingdom Government totally rejects the allegations contained in that letter about "British aggression in Icelandic waters".

Since the expiry on 13 November 1975 of the 1973 Anglo-Icelandic Interim Fisheries Agreement, vessels of the Icelandic coastguard have harassed British trawlers fishing lawfully on the high seas off Iceland. They have seriously disrupted fishing on numerous occasions and have cut the trawl wires of British trawlers on 29 occasions, resulting in the complete loss of gear in approximately half of these cases.

As I explained to the Security Council on 16 December 1975 [1866th meeting], it was in response to this Icelandic aggression that the United Kingdom Government sent civilian defence vessels to the fishing grounds in the third week of November 1975. But it became clear by 25 November that these vessels were unable to fend off the coastguard unaided and the United Kingdom Government felt bound to order the Royal Navy, supported by the Royal Air Force, to provide protection for our trawlers.

The role of the frigates is purely defensive. They have orders to interpose themselves between the Icelandic coastguard vessels and British trawlers in order to protect the latter. It is the Icelandic coastguard vessels which have been behaving in an aggressive manner in their attempts to reach the British trawlers by manoeuvring dangerously close to the British frigates. The coastguard vessels have also several times deliberately collided with British frigates in complete disregard for the safety of the ships concerned. By 6 April there had been some 31 collisions between the coastguard vessels and British frigates.

There are normally four Royal Navy frigates on station which have to defend a varying number of trawlers in an area of several thousand square miles. The frigates have one Royal Fleet Auxiliary and one Royal Maritime Auxiliary Service tug in support. During the first few days of April an extra frigate has been on station whilst the protected fishing area has been moved, in accordance with the normal pattern of fishing, from the north-east to the north-west of Iceland, but this arrangement is only temporary.

Iceland has added two converted trawlers, the *Baldur* and the *Ver*, to her coastguard forces. The Icelandic representative's letter contrasts the size and speed of our frigates with those of the Icelandic coastguard vessels. It is true that the latter are smaller than the frigates, but they are more manoeuvrable and in some cases have shown themselves capable of inflicting serious damage on Her Majesty's ships by their aggressive tactics. If defensive protection is to be provided, our defence vessels must have the speed to interpose themselves be-

tween the coastguard gunboats and the trawlers and the ability to remain on station for considerable periods of time. The task of protecting British trawlers fishing off Iceland is thus one which requires vessels with the speed and sea-keeping of the frigates. It is also a task which the frigates, without the use of their weapons, are obliged to perform with the greatest restraint in the face of continued dangerous harassment from coastguard vessels.

The United Kingdom Government totally denies all Icelandic allegations in the Permanent Representative's letter and elsewhere that collisions between British frigates and Icelandic coastguard vessels have occurred as a result of a policy of deliberate ramming by Her Majesty's ships. Our frigates in no way seek to ram the coastguard vessels: they are not designed for such action and this is reflected in their orders. In the case of the collisions on 27 March between HMS *Diomedé* and *Baldur*, for instance, the Icelandic allegations are totally inconsistent with the facts, which are as follows.

At 1330 on 27 March the Icelandic coastguard vessel *Baldur* started to approach British trawlers fishing on the high seas. HMS *Diomedé* interposed herself between *Baldur* and the trawlers and a period of close quarters manoeuvring developed. *Baldur* continually attempted to swing her heavy stern into *Diomedé's* side from both sides making 25 attempts in all. At 1449 *Baldur* turned towards *Diomedé* (which was on a steady course and speed) from starboard, and a collision occurred. *Baldur's* stern hit *Diomedé's* starboard side and *Diomedé's* side hit *Baldur's* port bridge wing.

*Baldur's* aggressive manoeuvring continued and she engineered two further collisions at 1518 and 1525 by swinging her stern into *Diomedé's* port side. A fourth collision occurred in the same manner at 1540 when *Baldur's* stern severely gouged *Diomedé's* port side. These collisions caused serious damage to *Diomedé* including a four metre by one metre gash in her port side.

Following these collisions HMS *Galatea* came to *Diomedé's* assistance. As a precautionary measure her armaments were manned for a time but at no stage did *Galatea* issue any threat to open fire. The United Kingdom Government has already formally rejected the allegation made by the Icelandic authorities that the frigate *Bacchante* entered Iceland's territorial waters on 30 March. At 1252 HMS *Bacchante* was in position 65 degrees 14'N, 13 degrees 17'W, i.e. 6.4 miles from Icelandic coastal baselines and outside Icelandic territorial waters. At no time was HMS *Bacchante* any nearer to the Icelandic coast or coastal baselines.

The imputation made in the Icelandic representative's letter that the "sole intent" of the frigates is "of creating and provoking incidents in the first place possibly to sink one of the [Icelandic] ships" is entirely false. The role of the British defence vessels has already been

made clear to the Council in my statement of 16 December 1975 and in this letter. Their presence is solely defensive, to protect unarmed British trawlers on the high seas against illegal harassment by the Icelandic coastguard who are seeking to impose unilaterally declared fishing limits by force.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) IVOR RICHARD  
Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom  
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12047

**Letter dated 12 April 1976 from the representative of Mozambique  
to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[12 April 1976]

On the instructions of my Government I have the honour to request that in connexion with the Security Council consideration of the situation obtaining in East Timor, the Council extend an invitation, under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, to Mr. Ken Fry, member of the House of Representatives of the Australian Commonwealth Parliament, in order to supply the Council with information related to the question under discussion.

(Signed) José Carlos LOBO  
Permanent Representative of the  
People's Republic of Mozambique  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12048

**Letter dated 12 April 1976 from the representative of Turkey  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[12 April 1976]

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 12 April 1976, addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, Acting Representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) İltis TÜRKMEN  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

**Text of the letter dated 12 April 1976 from  
Mr. Nail Atalay to the Secretary-General**

The Greek Cypriot leadership has resorted to malicious tactics in presenting the latest proposals in accordance with the Vienna agreement of 21 February 1976.

The following is the text of the letter dated 8 April 1976, which was addressed by Mr. Rauf R. Denktaş, to your Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, explaining the above-mentioned matter in detail:

"As I have explained to you orally and underlined to Mr. Clerides several times in the course of our discussions at Ledra Palace in your presence, it is impossible for me to accept any paper from Mr. Clerides which will contain false or any reference to the Secretary-General's role in the Vienna talks. Page 3 of the Greek Cypriot proposals which you have handed to me today contains such a reference. I cannot, therefore, accept that part of these offers as duly delivered until this page is changed by deleting all references to the Secretary-General, which I have no doubt has been inserted there as a propaganda approach for misleading world public opinion. If such a reference can be allowed to be made, the future usefulness of the Secretary-General's role in our negotiations will be greatly hampered.

"On the constitutional aspect of Mr. Clerides' proposals, I will present you with my proposals within ten days from today. If the paper on land is amended as requested above, my proposals on the territorial aspects of the problem will be delivered within ten days thereafter."

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

#### DOCUMENT S/12049

**Letter dated 12 April 1976 from the representative of Indonesia  
to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[12 April 1976]

I have the honour to request under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council that Mr. Rex K. M. Syddell, an Australian who with his wife lived in East Timor during the whole period of the conflict in the Territory, be invited to supply the Council with information relating to the situation in East Timor.

(Signed) Ch. Anwar SANI  
Permanent Representative of Indonesia  
to the United Nations

Letter dated 12 April 1976 from the representative of Cyprus  
to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[12 April 1976]

Upon instructions from my Government, and further to my communication of 14 February 1976 [S/11982], I have the honour to draw your attention, and that of the membership of the Security Council, to the continuing wave of forcible expulsions of indigenous Greek Cypriot population from their homes and properties in the occupied areas of the Republic, in flagrant breach of the specific humanitarian agreements made at the Vienna intercommunal talks of 2 August 1975, and of the assurances subsequently given at the sixth round of the Vienna talks that these agreements will be respected [see S/12031 of 31 March 1976].

Details of the intensified wave of expulsions are contained in annex A attached hereto, together with an illustrative photograph in annex B.<sup>2</sup>

These repeated breaches of specific agreements—characteristic of the attitude of the Turkish side towards the talks—are calculated to undermine all prospects of meaningful negotiations.

More importantly, such expulsions and uprootings of the indigenous Greek Cypriot population, coupled with the current racial colonization of the area by massive population from Turkey, constitute a double international crime: that of changing the demographic character of Cyprus and that of inflicting by force the most abhorrent form of racial discrimination upon its people.

<sup>2</sup> The annexes attached to the mimeographed version of the present document are not reproduced here; they may be consulted in the archives of the Secretariat. Annex A contains a list of 256 names.

All these illegal acts are, furthermore, being perpetrated in direct violation of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974) and reaffirmed by General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX). Such manifestations of utter contempt of mandatory and unanimous decisions of the Council and, indeed, of all elementary tenets of a civilized international society, are unprecedented in modern history. If allowed to continue without the needed remedial and effective action, as provided by the Charter, they would prove to be the most ominous portents of a downward course to international anarchy, in a fast eroding process into the moral fibre of the world community.

The fundamental and inalienable human right of the majority indigenous people in the invaded area to return to their homes and lands from which they have been forcibly displaced, is a matter of primordial significance as going to the very essence of the United Nations function. Such return and restitution is an absolute right the enforcement of which cannot be further postponed.

The implementation of the aforesaid resolutions in their urgent parts has, therefore, become a compelling necessity for any progress towards a just and lasting solution of the problem.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Zenon ROSSIDES  
Permanent Representative of Cyprus  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/12051

Letter dated 13 April 1976 from the representative of Turkey  
to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[14 April 1976]

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 13 April 1976 addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, Acting Representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) İter TÜRKMEN  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Text of the letter dated 13 April 1976 from  
Mr. Nail Atalay to the Secretary-General

The following are excerpts from an interview given to the press by Mr. Vedat Çelik, the Minister of State of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, on 12 April 1976, in connexion with the latest accusations by Mr. Christophides, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Greek Cypriot administration:

"The Turkish side is not trying to dictate terms in the negotiations, but if the proposals (submitted by either side

are to have any meaning at all, they must not be based on untruths. The attempt of the Greek Cypriot side to incorporate into their proposals falsely and maliciously the Secretary-General's name and authority is a matter which could not be ignored by the Turkish side, especially when, on this very point, Mr. Clerides was duly warned by Mr. Denktas in the presence of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus.

"Mr. Denktas should be thanked for not returning the whole of the proposals back to the Greeks for containing such a calculated, malicious falsehood, but merely returning that part which contained the false reference to the Secretary-General. This is an indication that the Turkish side is willing to begin meaningful negotiations, but without allowing the Greek Cypriots to make a propaganda stunt with their proposals."

About Mr. Christophides' warning that "in the event of a deadlock the entire responsibility will rest with the Turkish Cypriot side", Mr. Çelik said:

"Whatever happens in the Cyprus problem hereafter cannot be separated from what has been done in Cyprus by the Greek Cypriot side since December 1963. Those who re-

sorted to violence, in order to destroy our bi-communal independence (and together with it, the Turkish Cypriot community), cannot now split or disclaim responsibility. If negotiations end in a deadlock, it will be due to the Greek side's insistence to misuse the name and authority of the Secretary-General in a manner not compatible with truth and with internationally admissible etiquette. The Greek side cannot expect us to help them build a false case against ourselves by shutting our eyes to their repeated lies and malicious propaganda."

Mr. Çelik denied that the Greek Cypriot side had submitted its proposals in time, as alleged by Mr. Christophides, and said:

"Even on this issue Mr. Christophides continues to resort to deliberate lies. The Greek Cypriot proposals were not given in time because a false propaganda had already been made that the proposals would be exchanged on one and the same day—3 April—whereas the agreement was that the Turkish side should have it at least 10 days in advance. It is disheartening to see that even on this point Mr. Christophides is still resorting to false propaganda."

Mr. Çelik reiterated that the part of the proposals returned were not returned because, as alleged, of "Turks dislike of

it"; otherwise it could, by implication, be alleged that the rest of the proposals were liked by the Turks. Mr. Çelik said:

"This is far from the truth. The Greek proposals as a whole lack wisdom and vision and are far from realities. But, nevertheless, we shall answer them. We could not accept the part referring to 'land' because it was presented in a distorted false frame, trying to associate the Secretary-General with unrealistic proposals, which he has already publicly declared he has never made."

He added that the Turkish side would be ready to hand over their proposals to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar in time. "When we get their proposals on land, we shall give our proposals on it", he confirmed.

Asked whether he will represent the Turkish side in the future negotiations, Mr. Çelik replied: "That will be decided by the President of the Federated State, Mr. Denktaş, in consultation with other organs. We do not yet officially know who is the Greek negotiator and whom he represents, or under what authority."

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/12052

### Letter dated 14 April 1976 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[14 April 1976]

Upon instructions from my Government, I would like to request that you circulate as an official document of the Security Council the enclosed text of the letter concerning the violation of human rights and resolutions of the United Nations, addressed to you on 13 April 1976 by the Acting Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations.

(Signed) Ibrahim S. DHARAT  
Chargé d'affaires, a.i., of the  
Permanent Mission of  
the Libyan Arab Republic  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Letter dated 13 April 1976 from the Acting Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council

Upon instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I have the honour to refer to our letter dated 30 March 1976 [see S/12029] concerning violations against human rights and resolutions of the United Nations. The racist, Zionist forces of occupation have in the meanwhile revealed the following details about the acquisition of Palestine lands under direct or covert duress. According to a report in *The New York Times*, on 12 April:

1. Since 1967 Israel has acquired either through purchase or expropriation "vast amounts" of land on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Last year alone \$6.6 million were spent on land acquisition by the Israeli Government, either through the agencies of the Israel Lands Authority or through the Jewish National Fund.

2. Scores of land transactions have been concluded privately between individual Israelis and Arabs, mostly in the Jerusalem

area. Since these deals are illegal under Israeli law and therefore cannot be registered, parties involved often resort to an irrevocable power of attorney in place of a formal deed. Although there are no records of these transactions, all have been made in one direction, from Arab seller to Israeli buyer. "There is no evidence of any instances of Arabs buying lands inside Israel."

3. Large tracts of land on the West Bank and in Gaza have been expropriated by the Israel Lands Authority. Offers of compensation, according to *The New York Times*, are "generally refused".

4. Title to roughly one sixth of the entire West Bank, formally held by the Jordanian Government, was illegally "inherited" by the Israel Lands Authority by dint of Israel's aggression of 1967.

5. The Israeli Government, through the Israel Lands Authority, controls 80,000 acres of land as well as over 10,000 buildings which belong to Palestinians who were expelled in the 1967 War and the aftermath.

6. Nine miles east of Jerusalem construction has begun on an industrial park. The park will extend over approximately 1,500 acres of Arab land, situated in the middle of a 20,000 acre tract which was closed by the Zionist Government in 1972.

I am instructed to request that the Security Council assume its responsibility and powers conferred upon it by the Charter to put an end to such acts and seriously to consider the termination of the occupation, which is long overdue and which has engendered resistance culminating in a situation threatening world peace and security.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TEAZI  
Acting Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

**Letter dated 14 April 1976 from the representative of Oman  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[14 April 1976]

As the Chairman of the Arab Group for the month of April, and with reference to the letter dated 13 April 1976, addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Acting Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations [see S/12052], I have the honour to inform you that I was asked by the Group to contact you to express our worries and deep concern about the continuous violations by Israel of the many United Nations resolutions and of the Fourth Geneva Convention,<sup>3</sup> in acquiring land secretly in the occupied Arab territories.

An article published in *The New York Times* of 12 April 1976 reports that since 1967 Israel has been acquiring Arab land in the occupied territories in order to establish settlements on it; it is clear from this article and from statements made by Israeli authorities to the author of the article that there have been widespread covert acquisitions of Arab land either through deals by private and government agencies, all made in one direction from Arab seller to Israeli buyer, or through expropriation. It is estimated that the Israel Lands Authority controls 80,000 acres of land belonging to Palestinian refugees on which they are establishing many Israeli settlements.

The continuation of this policy, besides being in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention and of various United Nations resolutions, will only serve to increase the resistance it has engendered and will consequently be an obstacle to the efforts being made to ensure a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and will endanger world peace and security.

The Arab Group asked me to draw your attention to this dangerous situation and to request that you send one of your representatives or a representative of the Special Committee to investigate Israeli practices or your representative in Jerusalem in order to look into the matter and report to you the facts and findings of this investigation of the current situation. We hope that you will let us know the results of these findings.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Kamal M. HAGRAS  
*Permanent Representative of Oman  
to the United Nations*

<sup>3</sup> Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

**DOCUMENT S/12054**

**Letter dated 17 April 1976 from the representative of Cyprus  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[19 April 1976]

I have the honour to refer to a document from the Permanent Representative of Turkey [S/12048], annexing a letter dated 8 April 1976 from Mr. Rauf Denktaş, in which the latter expounds over his refusal to accept delivery of part of the Greek Cypriot proposals on the pretext that they contain a "false or any reference to the Secretary-General's role in the Vienna talks". He does not, however, proceed to specify where the alleged falsity lies or the grounds of his general objection.

It is evident from this arbitrariness that Mr. Denktaş believes his position of strength in negotiating as the agent of the invader Power entitles him not to go be-

yond a mere expression of his will—as clearly emerges from the letter itself.

Neither the accuracy of the reference to the Secretary-General's statement nor its legitimacy can be put in question. It is an admitted fact that the Greek Cypriot proposals were formulated in accordance with the procedural suggestions made by the Secretary-General at the fifth round of talks in order to break the deadlock on the territorial aspect.

Mr. Denktaş's unreasonable objection is but a diversionary tactic to evade once more the duty heavily falling upon Ankara—from whom he takes his instruc-

tions—to produce concrete proposals on the territorial aspect.

As the Foreign Minister of Cyprus, Mr. J. Cl. Christophides, in a recent statement, put it:

“The conclusion to be drawn from such abnormality is that Mr. Denktas̄ thinks he has the right to return any part of the proposals which is not to his liking. This, however, amounts to a demand that he himself should formulate the proposals of the Greek Cypriot side, in which case the process of negotiations is turned into a travesty. Any demand by the Turkish Cypriot side for amendments to the Greek Cypriot proposals is rejected as undermining

the negotiations. In the circumstances and in the event of a deadlock, the entire responsibility will rest with the Turkish side, which is resorting to internationally inadmissible methods.

“... Such tactics do not constitute a dialogue and do not lead to a solution of the problem but to the destruction of all hopes reposed in the negotiations.”

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Zenon ROSSIDES  
Permanent Representative of Cyprus  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/12055

### Letter dated 19 April 1976 from the representative of Guinea-Bissau to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[20 April 1976]

I have the honour to transmit the text of a communication from the Democratic Republic of East Timor. I would be grateful if you would arrange for it to be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Gil FERNANDES  
Permanent Representative of Guinea-Bissau  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Letter dated 19 April 1976 from Mr. Francisco Xavier do Amaral to the Secretary-General

I. The Democratic Republic of East Timor is a free, independent and sovereign nation whose independence was proclaimed unilaterally by the Frente Revolucionária Timor Leste Independente (FRETILIN) on 28 November 1975 after about three months of *de facto* government by FRETILIN in place of the Portuguese colonial Government that voluntarily abandoned the ex-colony at the end of August last year.

II. During this period of time the *de facto* Government under the enlightened leadership of FRETILIN unequivocally proved its capacity to execute the policy of the people of East Timor and the administration of the Territory.

III. The unilateral declaration of independence was in response to the supreme aspirations of the people of East Timor, which have been demonstrated during the *de facto* FRETILIN Government—this independence has also been recognized by several countries.

IV. The Republic of Indonesia, in a blatant violation of the rights of a free, sovereign and independent nation, has attacked the borders of East Timor since October 1975. In spite of the failures suffered on 7 December last year it invaded our territory in a desperate attempt to oppress and exploit our people and force them, with threats of firing weapons, to pronounce for a forced integration into Indonesia.

V. The Security Council, in its resolution of 22 December last year [384 (1975)], demanded, among other points, the

withdrawal without delay of Indonesian aggressor forces. Indonesia not only did not abide by the resolutions but reinforced the aggression with increasing arrivals of new military units, for reinforcement by land, sea and air, massacring, pillaging and assassinating the defenceless population of East Timor.

VI. In spite of the military superiority of the Indonesian invaders there is not a single soldier of the puppet groups fighting in our country. Our people did not submit to the invader, and they will not submit, because our decision has been made, and it is to struggle for our total and complete freedom, independence and sovereignty.

VII. FRETILIN forces control more than 80 per cent of our territory.

VIII. If there should be any doubt about the self-determination of the people of East Timor, then the four months of people's resistance generalized against the Indonesian invaders is an unquestionable proof of the will of the people of East Timor to be free, independent and sovereign under a unique, legitimate and glorious leadership of their true vanguard, FRETILIN.

IX. Therefore, we request you to use your good offices in order to persuade the Government of Indonesia to withdraw voluntarily and immediately its forces from our fatherland in respect for the principles of non-interference by one country in the affairs of another; for the defence of the right of a free and independent and sovereign nation. We do not wish, under any pretext, that Indonesia promote, as it has been doing, the instability of the geo-political region in which we are living, with armed provocations against a small but conscious nation of East Timor.

X. The people of East Timor, guided by their revolutionary vanguard, FRETILIN, is prepared to struggle until the total and complete withdrawal of the Indonesian invaders, whatever the consequences may be.

(Signed) Francisco Xavier DO AMARAL  
President of FRETILIN  
and President of the  
Democratic Republic of East Timor

## DOCUMENT S/12057

### Japan: amendment to document S/12056

[Original: English]  
[22 April 1976]

In operative paragraph 2:

Insert the word “remaining” between the words “its” and “forces”.



**Letter dated 22 April 1976 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic  
to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[22 April 1976]

Upon instructions from my Government, I would be grateful if you would arrange for the circulation as a document of the Security Council, the enclosed text of the letter addressed to you on 20 April 1976 by the Acting Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations.

(Signed) Ibrahim S. DHARAT  
Chargé d'affaires, a.i., of the  
Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Republic  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Letter dated 20 April 1976 from the Acting Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council

Upon instructions from the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I have the honour to call to your attention and to the attention of the members of the Security Council the following.

On 17 April, Zionist demonstrators, carrying guns and guitars, and with the protection of the Israeli army, initiated a march through the occupied West Bank in order to demonstrate their support of the Israeli Government's policy of territorial expansion and establishment of Jewish settlements.

The march sparked counter-demonstrations of protest on the part of the Palestinian inhabitants of the area and, in the course of the inevitable clashes between them and Zionist troops, a number of Palestinians were brutally murdered by Israeli troops and many more were wounded.

In reaction to these killings, to the Zionists' march through the West Bank, and in protest against Zionist settlement and land seizure, there were huge demonstrations in Nablus and other towns in the occupied West Bank and a violent confrontation between the Palestinian populace and the Zionist forces of occupation.

Given the underlying tensions in the area, the march by this group of Zionists can only be viewed as deliberate provocation; it is a calculated measure to reinforce the oppressiveness of the occupation in order to force the Palestinian people to abandon their homes.

I am instructed to request that the Council assume its responsibility and take immediate measures to ensure that such oppressive policies are terminated, by terminating, once and for all, the illegal occupation.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Acting Permanent Observer  
of the Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/12059

**Letter dated 22 April 1976 from the representative of Turkey  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[23 April 1976]

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 22 April 1976, addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) İtler TÜRKMEN  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Text of the letter dated 22 April 1976 from  
Mr. Nail Atalay to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 9 April 1976, addressed to you by Mr. Rauf R. Denktaş, President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

TEXT OF THE LETTER DATED 9 APRIL 1976 FROM  
MR. RAUF R. DENKTAŞ TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Mr. Zenon Rossides' letter of 30 March 1976 which has been circulated as document S/12032 of the Security Council has just been brought to my notice.

His continuous allegations that Turkey engaged in establishing a military base in Cyprus is totally false. Apparently this

grotesque lie was manufactured by the Greek propagandists in order to provide Mr. Zenon Rossides with new excuses for furthering his quixotic attack on Turkey and the Turkish leadership, whose only fault has been the protection and defence of the binational partnership independence which the Greek Cypriot leaders, from their divided camps, have been trying to destroy for the last 12 years.

The foundation on which Mr. Rossides has tried to build his anti-Turkish case being imaginary and non-existent, it will hardly be necessary for us to give a detailed answer. I shall therefore try to put the record straight in as few words as possible.

As there is no activity for establishing a military base, it goes without saying that there is no expulsion of population from the alleged area.

Mr. Rossides seems to be incensed with the idea that the Turkish Cypriot community (which his leaders tried to eradicate from Cyprus by force of arms and by inhuman economic and administrative sanctions for 12 years) is able to let its case be known through the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. Mr. Rossides' refusal to see the realities in Cyprus is not our fault. The Turkish Federated State is as much a reality in Cyprus as the "Government" for which he purports to speak. The sooner Mr. Rossides and his leaders see this reality (which has been brought about by their inhuman attempt to destroy the Republic of Cyprus at the expense of the co-founder Turkish Cypriot community) the greater will be the chances of a negotiated settlement.

Mr. Rossides argues that there is no federation in Cyprus and concludes that "no such Federated State is recognized or in existence at all". We shall allow Mr. Rossides to continue his wishful dream about that, but we must indicate that the Turkish Cypriot community is not an ethnic minority in Cyprus, but is one of the national communities that set up the independent Republic of Cyprus on the basis of agreed equality with the Greek Cypriot community which Mr. Rossides represents. The writ of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus runs all over the territory of that State and Mr. Rossides has no authority to say anything with regard to the affairs of the Federated State.

It is highly presumptuous of him to speak for and on behalf of the Turkish Cypriots. His allegation that Turks have as a "target" the promotion of "division and strife, with partition in prospect" is disproved by the events of the last 12 years. The representative of the Greek Cypriot community seems distressed at the failure of his leaders (the architects of the infamous Akritas Plan) to do away with "division" in

Cyprus by silencing all the Turkish Cypriots in a short period of time. Mr. Rossides seems to be equally distressed that Turkish Cypriots who were forced to leave Cyprus because of Greek Cypriot terrorism and economic discrimination are now able to return to their homes unmolested and unhindered by Greek gunmen. He also forgets that all that happened in Cyprus has happened because of the contemptuous defiance of basic principles of international law and the Charter by the Greek Cypriot leaders who stand convicted by the repeated reports of the Secretary-General to the Security Council for deliberate genocidal attacks against the Turkish Cypriots during the period 1963-1967 and of other acts which would be treated as wild crimes in the annals of any decent, civilized country.

The work of bringing decency, normalcy and peace to Cyprus, all of which were virtually destroyed by the Greek Cypriot leaders over the years, is still continuing.

I shall be grateful if this letter is circulated as a document of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/12060

### Letter dated 28 April 1976 from the representative of Guinea-Bissau to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[28 April 1976]

I have the honour to transmit the text of a communication from the Democratic Republic of East Timor. I would be grateful if you would arrange for it to be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Gil FERNANDES  
Permanent Representative of Guinea-Bissau  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Letter dated 27 April 1976 from Mr. José Ramos Horta to the Secretary-General

As you are most certainly aware, since the Indonesian invasion of the Democratic Republic of East Timor on 7 December 1975, there has been in effect a land, sea and air blockade of the territory. Upon the invasion, the International Red Cross operatives who had been working in the territory left, together with representatives of other aid and humanitarian organizations. This action has left the people of East Timor at the peril of Indonesian military aggression and the diseases and medical hazards attendant on biological warfare being practised by the aggressors.

In response to this violation of basic human rights, several humanitarian organizations in Australia—supported by funds and messages of solidarity from similar organizations in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and European countries—have decided to make a concerted effort to break

the illegal blockade of the territory of East Timor to enable medical personnel and materials to reach the distressed areas.

The Australian Council of Trade Unions, together with a broad coalition of church and aid organizations, has chartered a 96-foot, three-masted schooner, powered by a Gardner diesel engine and capable of carrying 100 tons of cargo, including 15 tons of refrigerated volume. This vessel will be manned by a volunteer crew of six members of the Seamen's Union; it is capable of carrying 20 passengers, mainly newsmen, and is serviced by a radio transmitter with a range of 1,000 miles. It is anticipated that this vessel will be ready to leave the northern coast of Australia for East Timor in 12 to 14 days from now.

It is imperative that medical personnel and materials reach the people of East Timor in their suffering at this time. It is essential, too, that independent observers be enabled to return to East Timor to act as inhibitors on the Indonesian excesses, of which increasingly information is reaching the outside world.

I ask you to use your good offices to facilitate the success of this mission, initiated by people and organizations in a truly humanitarian spirit, by prevailing upon the Government of Indonesia not to obstruct the passage of this vessel. May I take this opportunity to appeal to the States Members of the United Nations to endorse this mission.

(Signed) José Ramos HORTA  
Minister of External Relations and Information  
of the Democratic Republic of East Timor

## DOCUMENT S/12062

### Letter dated 29 April 1976 from the representative of South Africa to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[29 April 1976]

I have the honour to attach an extract relating to the question of South West Africa from the statement delivered by Mr. B. J. Vorster, Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, in the House of Assembly, on 23 April 1976.

I should be grateful if this letter and annex could be issued as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) R. F. BOTHA  
Permanent Representative of South Africa  
to the United Nations

Extract from the statement delivered by Mr. B. J. Vorster, Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, in the House of Assembly, on 23 April 1976

The idea is milling around very persistently in my mind that, since we transferred the administration of Walvis Bay to South West Africa in 1922, we should give very serious consideration in the recess to whether we should not repeal that Act. I am saying this for the simple reason that there are people in South West Africa, and in the outside world in particular, who adopt the standpoint that Walvis Bay belongs to South West Africa. I do not want there to be any misunderstanding whatsoever about this. Walvis Bay belongs to South Africa. At this moment I am saying no more than that this is simply an idea I have. However, it is an idea to which I shall give very serious thought during the recess.

For the rest my standpoint is still that the Conference is a matter for the people of South West Africa. My Honourable friend asked me, however, why I cannot act in South Africa as I am acting in South West Africa. Surely one cannot place these two on an equal footing with each other. Let us consider only a few of the facets of the situation now. South West Africa has a particular international character. Whatever our standpoint on the Mandate may be, and however we may differ in regard to it, the fact remains that South West Africa has a particular international character and that one may not ignore this. Times without number I have had to listen to the reproach that it is the fault of the Government that various peoples are living in various places in South West Africa, although those people have been living there since before the German occupation. My colleagues can confirm that the reproach has also been levelled at us that we are deliberately keeping the people of South West Africa separate and are not affording them an opportunity to become acquainted with one another. I said to Mr. Escher: very well, if that is the reproach—something which is not true—I shall go out of my way to bring the leaders of South West Africa together, for it is my policy that they should work out their own future. There is one thing I want to make very clear here today. If those leaders have worked out a future for themselves, even if I do not like the way in which they have done so, I shall accept it, for it is their land and their future. South Africa does not want that territory for itself. South Africa makes no claim to it. I said years ago at Keetmanshoop that the future of South West Africa would not be worked out in Pretoria or in the glass palace of the United Nations, but that it would, as far as the whites were concerned, be worked out in the Legislative Assembly of South

West Africa. I was attacked on that standpoint, but it is the correct standpoint to adopt. I can inform this House today that I have not interfered in the composition, the agenda or the discussions, of the Conference, not in any way—directly or indirectly.

If I had done so, I would have violated the principle that the people of South West Africa must work out their own future. I cannot state it as my standpoint that South West Africa must work out its own future alone and that I shall not allow the United Nations to interfere, if I interfere in that regard myself. Until the peoples of South West Africa tell me that they have worked out their future, however, South Africa regards itself as being responsible for the law and order and security of the people of South West Africa. Therefore South Africa will not hesitate to take action or even to make laws to protect the public peace in South West Africa. There must be no doubt whatsoever about this. For the sake of the record I want to reiterate that South Africa is not there as an occupying power. South Africa is there as an administrative power, until such time as the peoples there decide their own future. As soon as the peoples of South West Africa tell me that they no longer want us there, South Africa will pack its bags and leave. But until that time arrives, South Africa has a task and a duty to fulfil, whatever the United Nations may decide.

I come now to the composition of the Conference. They themselves decided on a certain *modus operandi*. That *modus operandi* is theirs. If they want to bring in other people—whether I like it or whether I do not like it—it is their business. I am not going to interfere with that. I want to state my standpoint in that regard so that there need be no misunderstanding whatsoever about it. Because I believe that the peoples of South West Africa are aware of their responsibility, I do not believe that they will take any foolish decisions for South West Africa. They will have to realize that there is an enormous budget for which they will have to find the funds. They will have to realize that the services which South Africa is rendering there are services which they themselves would otherwise have to render. I believe that they will go about their task in such a way that they will not harm the future possibilities of South West Africa. It is a territory with infinite possibilities, particularly if one is able to provide the territory with water. This will, however, cost an enormous amount of money. Consequently I, personally, believe in the future of South West Africa. I do not believe that the peoples of South West Africa will allow the same situation as the one which arose in Angola to arise in that territory. I also believe that the peoples of South West Africa are alive to the need to ensure that chaos and anarchy do not arise in South West Africa.

## DOCUMENT S/12063\*

Letter dated 29 April 1976 from the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Secretary-General

[Original: Russian]  
[29 April 1976]

I would request you to have the text of the attached statement of 28 April 1976 by the Soviet Government on the Middle East distributed as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

(Signed) Y. MALIK  
Permanent Representative of the  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

### Statement by the Soviet Government

The Soviet Government finds it necessary to draw the attention of the Governments of all States once again to the situa-

tion in the Middle East, and the events taking place there. It has been led to take this action by its concern over the prolonged delay in reaching a settlement of the Middle East conflict, by the Soviet Union's awareness of its international responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council and by its desire to contribute to a further relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of universal peace.

1. For many years Israel's armed forces have been occupying vast areas of the territories of independent Arab States. A policy of racial discrimination against and oppression of the Arab population is being pursued in these territories. The indigenous inhabitants of the occupied territories are being driven from their homes and their homes are being razed in order to provide space for the establishment of settlements for citizens of a foreign State—Israel. Those who resist the cruel occupation policy are subjected to arrest, deportation and other forms of repression. Step by step, the captured territories are being

\* Circulated under the symbol A/31/84-S/12063.

incorporated into the State of Israel. All of this is creating a protracted and dangerous crisis in the Middle East.

The ruling circles in Israel are impeding the exercise by the Arab people of Palestine of their inalienable right to establish their own State. The 3 million Palestinian Arabs, who have the same right as any other people in the Middle East and any other people in the world to their own State, continue to be in the position of an exiled people. And all this despite the fact that their right to establish their own State in the territory of Palestine has been confirmed by the United Nations and that the Palestine Liberation Organization is widely recognized as the lawful representative of the Palestine people and has the support of the popular masses in the territories occupied by Israel.

The build-up of Israel's armaments is continuing on a huge scale. The United States of America is sending a range of modern weapons to Israel, including rockets capable of carrying both conventional and nuclear warheads. In this connexion, there are alarming reports that Israel is making or has already made its own nuclear weapons. It is not difficult to see what a potential danger this poses to peace.

While last year's separate arrangements concerning some minor segments of the Israeli-occupied territories did create in some quarters the illusion of a lessening of tension in the Middle East, it is obvious to all now that these arrangements, which sidestepped the key questions in any Middle East settlement, not only failed to alleviate the situation but have even further aggravated it. Nothing demonstrates this so convincingly as the tragic and bloody events in and around Lebanon. These events have confirmed once again that unless resolute efforts are made towards a comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East, the situation there may become even worse, and every day brings new evidence of this.

2. A situation in which the Middle East conflict remains unresolved carries in it the seeds of a new military explosion. This situation means that the aggressor continues with impunity to reap the fruits of its criminal policy while the legitimate interests and rights of the victims of aggression are being flouted. It is clear that there can be neither stability nor tranquillity in the Middle East on such a basis. Failure to settle the conflict has already led four times to military clashes between Israel and the Arab States within comparatively short intervals of time. It would be naive to proceed on the assumption that this could not happen a fifth time. Meanwhile the possible consequences of a new war in the Middle East, including the consequences for the international situation as a whole, are obvious to all.

There are even more grounds for alarm in that some States are continuously seeking to postpone any solution to the major issues of a Middle East settlement and justifying their stand by utterly artificial arguments. They say it is necessary to wait until the Presidential elections in the United States are over, or else, that the necessary conditions for a Middle East settlement do not yet exist.

The real aims of those who would like to put off a solution to the problem of a Middle East settlement indefinitely should be clear to any objectively minded observer. The preservation of the existing situation in the Middle East fully accords with their long-term plans of establishing their control over the Middle East region and its enormous oil resources and important strategic positions. It is for this very reason that those who are pursuing aims that have nothing in common with the genuine interests of the peoples of the Middle East are anxious to weaken the Arab States to the maximum possible extent to block their way to progressive social development, to set them against one another and to force them to act in disunity in their actions.

Who does not know that until recently the arsenal of imperialist policy in the Middle East included one main weapon—Israel's Zionist ruling circles that are pursuing a policy of territorial expansion at the expense of the Arabs. Now however the aggressors and their patrons hope to rely in their policy also on some Arab States. But it can confidently be affirmed that in the final count the peoples of the Arab East will frustrate this plan that is hostile to the cause for which the Arabs are struggling, the cause of their independence and freedom.

Obvious attempts are being made to strike a blow at the forces of the Palestine resistance movement and draw Arabs into a fratricidal war. This is the real meaning of the events in Lebanon. This is even more emphasized by such provocative acts as the concentration of Israeli troops on Lebanon's southern borders and the sending of United States naval ships to Lebanese shores, though they have no business there.

Such is imperialism's policy in the Middle East, a policy of encouraging and supporting aggression, of weakening the position of national progressive forces, of undermining their unity and asserting its domination in that area.

3. The Soviet Union is pursuing a fundamentally different policy in questions related to the Middle East. It proceeds from the premise that the peoples of that area should be complete masters of their destiny, should receive an opportunity to live in conditions of independence, freedom and peace. That is precisely why the Soviet Union firmly supports a radical political settlement of the Middle East conflict and believes that this is attainable. The discussion in recent years of questions relating to the situation in the Middle East and the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly have determined the basis on which such a settlement can and must be achieved. This basis consists of three organically interconnected elements:

—First, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied as a result of Israel's aggression in 1967.

—Second, satisfaction of the legitimate national demands of the Arab people of Palestine, including their inalienable right to establish their own State.

—Third, international guarantees for the security and inviolability of the frontiers of all Middle Eastern States, and their right to independent existence and development.

These basic and inter-connected problems of a Middle East settlement take due account of the legitimate rights of all parties directly concerned and create a just and realistic basis for settlement.

Such a basis is just for the Arab States, the victims of Israel's aggression: it provides for the restoration of the territories belonging to them, restoration of their sovereignty over these territories and removes the danger of a new aggression. The peoples of the Arab countries will be given the opportunity to concentrate their energies and resources on the solution of the problems of economic and social development, and to eliminate the backwardness they inherited from colonialism. The Arab States will be also able to play a more important role in international affairs.

This basis for a settlement is a just one for the Palestinian Arab people because it stems from their right to establish their own independent State. The Arab people of Palestine will leave the refugee camps, free themselves from oppression by the invaders and build their own State in their homeland.

This basis for a political settlement is also just for Israel because it ensures for it the conditions of peace and security within recognized frontiers. Its young people will no longer be sacrificed on the altar of war. The Israeli working people, the entire people of the State of Israel will be able to live in conditions of confidence in the morrow. The State of Israel will be able to normalize its position among the States of the world.

An over-all and radical political settlement in the Middle East will bring a peaceful life and an opportunity for prosperity to all the peoples of the area. It will create a firm foundation of peace for the future, particularly considering the fact that within the framework of such a settlement it will be possible to find a solution to the problem of arresting the arms race in the Middle East, as the Soviet Union advocates.

Only those circles which cannot abandon the dangerous policy of brinkmanship in the Middle East can object to this basis for a political settlement.

4. Not only is there a just and realistic basis for a settlement of the Middle East conflict; there is also an international mechanism for working out appropriate accords. This is the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East.

No one denies that, if the appropriate States so desired, the Geneva Peace Conference could lead to agreement on all aspects of settlement. Nor is this denied by the United States. What is more, an identity of views on this matter several years ago formed the basis for agreement on the convening of the Geneva Conference. What is lacking now is the will to take that step. This and this alone accounts for the fact that changing attitudes to the Geneva Conference, clearly based on circumstances of the moment, have in recent years prevailed. This applies particularly to the position of the United States of America and Israel with regard to the role of this Conference.

Hence, the matter is not that the Geneva Peace Conference is not a suitable mechanism for a settlement of the conflict but that some are unwilling to put this mechanism into operation. That is how matters stand if the entire question of the Geneva Conference and its role is shown in its true light.

The Soviet Union is in favour of the resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference with the participation of all the parties directly concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

True, this calls for certain preparatory work. The Soviet Government understands this. It believes that the work of the Conference could be arranged in two stages. In the initial stage, it could solve all the organizational questions that may arise, including the procedure for examining the concrete aspects of a settlement, and the possibility of establishing appropriate working bodies. This stage would evidently not be a long one, and after it the Conference could take up its basic task, that of finding substantive solutions to the problems of the settlement. It goes without saying that representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization should take part in the work of both stages of the Conference.

The Soviet Union is prepared without delay to appoint its representatives to attend the preparatory and the main phases of the Geneva Conference. The Soviet Government hopes that all the other parties concerned will adopt a similar position. If, however, some Governments continue to obstruct the resumption of the Geneva Conference they will naturally bear a serious responsibility for the consequences of such a policy.

5. In setting forth its considerations on the need for more active efforts towards a settlement of the Middle East conflict, the Soviet Government deems it necessary to stress that the Soviet Union does not seek any advantages for itself in the Middle East. Neither in the Middle East nor in any other area of the world is it endeavouring to gain military bases, any rights to develop local natural resources, or any opportunities to influence the internal development of the States concerned. The Soviet Union, loyal as it is to the ideal of solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom and social progress, invariably supports and intends to continue its firm support of the just position of the Arab States and peoples.

Peace and tranquillity in the Middle East are the goal of Soviet policy in the area. The Soviet Union is also interested in creating conditions for the development of relations with all States in the Middle East. It has not and cannot have any prejudices against any of these States, including Israel, if the latter gives up its policy of aggression and takes the road of peace and good-neighbourly relations with the Arabs.

Elimination of the dangerous source of tension that remains in the Middle East is one of the top-priority tasks in the efforts to strengthen international peace and security. It is the duty of all States to contribute to the solution of this task. The Soviet Government appeals to the Governments of all States of the world to fulfil this duty and to facilitate efforts to achieve a just and lasting political settlement in the Middle East.

#### DOCUMENT S/12064\*

### Application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to membership in the United Nations: note by the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
30 April 1976]

In accordance with rule 135 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the Secretary-General has the honour to circulate herewith the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to membership in the United Nations, contained in a letter dated 22 April 1976 from the President of the People's Republic of Angola to the Secretary-General.

and nation, to submit herewith the application of the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations. In fulfilment of the provisions of Article 4, I attach herewith a declaration of acceptance of the obligations contained in the Charter.

(Signed) Agostinho NETO  
President of the  
People's Republic of Angola

#### ANNEX

#### Letter dated 22 April 1976 from the President of the People's Republic of Angola to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to inform you that, after the proclamation of independence at zero hours on 11 November 1975, Angola became a member of the international community as a sovereign and independent State—the People's Republic of Angola.

I have the honour, on behalf of the Angolan Government

#### DECLARATION

In connexion with the application of the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations, I have the honour on behalf of the People's Republic of Angola, in my capacity as President of the People's Republic of Angola, to declare that the Government of the People's Republic of Angola accepts all the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly undertakes to fulfil them.

(Signed) Agostinho NETO  
President of the  
People's Republic of Angola

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/85-S/12064.

#### DOCUMENT S/12065

### Letter dated 29 April 1976 from the representative of Cyprus to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[30 April 1976]

I have the honour to bring to your notice and to that of the membership of the Security Council the following event characteristic of the extreme policy of Ankara and its instruments in preventing and suppressing even

by the most violent methods any indication of goodwill between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots and any tendency towards mutual understanding and conciliation.

A Greek Cypriot national guardsman and a Turkish

Cypriot militiaman, both from the village of Kouklia (Paphos), who showed signs of good feelings towards each other and frequently entered into friendly conversations reminiscing nostalgically of the good days they lived together at Kouklia, were marked out by officers of the Turkish army of occupation.

On 9 April 1976, when the Greek Cypriot guardsman, 19 years old, Michael Sophocleous, went from his post along the "green line" to offer cigarettes to his Turkish Cypriot fellow villager, a Turkish army officer came forward and shot the Greek Cypriot guardsman three times through the head at point-blank range. Members of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus who witnessed the event rushed to the spot and carried him to the hospital where he died.

This incident brings out the tragedy of unwanted enmity and fighting imposed upon the people by outside forces contrary to their own deeper feelings and intrinsic interests.

The spirit of conciliation and the yearning for a return to normal conditions of friendliness and co-opera-

tion has repeatedly shown itself over the years among the Cypriots, Greek and Turkish alike.

As the Secretary-General in his report of 9 March 1968 observed, ordinary "Greek and Turkish Cypriot people desire to live together in peace and harmony" [see S/8446, para. 153]. In the same report, the Secretary-General further remarked "how gratifying it had been to observe . . . the ease with which ordinary people of both communities were beginning to resume their former amicable relations" [ibid., para. 149].

Reference has already been made in my letter of 30 March 1976 [S/12032] to the attestation by the World Council of Churches contained in a report prepared after the invasion by a fact-finding mission, as to the inherent feeling of solidarity and friendliness between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. This feeling, we hope, will at the end flower in the hearts of all the Cypriots despite all actions of force to destroy it.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Zenon ROSSIDES  
Permanent Representative of Cyprus  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12066

#### Letter dated 3 May 1976 from the representative of Egypt to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[3 May 1976]

I am writing to you concerning the latest developments on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which are a pitiful result of the continuation of Israeli occupation as well as an outright affirmation of the Palestinian people's refusal of the Israeli terrorist practices. This, in turn, was reflected in popular uprisings on the part of the whole Palestinian people. By these uprisings, the Palestinian people have given expression to their categorical refusal of the continued Israeli occupation, as well as their firm determination to end Israeli terrorist practices and occupation.

There is no doubt but that Israeli persistence in its aggressive expansionist policy in the occupied territories through the establishment of settlements at the expense of the legitimate owners, or through Israel's changes of the demographic composition of the occupied territories and its blatant outrages against the holy places and shrines, which are considered sacred to both Moslems and Christians, has resulted in the flare-up of the feelings of the Palestinian people and added to their determination to continue to resist Israeli aggression.

The Israeli authorities' resort to a violent terrorist campaign which took the lives of many innocent civilians and which resulted in the arrests, beatings and persecutions of thousands of unarmed civilians, including women and children, has accelerated the deterioration of an already grave situation in the area. Whereas all the foregoing constitutes a flagrant defiance to the international conscience and a contradiction to the principles and resolutions of the United Nations, as well as an obvious violation of the Geneva Conventions and of human rights and a direct threat to the peace efforts in the Middle East, and whereas Israel should bear the responsibility for putting obstacles on the way to the realization of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, I therefore, upon instructions from my Government, request an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the continued deterioration of the situation as a result of the above-mentioned Israeli practices and with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the debate.

(Signed) A. Esmat ABDEL MEGUID  
Permanent Representative of Egypt  
to the United Nations

**Letter dated 4 May 1976 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic  
to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[4 May 1976]

I have the honour to refer to the letter dated 3 May 1976 addressed to you by the Acting Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations, concerning the shooting of unarmed Palestinians by Zionist troops. Upon the instructions of my Government I would like to request that the above-mentioned letter be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mansur R. KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of the  
Libyan Arab Republic  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Letter dated 3 May 1976 from the Acting Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council

Upon instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I have the honour to call to

your attention and, through you, the attention of the members of the Security Council, to the recent alarming developments on the West Bank.

On 1 May, Zionist troops opened fire into a crowd of unarmed Palestinian demonstrators who were manifesting their unalterable opposition to the continuing illegal occupation of their lands and homes and to the imminence of additional Jewish settlements. One Palestinian was killed; several others were badly injured.

Curfews have been imposed on several Palestinian towns by the Zionist forces of occupation.

I am instructed to request once again that the Security Council assume its responsibilities; that it use the powers conferred upon it by the Charter of the United Nations to put an end to the illegal occupation of Palestinian lands and to a situation which is endangering world peace and security.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Acting Permanent Observer  
of the Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/12069

**Letter dated 4 May 1976 from the representative of Indonesia  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[5 May 1976]

I have the honour to transmit the text of a communication from Mr. Guilherme Maria Gonçalves, Chairman of the delegation of the Provisional Government of East Timor. I would be grateful if you would arrange for it to be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) August MARPAUNG  
Deputy Permanent Representative of Indonesia  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Text of the letter dated 21 April 1976 from  
Mr. Guilherme Maria Gonçalves to the Secretary-General

Upon the instructions of my Government I have the honour to inform you that Mr. José Martins, former Chairman of the

KOTA Party, and a member of the delegation of the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Security Council deliberations on the question of East Timor which took place in December 1975, was expelled from the KOTA Party in an extraordinary party meeting in mid-January 1976. This action was taken by the KOTA Party owing to his failure to return to Dili to report on his activities at the United Nations. He has made no attempt since then to return to East Timor.

In the period since Mr. Martins' expulsion from the KOTA Party, the four parties of East Timor took steps to dissolve themselves on 30 January 1976 and formed a party of national unity called the National Front. Mr. Thomas Dias Ximenes, a former KOTA Party official, now serves as a member of the Deliberative Council.

In view of the foregoing developments, Mr. Martins can no longer claim to speak on behalf either of the now-defunct KOTA Party or of the people of East Timor.

## DOCUMENT S/12070

**Letter dated 7 May 1976 from the representative of Indonesia  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[11 May 1976]

I have the honour to communicate the enclosed text of an agreement relating to the joint efforts to be effected by the Indonesian Red Cross and the International Committee of the Red Cross concerning the implementation of the distribution of grain and skimmed milk donated by the European Economic Community

for relief in East Timor. I would be grateful if you would arrange for it to be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) August MARPAUNG  
Deputy Permanent Representative of Indonesia  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Agreement between the head of the Indonesian Red Cross and the Director of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) relating to the joint efforts to be effected by the Indonesian Red Cross and ICRC concerning the implementation of the distribution of grain and skimmed milk donated by the European Economic Community (EEC) for relief in East Timor

1. Co-operation between ICRC and the Indonesian Red Cross shall be fixed right from the start in relation to principles as much as to ways of implementation, in order that it shall be as effective as possible.

2. ICRC and the Indonesian Red Cross shall prepare, jointly and in consultation with the authorities concerned, a plan for the distribution of relief food supplies to be obtained by ICRC from EEC. This plan shall take into account the needs of the population of East Timor and the practical means required for the distribution.

3. The plan shall be drawn up on the basis of EEC's customary conditions, namely:

— Distribution programme (ICRC assessments of needs): planned number and nature of recipients, quantities per recipient, places, frequency and mode of distribution, taking into account the specific circumstances on the spot.

— Distribution report (ICRC supervision of distributions): actual details as above to be communicated one month after the arrival of the goods in Dili and every month thereafter until the items received are exhausted.

4. In order that the plan might be submitted to EEC in the shortest possible time, Mr. Serge Nessi, ICRC Delegate General for Asia, accompanied by Mr. André Pasquier, Regional Delegate, will, when they visit Jakarta, work out, together with the Indonesian Red Cross and the authorities concerned, the technical arrangements of the programme. Subject to approval by the authorities concerned, the ICRC delegate(s) will then visit East Timor where they will have on-the-spot talks with the Provisional Government and with the respective representatives of the Indonesian Red Cross.

5. By the time of arrival of the EEC relief supplies in Dili, an ICRC delegate will be sent to East Timor to ensure the necessary liaison with both the Provisional Government of East Timor and the Indonesian Red Cross in relation to the distribution of food-stuffs.

6. ICRC will examine the best way to obtain the funds needed for financing this aid programme. ICRC will submit a request (for financial assistance) to EEC to cover any freight costs for shipping the goods donated by EEC from Jakarta to Dili.

7. Should the Indonesian Red Cross deem it useful to extend EEC aid to the refugees who are still in West Timor, similar plans will be examined jointly with ICRC.

8. The balance of funds already made available by various Governments and national societies shall be utilized by the Indonesian Red Cross in agreement and co-operation with ICRC for the benefit of the people in need in East Timor.

9. Any further contribution shall be used by the Indonesian Red Cross in accordance with usual Red Cross procedures. Geneva, 4 May 1976.

## DOCUMENT S/12071

Letter dated 11 May 1976 from the representative of Cyprus to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[11 May 1976]

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to draw your attention to a statement made by the Prime Minister of Turkey, Mr. S. Demirel, to the Associated Press correspondent in Ankara on 9 May 1976 on relations between Greece and Turkey. In the course of that statement, he is reported to have said: "We are not afraid Greece will be aggressive against us. It should be very expensive for them . . . We could have occupied the whole of Cyprus and we can still do it today."

This grave threat against the independence of a small, defenceless, non-aligned State Member of the United Nations is too obvious to require elaboration. It flagrantly contradicts the fundamental principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations and demonstrates once again Ankara's contemptuous disregard of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus.

This statement constitutes an open admission of the fact that the Turkish armed forces are in aggressive occupation of a large part of the territory of Cyprus.

It is both significant and revealing that, instead of complying with the relevant United Nations resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority which demand the "speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and

foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs", the Prime Minister of Turkey ominously speaks of the possibility of the occupation of the whole island by the Turkish army.

Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that Mr. Demirel makes this threat, not in the context of the situation in Cyprus itself or in relation to the so-called "protection" of the Turkish Cypriots—as Turkish propaganda has been at pains to allege until now—but in the context of the differences between two outside Powers.

On behalf of my Government, I wish to protest strongly this provocative statement by the Prime Minister of Turkey which tends to aggravate further the situation in Cyprus regarding which the Security Council has a continuing responsibility.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Andreas J. JACOVIDES  
Chargé d'affaires, a.i.,  
of the Permanent Mission of Cyprus  
to the United Nations



Letter dated 11 May 1976 from the representative of Iceland  
to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[12 May 1976]

Acting under instructions from my Government, I have the honour to bring the following to your attention.

British warships and tugboats continue to assist British trawlers in their violation of Icelandic fishery jurisdiction and, in doing so, grossly abuse international rules of navigation. The number of British naval ships and other support vessels deployed within the fisheries jurisdiction of Iceland has also been increased, and their actions have become more aggressive than ever before. On 6 May 1976, the British Government announced its decision to send two more frigates and a tugboat to reinforce the Royal Navy's protection of illegal fishing by British trawlers around Iceland. Immediately following this announcement, the British frigates and tugboats operating within the Icelandic fishery limits off the east coast of Iceland renewed their attempts to ram and sink the Icelandic Coast Guard vessels. This nefarious and organized practice of the British warships and tugboats was preceded by a message received by the Icelandic Coast Guard vessel *Baldur* from the British frigate *Mermaid F-764*, which read as follows: "We in the frigates are no longer restricted by our authorities in ridding off Icelandic Coast Guard vessels which attempt to harass British trawlers. Do you understand?"

After continued and repeated but unsuccessful attempts by the British warships and tugboats, the Icelandic Coast Guard vessel *Odinn* was rammed three times, the Coast Guard vessel *Tyr* was rammed twice and the other Coast Guard vessel *Baldur* once, all in one and the same day, in what seemed to be a well-organized and co-ordinated attack on the part of the British warships and their support vessels.

The Coast Guard vessel *Odinn* was rammed no less than three times by the British frigate *Gurkha F-122*, while at least 21 unsuccessful attempts to ram and sink the Coast Guard vessel took place between 2130 and 2300 hours on 6 May.

The Coast Guard vessel *Tyr* was rammed by the frigate *Falmouth F-113* and the frigate *Galatea F-18*;

at the same time, the tugboat *Lloydsman* made several similar attempts. During this action, the frigate *Galatea F-18* caused the Coast Guard vessel *Tyr* to list heavily to starboard, so that the ship's portside propeller was lifted out of the water, with the result that as it hit the side of the oncoming frigate all the blades of the propeller were ripped off. This is but one example of the ferocity of this attack by the British warships.

The Coast Guard vessel *Baldur* was rammed by the frigate *Mermaid F-76*. Several unsuccessful attempts were also made at ramming this vessel by the British frigate *Galatea F-18* and the British tugboat *Statesman*.

A number of ramming took place when the Icelandic Coast Guard vessels were making no attempt whatsoever to prevent the British trawlers from their illegal fishing and, in fact, were not in the immediate vicinity of the British trawler fleet.

This outrageous practice of the British warships and their accompanying tugboats in attacking the Icelandic Coast Guard vessels places the lives of their crews in the gravest danger and has caused serious damages to the Coast Guard vessels that have been the object of these attacks whilst engaged in their lawful duties.

Since the incidents reported above took place on 6 May the British frigates have continued to make attempts to attack Icelandic Coast Guard vessels. This includes four attempts made on 10 May by the British frigate *Salesbury F-32*, to ram the Icelandic Coast Guard vessel *Ver*. Furthermore, four British support vessels made concerted attempts to ram the Coast Guard vessel *Baldur* on the fishing grounds off the south-east coast of Iceland.

The Icelandic Government has, of course, protested in the strongest possible terms at these serious attacks.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ingvi INGVARSSON  
Permanent Representative of Iceland  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/12073\*

Letter dated 13 May 1976 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic  
to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[14 May 1976]

I have the honour to refer to the letter dated 12 May 1976 addressed to the President of the Security Council by Rabbi Uri Blau on behalf of the Jerusalem Neturei Karta concerning the closing of ritual slaughterhouses in Jerusalem by Zionist officials, and the violation thereby of Orthodox Jewish rights. Upon the

instructions of my Government, I would like to request that the above-mentioned letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mansur R. KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative  
of the Libyan Arab Republic  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/90-S/12073.

## ANNEX

Text of the letter dated 12 May 1976 from Rabbi Uri Blau on behalf of the Jerusalem Neturei Karta to the President of the Security Council

We hereby submit to you the following memorandum and appeal.

Today, 12 May 1976, the Jerusalem Department of Beautification, a division of the Jerusalem Municipality, and the local police issued an ultimatum to the residents of Meah Shearim, in Jerusalem, to close down the ritual slaughter-house in Meah Shearim by Friday, 14 May.

This department has already closed the ritual slaughter-house in Machne Yehuda. The closing of these slaughter-houses is an act against the religious freedom and conscience of the residents of Jerusalem. Thousands of men, women and children will be cut off from their only available source of meat.

The municipality through its Department of Beautification allows, permits and sanctions the houses of pornography, licentiousness and worse, to defile and debase the Holy City of Jerusalem. Archaeological diggings are turning the holy places into tourist attractions. Yet at the same time they deny the orthodox pioneer settlers of the Holy City the right to have their meat slaughtered ritually under the personal supervision of their own rabbis.

We underscore that this is not a health issue as these facilities conform to all sanitary requirements.

As citizens of Jerusalem, who have never accepted the annexation of the Holy City into the State of Israel, and in view of the Friday ultimatum, we implore you to use your good offices as President of the Security Council to deter the Zionist authorities from implementing this cruel scheme to deprive a Jewish community of its elementary human rights which they have enjoyed for hundreds of years, and which certainly antedate the establishment of the Israeli State in the Holy Land.

## DOCUMENT S/12074

Letter dated 14 May 1976 from the representative of Mozambique to the Secretary-General

*(Original: English)*  
[14 May 1976]

I have the honour to transmit the text of two communications from the Democratic Republic of East Timor. I would be grateful if you would arrange for both communications to be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

*(Signed)* José Carlos LOBO  
*Permanent Representative of Mozambique  
to the United Nations*

### ANNEX I

Telegram dated 4 May 1976 from Mr. José Ramos Horta to the representative of Mozambique

Please arrange for the following communication to be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

"Secretary-General United Nations. Security Council resolution 389 (1976) in its paragraph 3 requests the Secretary-General to have his special representative continue the assignment entrusted to him under paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 384 (1975) and pursue consultations with the parties concerned".

"I have been entrusted by the Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, to inform you that such a visit must take place urgently. Therefore, I am extending to you the invitation of Australian trade unions and aid organization to have the United Nations special representative travel on the boat which is due to leave on 22 May from Cairns on the north-east coast of Australia.

"In document S/12060 of 28 April 1976 I have given details of this humanitarian venture. It has been reported that the Indonesian authorities will sink ship when it reaches East Timor territorial waters. Such a threat must be taken seriously as it is a blatant violation of the most fundamental human rights. No peace-loving people can remain silent facing this criminal action that has been carried on by Indonesian generals in preventing humanitarian assistance from reaching the people of East Timor. Therefore I appeal to you to use your good offices to facilitate the success of this mission. I wish to take this opportunity to appeal to all States Members of the United Nations to endorse this truly humanitarian mission."

*(Signed)* José Ramos HORTA  
*Minister of External Relations and Information  
of the Democratic Republic of East Timor*

### ANNEX II

Letter dated 4 May 1976 from Mr. José Ramos Horta to the Secretary-General

The following report was prepared and sent to Australia by a prominent Indonesian politician who opposes the invasion of East Timor.

For obvious reasons, his name cannot be published. This report gives further evidence of the Indonesian military intervention in East Timor. By circulating it to the States Members of the United Nations, we hope that peace-loving countries around the world will voice their strong condemnation of the continued aggression by Indonesia against the people of the Democratic Republic of East Timor in defiance of the United Nations resolutions:

"During the 7 December invasion in Dili, I heard there were already 10 battalions—about 10,000 people—Indonesian soldiers in Timor from the Navy, Air Force, Army, and even from the Police (Mobile Brigade). The Dili invasion was well planned. The Army troops, intermingled with the anti-FRETILIN forces, would invade Dili from the west and south. That is why there were two 'movements': a long march along the northern coast from Batugade-Maubara-Liquica to Dili, and another group which tried to march along the mountain roads from Bobonaro-Atsabe, Aileu to Dili. But it seems that this last group failed because of the wet monsoon and FRETILIN forces in the highlands.

"The group marching on to Dili along the northern coast was protected by the Naval forces, who had built strongholds in the island of Alor (East Nusa Tenggara) and Wetar (Maluku). The Alor base was meant as a stepping-stone to invade Dili, and Wetar was the stronghold to invade Baucau. The occupation of Dili and later the march from Baucau to Dili was meant to invade the capital from four directions. But not all succeeded according to the plan because of FRETILIN resistance in the highlands, Baucau, and even along the north coast. One small town west of Dili was occupied only after 8 hours of fighting. Even the invasion of Dili was 6 hours too late (the plan was H-hour 6 o'clock, but the invasion was realized at 12 o'clock). So, tough fighting indeed.

"After Dili was occupied by the Indonesian troops, reinforcements were sent non-stop to East Timor. Now I have heard that there are already 35,000 troops there. A big portion from all the elite/commando troops have been sent to

Timor, like the red berets (RPKAD), orange berets (kopasgat), violet berets (Korps Marinir/KKo), plus troops from Java (especially from West Java (Disponegoro) mostly got dispensation not to be sent to Timor, because they are Soeharto's troops), Sumatra and Sulawesi. Most of our war machines are sent to Timor, too, or stationed at the nearest bases like Kupang and Ambon. Armoured cars (Panser) from the Cavalry Headquarters in Bandung in West Java were sent to Surabaya by special trains in the night, so it would not attract too much attention.

"Actually it is no secret any more in Indonesia. Especially in Jakarta, where the Army hospital (RS Catot Subroto) and the Air Force hospital at Halim air base are overflowed with war victims. And what makes it more tragic is that the families—even their wives—are not allowed to visit their husbands in the hospital. At the same time, news that many Indonesian soldiers were killed by the Timorese is just trickling down in Jakarta and throughout Java. So knowing that your husband, son or father has to go to Timor is nearly as shocking as a death trial/penalty. So, when I saw troops coming back from Timor last month (red berets), I was not surprised to see them so delighted, released, talkative because they have escaped from hell. But to be correct, the battle front is hell but life in Dili—as they tell it—has its bright colours, too. They were happily telling of how cheap cars and motorbikes are in Timor now. And without any reluctance, they were just showing their T-shirts with the letters and symbol 'Team Rajawali' (Hawk) and 'Around the Timport'. They were advanced groups that had been sent to Timor nine months ago. Imagine!

"I don't know how it will go on there in the next months. Just accepting East Timor already as Indonesian territory to be defended by the Indonesian troops, the Armed Forces have already decided to divide Timor in military districts (Kodim) complete with the officers to be stationed as district commander (Komandan Kodim or Dandim) in every Kodim. That task is called 'territorial task' to distinguish it with the so-called volunteers 'infantry tasks'. And maybe you can take this as a sign that not the whole East Timor territory is already under Indonesian control; the military to be sent to Timor find it harder to be sent for a 'territorial' task than an 'infantry' task. It seems that they realised that they cannot yet trust the population's attitude towards those intruders.

"According to military sources, this 'Operasi Komodo' is the biggest military operation after independence. I am wondering who actually pays for this big military adventure, because if it is really paid from our national funds it would be a very big burden for the national economy already suffering from the \$10 billion Pertamina/Ibnu Sutowo debts. Maybe, the CIA is playing here also, because it is actually not a Hankam (Ministry of Defence) project but only a very limited number of Kostrade generals are responsible for it, headed by general Benny Murdani (ex Ganyang Malaysia field officer in Kalimantan) and supported by General Soeharto himself. The political operations, especially through APODETI, is commanded by Ali Moertopo. So this trio is actually responsible for Timor."

(Signed) José Ramos HORTA  
Minister of External Relations and Information  
of the Democratic Republic of East Timor

## DOCUMENT S/12076\*

### Letter dated 17 May 1976 from the representative of Algeria to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[17 May 1976]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a message addressed to you by His Excellency Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, member of the Council of the Revolution and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, concerning the question of Western Sahara.

On instructions from my Government, I request you to arrange for this message to be circulated as a document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdellatif RAHAL  
Permanent Representative of Algeria  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Message from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria to the Secretary-General

The agreement relating to the delimitation of the frontier between Mauritania and Morocco and the agreement on economic co-operation between the two countries in Western Sahara, signed on 14 April 1976 by the Governments of Rabat and Nouakchott, by arbitrarily deciding to divide that Territory, its people and its natural resources, fall fully within the framework of the policy of aggression and fait accompli pursued by those two Governments in Western Sahara since last autumn, and in particular since the tripartite agreement signed at Madrid on 14 November 1975 [S/11880, annex III].

The speed with which those agreements have been ratified by the countries occupying Western Sahara serves only one purpose, namely to consolidate the annexationist and expan-

sionist nature of the policy pursued by Rabat and Nouakchott and to impede the measures envisaged by the General Assembly, in particular in its resolutions 3458 A and B (XXX) adopted on 10 December 1975, to enable the people of Western Sahara to exercise their right to self-determination.

These developments testify to a fixed determination to block any avenue which might lead to a peaceful solution to the problem. In acting in this manner, the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco assume responsibility for a threat to peace and security in the region. It is, moreover, significant that the said agreements were signed only a few days after the Governments of Morocco and Mauritania had refused to comply with their obligations as States Members of the United Nations by not permitting the special representative of the Secretary-General to carry out his mission, which was to take all the necessary measures forthwith to enable the people of Western Sahara to exercise fully and freely their inalienable right to self-determination under the supervision of the United Nations.

Thus, the Moroccan and Mauritanian Governments persist in their attitude of aggressor States with all the consequences which that entails with regard to the relevant provisions of the Charter, of resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, containing the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and of resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, containing a definition of aggression, which indicates as a clear case of aggression the failure to comply with the "duty of States not to use armed force to deprive peoples of their right to self-determination, freedom and independence".

The agreements signed at Rabat on 14 April 1976, which, like the Madrid agreement of 14 November 1975 of which they are a corollary, were concluded against the wishes of the United Nations, constitute a violation of the Charter and of

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/91-S/12076.

the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and an additional obstacle to the efforts being made by the United Nations to ensure the peaceful and harmonious decolonization of the Territory of Western Sahara, whose population is today the target of a genuine policy of genocide to which the international community cannot remain indifferent.

While reiterating the position which it expressed with regard to the question of Western Sahara in the memorandum addressed to you and issued in document S/11971 of 6 February 1976, Algeria accords no validity to the agreements signed at Rabat on 14 April 1976, which it regards as null and void. The Governments of Morocco and Mauritania have no right to dispose of the Territory of Western Sahara, of the future of its people and of its natural resources. The people of Western

Sahara, who are waging a liberation struggle in the face of a war of genocide imposed on them, are alone competent to decide on the future of their country, free from any pressure or interference.

The United Nations, which has a direct responsibility to ensure the implementation of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination, has a bounden duty to require, as a matter of urgency, respect for international legality and the fundamental principles of the Charter which guarantee the people of Western Sahara the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination by means of a free and genuine referendum under the supervision of the United Nations, and consequently to eliminate any threat to the peace and security of the region.

## DOCUMENT S/12077

### Letter dated 17 May 1976 from the representative of Cyprus to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[18 May 1976]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to bring to your attention and that of the members of the Security Council the new and disturbing situation which has developed in Cyprus as a result of the systematic policy of expulsion by the Turkish occupation forces of the Greek Cypriots who remained in the occupied areas in northern Cyprus after the Turkish invasion of July/August 1974. Through tactics of harassment and oppression, as well as through brute physical eviction, their number, which stood at approximately 14,000 after the termination of the military operations in August 1974 and at 9,307 upon the conclusion of the Vienna humanitarian agreement of 2 August 1975 [S/11789, annex], has now dwindled to 7,783 and is constantly diminishing through a gradual but steady process of additional forced expulsions.

According to verified information, the intention of the Turkish occupation authorities and their instruments in Cyprus is to proceed relentlessly and to complete the expulsion of all the remaining Greek Cypriots from their ancestral homes and lands, first, from the Kyrenia region and, then, from the Karpas peninsula.

In order to perceive the gravity of the situation in perspective, it should be recalled that under paragraph 5 of the unanimously adopted General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX)—which was endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974)—“all the refugees should return to their homes in safety” and the parties concerned were called upon to “undertake urgent measures to that end”. This, as well as the other provisions of this resolution, remained contemptuously unimplemented by Turkey, despite the fact that in the meanwhile it was repeated and endorsed by other United Nations bodies and important international forums which considered the matter, such as the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference, which was held at Kingston from 29 April to 6 May 1975, and the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima,<sup>4</sup> and thus nearly 200,000 Greek Cypriots continue to remain refugees.

During the third round of the intercommunal talks in Vienna, held from 31 July to 2 August 1975, the humanitarian agreement referred to above was reached,

under your auspices, making provision for normalization of the life and freedom of movement under the protection of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) of the remaining Greek Cypriots in the occupied areas and providing, as a corollary, the possibility for the Turkish Cypriots remaining in the areas under the control of the Government “to proceed north with their belongings under an organized programme and with the assistance of UNFICYP”. This humanitarian agreement—which, it should be remembered, left unremedied the tragic situation of the much larger number of refugees displaced during the invasion, despite the call of resolution 3212 (XXIX) and resolution 365 (1974)—was carried out fully both in its letter and its spirit by my Government, which, by September 1975, duly completed the performance of its part of the agreement, as recognized in the Secretary-General's report in document S/11789/Add.2, dated 13 September 1975. The Turkish side, while paying lip service to this agreement for reasons which are obvious, failed to honour its corresponding commitment.

Despite the subsequent call by the General Assembly in its resolution 3395 (XXX) and by the Security Council in its resolution 383 (1975) and all of your efforts and those of your Special Representative in Cyprus, the Turkish side not only persists in its attitude of ignoring this expression of the collective will of the international community for the voluntary return of all refugees to their homes in safety but also continues systematically to violate even the 2 August 1975 humanitarian agreement, thus rendering more of the indigenous Greek Cypriots destitute refugees in their own country.

Details of the systematic violation of this specific agreement are provided in the attached memoranda (annexes I and II), and an example of the human suffering involved is tellingly expressed on the face of the old man in the attached photograph (annex III).<sup>5</sup>

As has been repeatedly stated in past debates before United Nations bodies and further documented in let-

<sup>5</sup> Annexes II and III are not reproduced here; they may be consulted in the archives of the Secretariat. Annex II contains a list of 202 names.

<sup>4</sup> See A/10217, of 5 September 1975, annex, para. 64.

ters circulated to the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council (most recently in documents S/12050, dated 12 April and E/5819, dated 6 May 1976), the expulsions and uprootings of the indigenous Greek Cypriot population are coupled with an anachronistic process of colonization through the massive importation of population from Turkey in a systematic effort to alter by force the demographic character of Cyprus. These remain among the wider issues which, together with the imperative need for the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation forces and the cessation of foreign interference in the affairs of the Republic, go to the root of the Cyprus question.

The immediate issue, however, to which upon instructions from my Government I have the honour to draw your attention and that of the members of the Security Council on this occasion for urgently needed remedial action, is that of the continued and intensified systematic expulsions of Greek Cypriots from the occupied areas in disregard of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and in flagrant violation of the 2 August 1975 Vienna agreement and the most basic norms of humanitarian law. Any action which you and the Security Council may be able to take in order to prevent the continuation of this inhuman process and to ensure the implementation by the Turkish side of what it solemnly agreed upon will be a positive contribution in averting the further deterioration of the situation in Cyprus, regarding which the Council has a continuing and special responsibility.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Andreas J. JACOVIDES  
Chargé d'affaires, a.i.,  
of the Permanent Mission of Cyprus  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX I

##### Violations by the Turkish side of the provisions of the 2 August 1975 Vienna agreement

###### A. FREEDOM OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO STAY IN THE NORTH

The Turkish side ignored this undertaking and resorted to forcible expulsions of Greek Cypriots from their homes and properties by using every kind of pressure. Thus, the number of Greek Cypriot refugees is increasing instead of diminishing. This is evidenced in the report of the Secretary-General dated 8 December 1975 [S/11900]. In paragraph 35 the Secretary-General states:

"This figure [183,000 Greek Cypriot displaced] reflects an increase of 1,000 persons since my June report [i.e., in six months], mainly due to the continuing transfer of Greek Cypriots from the north to the south."

As can be seen, these expulsions have recently reached a very high rate, and the Government has reliable evidence that Turkey has decided to expel gradually and systematically all Greek Cypriots living in the occupied territory. This policy has already been applied in the Kyrenia district, and, as a result, the following Greek Cypriot villages have been completely evacuated after the Vienna agreement of 2 August 1975: Lapithos, Karavas, Dhiorios, Kormakiti, Thermia, Karakoumi, Ayios Epiklitos, Kazaphani and the Dome Hotel. There is evidence that this policy will also apply in the Karpas area: Gastria village has already been evacuated, and the Turks are trying to force the Greek Cypriot inhabitants of the villages of Tauros, Neta, Vokolidha and Ayios Theodoros to leave the occupied areas.

###### B. PRESSURE AGAINST THE GREEK CYPRIOT POPULATION IN THE OCCUPIED AREAS, FOR THEIR MOVEMENT TO THE SOUTH

Despite the provision of the Vienna agreement that no pressure should be used for the movement of the Greek Cypriots living in the north to the south, the Turkish side is subjecting the Greek Cypriots to every kind of pressure in order to force them to leave the occupied areas. The methods used to compel the enclaved Greek Cypriots to leave their homes and properties is by the expulsion, in order of priority, of teachers, doctors, village headmen, rural constables and other figures with influence in the community, so that their expulsion may be followed by an exodus of the remaining ordinary people. Other means used are arrests, home detention, abductions, searches allegedly for the discovery of hidden arms, beatings, threats, intimidation, including intimidation by masked men, destruction of property, firing of shots at Greek Cypriot homes, knocking at their doors and stonethrowing during the night and the exertion of all kinds of psychological pressure aiming at breaking the morale of the enclaved, so that they "sign applications" for their transfer to the government-controlled areas. Lately, the Turkish military is using a new method by telling the enclaved Greek Cypriots that the Government of Cyprus, the Red Cross and the United Nations wish them to leave their homes. Indicative of the inhumanity shown by the Turkish army is that this method was used even on Christmas Eve for the expulsion of old men and women from the village of Lapithos. To repeated requests that the United Nations representatives should be allowed to vet these "applications", the Turks have flatly refused to permit this.

###### C. NO FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT OF GREEK CYPRIOTS IN THE NORTH

The Greek Cypriots are allowed out of their homes only four hours daily, but they are not allowed to mix with Turkish Cypriots or visit cafés. "Movement permits" issued by the Turkish "police" in the Karpas peninsula for people to go to their fields are extremely rare. Almost no "movement permits" are issued for visits outside the village. Greek Cypriot villagers are forbidden to keep company or even converse with UNFICYP personnel, who are under close watch by the Turkish "police". Villagers who dared keep company with UNFICYP personnel were arrested and were badly beaten up. Almost every male enclaved Greek Cypriot has to report to the Turkish "police" twice a day at fixed hours. If he is late, even by one minute, the enclaved is subjected to the punishment of beating or to other inhuman or humiliating treatment. If the animals of shepherds accidentally stray even a few yards within the so-called and arbitrarily defined "restricted" areas, they are forthwith confiscated. The shepherds are subjected to punishment on the pretext that they left their sheep out in the fields before 9 a.m. or they let their animals too far from the village. Only about a month after the Vienna agreement was reached, the Secretary-General, in paragraph 4 of his third interim report [S/11789/Add.2, dated 13 September 1975], stated:

"There has been limited progress towards improvement of the living conditions of Greek Cypriots in the north, and I hope that further improvement will shortly be achieved to enable those people to lead a normal life, including freedom of movement in the north." [Italic inserted.]

This hope was not to materialize, as evidenced in the 8 December 1975 report of the Secretary-General. The following paragraph is relevant and reads as follows:

"54. As indicated in my third interim report, the situation regarding the freedom of movement of Greek Cypriots in the north mentioned in provision 2 of the Vienna communiqué has remained unchanged." [Italic inserted.]

One important aspect of the immense hardships of Greek Cypriots because of lack of freedom of movement is the fact that rich fields cannot be cultivated by them and are taken by Turkish Cypriots or Turks imported from Turkey.

###### D. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES TO GREEK CYPRIOTS

In spite of the fact that a concrete plan for the operation of three secondary schools and 10 primary schools, as well as

a list of educationalists who had expressed willingness to serve in those schools, was submitted, the Turkish occupation forces have not yet given "approval", and the matter continues to be "under consideration". For the time being, only six primary schools are operating in the occupied areas, but they are inadequately manned. These are at Yialousa, Ayias Trias, Rizokarpaso, Bellapais, Vathylakas and Leonariso. It should be noted that the latter two schools are operating with only one teacher each.

With regard to the Turkish allegations that "there is no need for more Greek Cypriot teachers, doctors and clergymen", the report of the Secretary-General of 8 December 1975 is eloquent:

"52. With regard to provision 2 of the Vienna communiqué, progress in providing *educational and medical* facilities for Greek Cypriots in the north *has been slow*. Only three elementary schools are operating in the Karpas, providing for 500 out of approximately 1,400 children." [Italic inserted.]

"53. A Greek Cypriot medical team consisting of a doctor and two male nurses was refused clearance to go to the Karpas."

What is more, as is indicated in paragraph 53 of the report, the last Greek Cypriot doctor in the occupied north was "evacuated" in October 1975. It should also be added that most villages are without church services, since priests are not allowed to return to the north.

#### E. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT OF UNFICYP

Connected with the question of the free movement of Greek Cypriots is also the implementation of the agreement on the freedom of movement of UNFICYP members, so that they may come in touch with the enclaved and examine any problems or grievances. Under the agreement, UNFICYP has established four "liaison posts" at Yialousa, Vathylakas, Leonariso and Ephtakomi. The establishment of more liaison posts has been planned, but the Turkish forces not only refused to give their consent but also banned UNFICYP men manning such posts from going anywhere without a permit from the Turkish military. Moreover, a Turkish post has been established next to each UNFICYP "liaison post", to keep the UNFICYP men under surveillance and prevent any contact between them and the Greek Cypriots. The relevant

paragraphs of the Secretary-General's 8 December 1975 report read as follows:

"56. With regard to provision 4 of the Vienna communiqué, the situation is described in the paragraph 24 of this report."

"24. In the northern part of the island, the Turkish forces have continued to impose restrictions on the *freedom of movement of UNFICYP*. With a view to implementing the agreements reached at the third round of the Vienna talks, UNFICYP established four liaison posts in the Karpas and sought agreement with the Turkish forces to establish a fifth there and three around Kyrenia. A programme was also planned to ensure that each village in the north inhabited by Greek Cypriots would be visited by UNFICYP teams at least three times a week. This has not proved possible. As from 26 September, UNFICYP personnel manning the liaison posts were denied access to the Greek Cypriot population. On 2 December special visits in the Karpas by UNFICYP humanitarian teams escorted by Turkish forces liaison officers were suspended, but resupply convoys there and in the Kyrenia area are still permitted." [Italic inserted.]

"66. . . . During the third round, agreement was reached on certain problems, but, unfortunately, some important provisions contained in that agreement have not been fully implemented, including in particular the free and normal access of UNFICYP to Greek Cypriot habitations in the north to ensure the security and well-being of the Greek Cypriots remaining there."

#### F. REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES

Concerning the question of reunification of families, of the 937 applications made by those entitled to return under the Vienna agreement, the Turkish leadership accepted only 398, and, finally, only 327 persons were allowed to join their families again. The Secretary-General, in his report to the Security Council pursuant to Council resolution 383 (1975) and General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX) [S/12031, dated 31 March 1976], states in paragraph 7:

"The situation regarding the implementation of the agreements recorded in the communiqué of 2 August 1975 [S/11789], at the end of the third round of talks in Vienna, has remained as outlined in my report of 8 December [S/11900, paras. 24 and 47-56]."

### DOCUMENT S/12078

#### Letter dated 18 May 1976 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[18 May 1976]

I have the honour to refer to the letter dated 17 May 1976 addressed to you by the Acting Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations concerning the murder in cold blood, by Zionist troops, of a young girl in occupied Palestine. Upon the instructions of my Government I would like to request that the above-mentioned letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mansur R. KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of the  
Libyan Arab Republic  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Letter dated 17 May 1976 from the Acting Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council

Upon instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I have the honour to inform you, and through you the distinguished members of the Security Council, of a barbaric and premeditated crime committed on Sunday, 16 May 1976 by the forces of occupation

who murdered in cold blood a young girl, Miss Nabulsi, in the city of Nablus and engaged in atrocious brutality against the unarmed Palestinians in occupied Palestine.

The sealing of a part of the city of Nablus is a violation of the basic human rights—reminiscent of the ghettos and concentration camps erected by the Hitlerites in several cities of Europe.

The declared policy of the racist, Zionist régime in Tel Aviv to establish Jewish settlements is a gross provocation that has led and will continue to lead to open confrontation between the forces of occupation and Palestinians exercising their legitimate right of resistance, including armed resistance.

I am instructed to express the deep concern of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization about the apparent lack of action by the Security Council to put an end to illegal occupation and the resulting tragic consequences. I am further instructed to inform you that the Palestinian people cannot but hold the Council and the international community responsible for the serious situation in occupied Palestine and the persistent policy of the racist Zionists in Tel Aviv.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TEAZI  
Acting Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

**Letter dated 18 May 1976 from the Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[19 May 1976]

I have the honour to transmit to you the enclosed text of the statement of the United Nations Council for Namibia regarding the announced death sentence passed by the illegal administration of South Africa in Namibia on patriots of Namibia, approved by the Council at its 233rd plenary meeting, on 13 May 1976.

The Council further decided to request that this statement be circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Roberto DE ROSENZWEIG DÍAZ  
Acting President of the  
United Nations Council for Namibia

**ANNEX**

Statement approved by the United Nations Council for Namibia at its 233rd plenary meeting, regarding the announced death sentence passed by the illegal administration of South Africa in Namibia on patriots in Namibia

1. The United Nations Council for Namibia has learnt with great concern and indignation of the report according to which two members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Aaron Mushimba and Hendrik Shikongo, have been sentenced to death by the illegal South African administration in Namibia, and two women, Rauna Nambinga and Anna Nghihoundjwa, have been sentenced to seven and five years' imprisonment, respectively.

2. The United Nations Council for Namibia strongly condemns this action of the South African Government which is clearly intended to establish, among other things, an atmosphere of intimidation and terror to impose upon the Namibian people a bogus constitutional conference aimed at destroying the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia, under a ruthless policy of racial segregation. These acts by the

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/92-S/12079.

illegal administration of South Africa in Namibia are in flagrant contradiction with the spirit of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976. If allowed to be carried out, the illegal death sentence would create a dangerous precedent in Namibia.

3. The United Nations Council for Namibia demands the immediate and unconditional release of Aaron Mushimba, Hendrik Shikongo, Rauna Nambinga, Anna Nghihoundjwa and all other Namibian patriots.

4. Namibia is an international Territory under the administration of the United Nations, according to General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967. The United Nations Council for Namibia denounces the illegal presence of the South African régime in Namibia and condemns the arrests and intimidation that are being perpetrated against the Namibian people. South Africa has no right whatsoever to attempt to exercise jurisdiction over Namibia. The Council reaffirms that any act aimed at suppressing the Namibian people is an affront to the international community.

5. The United Nations Council for Namibia reiterates its full support of the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of its liberation movement, SWAPO, to achieve self-determination and national independence for Namibia. The legitimacy of this struggle has been recognized by several resolutions of the General Assembly.

6. The United Nations Council for Namibia draws the attention of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General to the threat to international peace and security created by the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa, in defiance of the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

7. The United Nations Council for Namibia urges the international community to repudiate the acts of violence of the South African illegal administration in Namibia by exercising pressure on the South African racist régime in order to compel it to release the above-mentioned prisoners without delay.

**DOCUMENT S/12080\***

**Letter dated 19 May 1976 from the representative of Bulgaria  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[19 May 1976]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of the statement of the Bulgarian Government on the Middle East dated 11 May 1976.

I shall be much obliged if you would circulate the text of this statement as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Guero GROZEV  
Permanent Representative of Bulgaria  
to the United Nations

**ANNEX**

**Statement of the Government of the  
People's Republic of Bulgaria**

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, having considered with particular attention the statement of

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/93-S/12080.

the Soviet Government dated 28 April 1976 [S/12063], highly appraises its new initiative for a political settlement of the conflict in the Middle East which is dangerous for world peace. In expressing its full agreement with the analysis and assessment of the situation in this region, contained in the statement, the Bulgarian Government supports unreservedly the proposals, formulated therein, for the solution of the Middle East crisis.

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is deeply convinced that a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict can be achieved only by solving the three problems, linked organically with each other, viz:

— Withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied as a result of the aggression of Israel in 1967;

— Fulfilling the legitimate national demands of the Arab people of Palestine to create a State of their own;

— International guarantees for the security and inviolability of frontiers of all States in the Middle East, for their right to independent existence and development.

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has always maintained the stand that a successful solution to these fundamental problems could be reached at the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties directly interested, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Faithful to its peace-loving foreign policy of principle, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to render full support to the struggle of the Arab peoples for the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression and to give its contribution to the achievement of a just and lasting political settlement of the conflict in the Middle East.

## DOCUMENT S/12082

Letter dated 21 May 1976 from the representative of Turkey  
to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[24 May 1976]

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 20 May 1976, addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ilter TÜRKMEN  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

### ANNEX

Text of the letter dated 20 May 1976 from  
Mr. Nail Atalay to the Secretary-General

The ever-increasing malicious Greek Cypriot propaganda against Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot community, which is reaching hysterical proportions, urges me to address to you this communication. Specifically, I would like to refer to the letters dated 12 April and 17 May 1976 [S/12050 and S/12077], addressed to you by Mr. Zenon Rossides, the so-called "Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations", and Mr. Andreas J. Jacovides, respectively, in which completely false charges are brought against the Turkish side regarding the alleged expulsion of Greek Cypriots from the northern region of Cyprus.

Annexes of those letters contain lists of Greek Cypriots from various parts of the Turkish region, who, as the Greeks claim, have been forced out of this region, but who, in reality, have been transferred to the south upon their own written request or upon their application through the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). As we have repeatedly stated on previous occasions, the policy of the Turkish Cypriot side regarding the Greek Cypriots in the north has been fully in line with the agreements reached at the intercommunal talks held in Vienna, both during the third round as well as the fifth round.

You will recall that according to the agreement reached at the third round of these talks held between 31 July and 2 August 1975, the Turkish side had undertaken, among other things, to permit those Greek Cypriots who wanted to go to the south to do so on their own free will. Since then the Turkish side has been faithful to this agreement, and as proof of this I am attaching photostatic copies of some of the written applications by the Greek Cypriots in question, which were submitted to the Turkish authorities either directly by the applicants themselves or by UNFICYP on their behalf.<sup>a</sup>

I must stress that every single Greek Cypriot mentioned in the annexes as having been expelled from the north had

<sup>a</sup> The photostatic copies of the letters which were written in Greek may be consulted in the archives of the Secretariat.

actually submitted similar applications requesting such transfer. The 90-year-old lady whose picture is attached as annex B in Mr. Rossides' letter, for instance, had applied to the Turkish authorities for transfer to the south, on the grounds that she wanted to join her children there. Mr. Rossides' inclusion of this photograph in a United Nations document, for no other purpose than exploiting the sentiments of the United Nations delegates and the international public, contravenes all principles of common decency and calls into question his leadership's credibility and moral standing. It also illustrates the extremism of the Greek Cypriot leadership in their campaign of anti-Turkish propaganda and reveals their efforts to find a pretext for their refusal to implement fully the agreement reached at the third round of the talks held in Vienna, where they had agreed, among other things, to a bi-regional federal solution to the Cyprus problem.

The continued distortion of facts by the Greek Cypriot administration, which has mobilized all its means and resources to promote anti-Turkish propaganda in the international arena, is no doubt the most serious threat to the continuation of the intercommunal talks, the only avenue for a peaceful settlement. Likewise, Mr. Rossides' and Mr. Jacovides' continued lack of responsible behaviour reflected in their unrestrained charges and accusations towards the Turkish side is totally incompatible with meaningful negotiations in our search for a just and lasting solution.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

### APPENDIX I

United Nations—Nations Unies  
Force in Cyprus

(COPY)

Ops 4471/1

HQ UNFICYP  
NICOSIA

27 February 1976

Mr. M. Hasan  
Political Liaison Officer  
Office of H.E. Mr. O. Orek  
Nicosia

Subject: *Transfer of Greek Cypriots to the south*

I would appreciate it very much if the Greek Cypriots from the Karpas as per attached list could have clearances to be transferred to the south.

At the same time I would request that the evacuations be carried out by United Nations transport and United Nations ambulance, if necessary.

(Signed) G. O'SULLIVAN  
Lieutenant-Colonel  
Chief Economics Officer



**TRANSFER OF GREEK CYPRIOTS FROM THE NORTH TO THE SOUTH**

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1. Evangelia Papagavriel	55	F	Yialousa	} She is suffering from her liver. To join their daughter in the south who will look after them.
2. Georghios Papagavriel	58	M	Yialousa	
3. Sotiroulla Zacharoudiou	15	F	Leonarisso	} To join their brother who is in the south and who will look after them.
4. Christofis Zacharoudiou	13	F	Leonarisso	
5. Angela Fysentzou	75	F	Ayios Andronikos	She is bed-ridden suffering from diabetes. She needs eye operation. To join her adopted daughter who is in the south and who will look after her.
6. Demetrakis Antoniou Fotiou	17	M	Vasilia	} To join their relatives in the south.
7. Maria Antoniou Fotiou	14	F	Vasilia	
8. Eleni Sotiri Constanti	45	F	Vasilia	} She broke her hand three months ago and needs special care. To be accompanied by her young daughter Milia.
9. Milia Sotiri Constanti	14	F	Vasilia	
10. Androulla Yiannikou	16	F	Rizokarpaso	} To join their relatives in the south who will take care of them.
11. Eleni Yiannikou	18	F	Rizokarpaso	
12. Chrysoulla Digeni	16	F	Rizokarpaso	} To join their relatives in the south.
13. Maroulla Digeni	19	F	Rizokarpaso	
14. Petrakis Digeni	14	M	Rizokarpaso	
15. Chrystallou Christou Stylianou	75	F	Rizokarpaso	To join her children in the south.

**APPENDIX II**

United Nations—Nations Unies  
Force in Cyprus

(COPY)

Ops 4471/1

Mr. M. Hasan  
Political Liaison Officer  
Office of H.E. Mr. Orek  
Nicosia

HQ UNFICYP  
NICOSIA

26 February 1976

Subject: *Transfer of Greek Cypriots to the south*

I would appreciate it very much if clearance could be given for Miss Vatsoulla Kyriacou Kenlikou, age 17, from Ayia Erias village, to be transferred to the south as soon as possible. She wishes to go to relatives in England.

It would also be appreciated if you could expedite this transfer as the Force Commander has taken a personal interest in the matter. It is also hoped that the transfer can be carried out by United Nations transport.

(Signed) BO SANDELL  
Major  
Economics Officer

**APPENDIX III**

United Nations—Nations Unies  
Force in Cyprus

(COPY)

Ops E. 4471/1

Mr. M. Hasan  
Political Liaison Officer  
Office of H.E. Mr. O. Orek  
Nicosia

HQ UNFICYP  
NICOSIA

8 March 1976

Subject: *Transfer of Greek Cypriots to the south*

I would appreciate it very much if clearance could be given as soon as possible for:

Michael Zavopanayi age 79 M Ayios Epikritos

Dafni Zavopanayi age 69 F Ayios Epikritos

to be transferred to the south by United Nations transport with all their belongings.

(Signed) G. O'SULLIVAN  
Lieutenant-Colonel  
Chief Economics Officer

**APPENDIX IV**

United Nations—Nations Unies  
Force in Cyprus

(COPY)

Ops E.4771/1

Mr. M. Hasan  
Political Liaison Officer  
Office of H.E. Mr. O. Orek  
Nicosia

HQ UNFICYP  
NICOSIA

19 February 1976

Subject: *Transfer of Greek Cypriots to the south*

I would appreciate it very much if clearance could be given for the following people in Kazaphani to be transferred to the south:

- |                     |        |   |
|---------------------|--------|---|
| 1. Andreas Paphitis | Age 40 | M |
| 2. Aggela Paphitis  | Age 44 | F |
| 3. Stelnios Paphiti | Age 17 | M |
| 4. Despo Paphiti    | Age 13 | F |

It would also be appreciated if the transfer of the above-mentioned persons and their belongings could be carried out by United Nations transport.

(Signed) BO SANDELL  
Major  
Economics Officer

**Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force  
for the period 25 November 1975 to 24 May 1976**

**DOCUMENT S/12083**

[Original: English]  
[24 May 1976]

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**ANNEX**

Map. UNDOF deployment situation as of May 1976 (See end of volume)

**INTRODUCTION**

1. The present report describes the activities of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) for the period 25 November 1975 to 24 May 1976. Its purpose is to provide the Security Council with an account of the activities of UNDOF in pursuance of the mandate entrusted to it by the Council in resolution 350 (1974) of 31 May 1974 and extended by resolutions 363 (1974) of 29 November 1974, 369 (1975) of 28 May and 381 (1975) of 30 November 1975.

2. During the period covered by the present report, UNDOF has continued to supervise the area of separation and inspect the areas of limitation of armaments and forces in accordance with its mandate. With the co-operation of both parties, UNDOF has been able to contribute to the maintenance of the cease-fire called for by the Security Council in its resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973.

**I. COMPOSITION AND DEPLOYMENT OF THE FORCE**  
**A. COMPOSITION AND COMMAND**

3. As of 24 May 1976, the composition of UNDOF was as follows:

Austria .....	515
Canada .....	126
Iran .....	391
Poland .....	84
United Nations military observers (detailed from UNTSO) .....	78
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>1,194</b>

4. Command of UNDOF continues to be exercised by Major-General Hannes Philipp.

**B. DEPLOYMENT**

5. UNDOF personnel continue to be deployed within or close to the area of separation, with base camps and logistic support units situated close to the area.

6. The Austrian battalion mans positions in the area of separation north of the Damascus-Quneitra road. Its base camp is located near the Wadi Faouar, 8 kilometres east of the area of separation. The Iranian battalion is deployed south of the Damascus-Quneitra road, with its base camp near the village of Ziouani just west of the area of separation. The present deployment is shown on the attached map, at end of volume.

7. The Austrians continue to share their base camp with the Polish logistic unit, while the Iranians share theirs with the Canadian logistic unit. The Canadian signals troop has detachments at the two base camps and in Quneitra, Tiberias and Damascus. Military police detachments are located in Camp Ziouani and Damascus. The UNDOF military observers operate out of Tiberias and Damascus.

8. In December 1975, UNDOF took over responsibility from the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO) for manning the communications relay station at Quneitra.

**C. ROTATION**

9. The Austrian battalion carried out partial rotations in November 1975 and February/March 1976. The Iranian battalion rotated in April 1976. The Canadian units rotate in small groups at regular intervals. The Polish unit rotated in November/December 1975.

**II. ACCOMMODATIONS AND LOGISTICS****A. ACCOMMODATIONS**

10. During the recent winter, one building at Faouar base camp and two UNDOF positions were badly damaged or destroyed by fire. Plans are in hand for their repair or replacement.

11. With the completion of the covered washing and cooking facilities at all positions, the standard of accommodation in the field can now be regarded as satisfactory. Further minor improvements are envisaged, but, in the future, the main requirement will be for maintenance.

12. The programme to provide protective shelters at all base camps and positions, referred to in my last report [S/11883 of 24 November 1975, para. 12], has also been completed.

**B. LOGISTIC SUPPORT**

13. Logistic support for UNDOF continues to be provided by the Canadian and Polish logistic units as outlined in my report of 27 November 1974 [S/11563, paras. 25-27]. The Polish unit also provided a mine-clearing capability.

14. Work is in hand to expand storage and vehicle maintenance capability in Ziouani base camp. Plans are also being prepared for the completion of improved shelters at both Faouar and Ziouani base camps.

### III. ACTIVITIES OF THE FORCE

#### A. FUNCTIONS AND GUIDELINES

15. The functions and guidelines of UNDOF, as well as its tasks, remain as outlined in my report of 27 November 1974 [*ibid.*, paras. 8-10].

16. UNDOF has been able, with the co-operation of the parties, to carry out the tasks entrusted to it. This has been facilitated by the close contact maintained by the Force Commander and his staff with the military liaison staffs of Israel and Syria. In his capacity as Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo has continued to take part in high-level contacts and, as occasion requires, in meetings between the Force Commander and military representatives of Israel and Syria concerning the functioning of the Force.

#### B. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

17. Despite the efforts made towards resolving the question of freedom of movement, the arrangements that have been worked out still fall short of what is required and of what is provided for in the Protocol to the Agreement on Disengagement [*S/11302/Add.1 of 30 May 1974, annexes I and II*]. Efforts are continuing to secure full acceptance of this important principle.

#### C. PERSONNEL MATTERS

18. The general discipline, understanding and bearing of all members of UNDOF have been of a high order, reflecting credit on the soldiers and their commanders, as well as on the countries contributing contingents to the Force.

19. The Force has suffered no fatal casualties during the period under review.

#### D. MAINTENANCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE

20. During the period under review, the cease-fire has been maintained. There were three complaints of small-arms fire, two by Syria and one by Israel. UNDOF confirmed firing activity in two cases. Neither incident could be regarded as serious, and no loss of life or injuries resulted.

#### E. SUPERVISION OF THE AGREEMENT ON DISENGAGEMENT WITH REGARD TO THE AREAS OF SEPARATION AND LIMITATION

##### *Area of separation*

21. UNDOF has continued to supervise the area of separation to ensure that there are no military forces within it, in accordance with its mandate. It has carried out this function by means of static posts, which are manned 24 hours a day, and mobile patrols.

22. UNDOF has continued to carry out its task within the area of separation in a manner which neither hampers the Syrian administration nor derogates from Syrian sovereignty. Good relations have been maintained between UNDOF and the civilian authorities, as well as with the civilian population in the area.

23. UNDOF has continued to investigate complaints from both parties concerning alleged violations of the Agreement with regard to the area of separation and to draw the attention of the parties to any violations it has itself observed, with a view to having corrective action taken. As noted in paragraph 20 above, two complaints of firing incidents were received from Syria and one from Israel.

24. Syrian shepherds who graze their flocks close to the "A" line have been a matter of concern to UNDOF, as this may lead to incidents like the one that occurred on 14 October 1975 [*see S/11883, para. 24*]. With the co-operation of both parties it has been possible to avoid a recurrence of such incidents.

25. Despite efforts by Syrian civilian authorities and the UNDOF mine-clearing team, there are still many unexploded shells and mines in the area of separation. Syrian civilians continue to suffer casualties from mines and, during the period under review, two UNDOF personnel sustained minor injuries as a result of explosions. The UNDOF mine-clearing team has further increased the area accessible to foot and vehicle patrols.

26. UNDOF is continuing its work on making the "A" line more easily identifiable on the ground.

##### *Areas of limitation*

27. UNDOF has continued to carry out the inspection of the areas of limitation of armaments and forces as provided for in the Agreement. The inspections are carried out with the assistance of liaison officers from the parties who accompany the UNDOF inspection teams in their respective areas. In accordance with the procedure agreed to by the parties, the findings of the inspections are made available only to them. UNDOF lends its assistance and good offices in cases where one of the parties raises questions concerning the observance of the agreed limitation of armaments and forces. In carrying out this function, UNDOF has continued to receive the full co-operation of both parties.

### IV. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

28. By its resolution 3374 C (XXX) of 2 December 1975, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, authorized the Secretary-General to enter into commitments for the Force at a rate not to exceed \$1,288,636 per month for the period from 1 June to 31 October 1976 inclusive, should the Security Council decide to continue the Force beyond the period of six months authorized under its resolution 381 (1975). Accordingly, should the Council renew the UNDOF mandate beyond 31 May 1976, the costs to the United Nations for maintaining UNDOF up to 31 October 1976 will be within the level of the authorization to enter into commitments provided by the General Assembly in its resolution 3374 C (XXX), assuming continuance of its existing strength and responsibilities. Appropriate financial provision will need to be made by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session in respect of periods after 31 October 1976, if the period of extension determined by the Council goes beyond that date.

### V. OBSERVATIONS

29. In view of the Secretary-General's visit to Damascus, his observations in connexion with this report will be issued later.

ANNEX

[Map. "UNDOF deployment situation as of May 1976." See end of volume.]

DOCUMENT S/12083/ADD.1

[Original: English]  
[27 May 1976]

OBSERVATIONS

1. During the period under review, the situation in the UNDOF area of operations has remained quiet. Both parties have continued to comply with the cease-fire called for by the Security Council and with the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian forces of 31 May 1974 and to extend their co-operation to UNDOF in the performance of its tasks. There have been no incidents of a serious nature.

2. While the Israel-Syria sector is quiet at the present time, the situation in the Middle East as a whole remains tense and unstable. Unless further progress can be achieved towards a just and durable peace, the situation in the Middle East will become increasingly dangerous.

3. Efforts to advance the implementation of resolution 338 (1973) have continued on several levels during the period under review. I have been actively involved in those efforts and in this connexion have

maintained contact with all the parties concerned and with the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. The Security Council itself has devoted much time and attention to the Middle East since it last extended the mandate of UNDOF. I shall, of course, continue my efforts towards the resumption of the negotiating process called for by the Security Council.

4. In the circumstances, it is my considered opinion that the presence of UNDOF continues to be essential, not only to maintain quiet in the Israel-Syria sector, but also to provide an atmosphere conducive to further peace efforts. I therefore recommend to the Security Council that it extend the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months until 30 November 1976. The Government of Syria, to which I have just paid a brief visit to discuss this matter, has given its assent to the proposed extension. The Government of Israel has also expressed its agreement.

5. In concluding this report, I wish to express my appreciation to the Governments contributing troops to UNDOF and to those which provide UNTSO Military Observers assigned to the Force. I also take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Force Commander, Major-General Hannes Philipp, to the officers and men of UNDOF and its civilian staff, as well as to UNTSO Military Observers assigned to UNDOF. All of them have performed their important and difficult tasks with exemplary devotion and efficiency.

DOCUMENT S/12084\*

Letter dated 25 May 1976 from the representative of Algeria to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[25 May 1976]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a message addressed to you by His Excellency Abdelaziz Bonteflika, member of the Council of the Revolution and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

On the instructions of my Government, I am requesting you to have the message circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Fathih BOUAYAD-AGHA  
Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Algeria  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Message from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria to the Secretary-General

The position taken by the French Government concerning the dispatch of an expeditionary force to Lebanon is likely to aggravate the Lebanese crisis in view of the tension which already prevails in the Middle East area. This position introduces a very dangerous precedent in the practice of international relations and one which is in flagrant contradiction

with the fundamental principles of the United Nations concerning respect for political independence, national unity, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Based on the spirit of colonial re-conquest, examples of which were provided in 1956 and 1958 in the form of direct intervention in the same area, it serves to confirm the development of a strategy involving a new distribution of tasks in the imperialist intervention in various regions of the third world.

It is significant in this respect that the threat of direct French intervention was made from United States territory at a time when the Lebanese political forces are making every effort to reach a solution within a strictly national framework. This scheme of foreign intervention is bound to create understandable apprehensiveness not only in the Arab world but in all third-world countries, particularly in the non-aligned countries, whose concerns are precisely to ensure respect for independence, the safeguarding of national unity and territorial integrity and the guarantee of a nation's security when faced with foreign interference and intervention. Since these threats have grave implications for international peace and security, I am certain that you will not fail to make every effort to discourage a venture which is incompatible with any code of international morality and which is calculated to undermine seriously the very basis of the Charter of the United Nations, international détente, and, above all, the rules of conduct which should govern relations between large and small States.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/95-S/12084.

## Letter dated 25 May 1976 from the representative of Turkey to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[26 May 1976]

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 24 May 1976, addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) İlter TÜRKMEN  
Permanent Representative  
of Turkey to the  
United Nations

## ANNEX

## Text of the letter dated 24 May 1976 from Mr Nail Atalay to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose herewith the resolution on the Cyprus question and the cause of the Turkish Moslem community of Cyprus adopted unanimously by the Seventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in Istanbul on 15 May 1976.

I should be grateful if this letter and the resolution annexed herewith were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

## ATTACHMENT

*Resolution on the Cyprus question and the cause of the Turkish Moslem community of Cyprus*

The Seventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, having listened with sympathy and great interest to the statement

of His Excellency Rauf Denktaş, leader of the Turkish Moslem community of Cyprus, who has voiced the struggle of his oppressed people for justice, dignity and legitimate rights:

1. *Notes with satisfaction* the interest of the fraternal people of the Turkish Moslem Cypriot community to participate in the Islamic solidarity;

2. *Supports* the equality in rights of the Turkish Moslem community of Cyprus as co-partners with the Greek Cypriot community within the framework of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, free from military bases;

3. *Endorses* the efforts of the Turkish Moslem community of Cyprus in search for a peaceful political settlement, through the intercommunal talks, based on a federal constitution, within the framework of which the two communities will be able to live in peace and coexist with each other, side by side;

4. *Decides to support*, until the Cyprus problem is solved, the rightful claim of the Turkish Moslem community of Cyprus for the right to be heard in all international forums where the Cyprus problem comes up for discussion, on the basis of equality with the Greek Cypriot representatives;

5. *Agrees* that the representatives of the Turkish Moslem community of Cyprus be invited to attend the future meetings of the Islamic Conference.

## DOCUMENT S/12086

## Letter dated 25 May 1976 from the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[26 May 1976]

Acting under instructions from my Government I have the honour to refer to the Icelandic Permanent Representative's letter of 11 May 1976 to you [S/12072].

The United Kingdom Government entirely rejects the allegations made by the Icelandic representative about the activities of the British defence vessels in the fishing grounds off Iceland. The British protection forces have a purely defensive role and have no orders to ram the Icelandic coastguard vessels, as I have already made clear to the Security Council in my statement of 16 December 1975 [1866th meeting] and in my letter of 9 April 1976 [S/12046].

The United Kingdom Government takes a most serious view of the action of the Icelandic coastguard vessel *Aegir* in attempting to arrest the British trawler *Primella* on 12 May. *Aegir* intercepted the unarmed British trawler *Primella* and ordered her to stop 45 miles from the north-west coast of Iceland. *Aegir* then fired a shot across her bows and put an armed boarding party into a boat. As *Primella* continued to steam south *Aegir* fired two further shots across her bows and one across her stern, the latter being a live shot. *Aegir* informed *Primella* that the Icelandic Government had ordered *Aegir* to hole *Primella* and then arrest her. *Aegir* also said that *Primella* was being fired at for fishing inside the 200-mile limit which Iceland claims. An unarmed Royal Air Force surveillance aircraft, a Nimrod, had been immediately sent to the scene and, acting as a communications link, warned *Aegir*, via the trawler, of the possible consequences if *Aegir* continued to fire at the trawler. This message conveyed the fact that the Royal Naval Protection Forces were entitled to take action in self defence. *Aegir* subsequently broke off her dangerous action.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) IVOR RICHARD  
Permanent Representative of the  
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/12087\*

Letter dated 27 May 1976 from the representative of France to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[27 May 1976]

The letter addressed to you by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria on 25 May 1976, which was circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council [S/12084], contains a number of untrue allegations about French policy towards Lebanon which my Government must strongly refute.

The policy of France towards Lebanon is motivated by a single concern, namely to preserve the unity, integrity and sovereignty of this friendly State. The French authorities have repeatedly stated that it was incumbent upon the Lebanese themselves to find, without any external interference, the political solution which alone can bring to an end the present divisive tragedy.

If the political process begun by the election of a new President of the Lebanese Republic is to go forward, however, it may be necessary to establish machinery to consolidate the cease-fire. Should it be deemed helpful by the President of the Lebanese Republic and the parties concerned with the civil war, that is to say the various Lebanese parties and the interested Arab countries, France would be prepared to make its contribution to such machinery. It is to this "preparedness" that the President of the French Republic and the French authorities have referred on various occasions.

France's offer was officially announced by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs in the National Assembly on 6 May in the following terms:

"The major problem which the new authorities must tackle remains that of security. France, as has already been stated, would not shirk its duty if all the leaders and all the parties to the Lebanese conflict were to ask it to participate in the establishment on the spot of security arrangements whose

purpose would be to assure, once the fighting had stopped, an independent new start of Lebanese political life in the mood of fundamental unity which must reunite all those who, in their diversity, make up that country."

Far from constituting an external intervention in the affairs of Lebanon, this offer—which would be made good only if there was a request from the constituted authorities of that country and a consensus of all the parties concerned with the conflict—is based on the conviction that it is essential to enable the Lebanese to determine the basis of their reconciliation.

The French initiative showed France's willingness to make, if this is desired, a temporary and limited, but specific, contribution to the process of restoring peace.

Given this context, it was particularly inappropriate to suggest that there was an alleged threat of military intervention by France in Lebanon.

International morality cannot be expected to remain indifferent and passive to a tragedy which has already claimed tens of thousands of victims and which is claiming hundreds more with each passing day, particularly as the people involved are esteemed by the entire international community and live in an extremely sensitive area. It is especially out of place to refer to imperialism when speaking of the independent offer which my country made in full respect for Lebanese and Arab sovereignty. I should like to reaffirm this respect in this letter and also to testify to the sincere emotion which the ordeal of a friendly country has aroused in the French people.

On the instructions of my Government, I request you to have the present letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) L. DE GUIRINGAUD  
Permanent Representative of France  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/96-S/12087.

## DOCUMENT S/12089

Note by the President of the Security Council

[Original: French]  
[27 May 1976]

1. On 20 May 1976, the President of the Security Council received a communication from the Secretary-General which read:

"I have the honour to refer to the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), established pursuant to

Security Council resolutions 340 (1973) and 341 (1973).

"In my report dated 17 October 1975 [S/11849], I informed the Council that, owing to the more extensive responsibilities entrusted to UNEF under the

Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 4 September 1975, UNEF would require additional military personnel and equipment, including four helicopters with their crews and support personnel.

"After the Council had considered the report and adopted resolution 378 (1975), I requested the Canadian Government, which had supplied the air unit for UNEF to supply the necessary helicopters and personnel. The Canadian Government replied that, in view of the many pressing tasks which the Canadian armed forces must carry out with limited resources, it would be impossible for it to accede to my request.

"The Australian Government now informs me that it would be prepared to supply the helicopters and the personnel requested. I have consulted the parties, and they have stated that they have no objection to the attachment of Australian helicopters to UNEF. If there are no objections on the part of the Council, I therefore propose to accept the offer of the Australian Government.

"I should be grateful if you would bring the matter to the attention of the members of the Council."

2. The President of the Security Council, on receipt of this communication, circulated it to the members of the Council.

3. After holding the necessary consultations with the members of the Council, he addressed the following reply to the Secretary-General on 27 May:

"I refer to your letter dated 20 May 1976 concerning the offer made by the Australian Government to supply four helicopters with their crews and support personnel to the United Nations Emergency Force.

"I have the honour to inform you that, as you requested, I drew to the attention of the members of the Security Council your intention to accept the Australian Government's offer, and they duly took note of it.

"The Soviet Union expressed reservations about any additional expenditure.

"China and the Libyan Arab Republic stated that they dissociated themselves from the matter."

## DOCUMENT S/12092\*

### Letter dated 1 June 1976 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[4 June 1976]

I have the honour to transmit herewith for the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council the declaration and the programme of action adopted by the International Seminar on the Eradication of *Apartheid* and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa, held at Havana, from 24 to 28 May 1976.

(Signed) Leslie O. HARRIMAN  
Chairman of the Special Committee  
against Apartheid

#### ANNEX I Declaration

1. The International Seminar organized by the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*, with participants from Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, extends its greetings and solidarity to the people of South Africa who are continuing with renewed determination their brave struggle to overthrow the *apartheid* system, despite the growing ruthlessness of the white minority régime. The liberation of Mozambique and Angola, brought about by the heroic struggle of its peoples, under the leadership of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, has created a new strategic and political situation in southern Africa and opened the prospect, in the not too distant future, of the liberation of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The decisive victory of the Angolan people, against the invading forces of the South African *apartheid* régime and its allies, has given new inspiration and impetus to the liberation movements. The Pretoria régime has recognized the growing danger to the survival of the *apartheid* power system: it has reacted by increased repression of the African people and the expansion of its aggressive military capability.

2. In southern Africa we are witnessing an unfolding war situation: South Africa's enormous military build-up and its aggressive posture towards independent African States, its invasion of Angola and the rapid militarization of Namibia, and its support of the illegal Smith régime constitute a clear threat to peace and security in that region. Its growing military integration with the major Western Powers and the new role accorded to South Africa in over-all Western strategy in the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean area represent a grave threat to the peace and security of the world.

3. The Seminar recognizes that the liberation movements in southern Africa are obliged to resort to armed struggle in view of the intransigence and ruthlessness of the white minority régimes. It reaffirms the right of the African liberation movements to decide on the means of their struggle, in the light of the conditions in their territories, and to seek and receive international solidarity. The Seminar rejects the insistence by the racist régimes, and their friends and allies, that the liberation movements should struggle by peaceful means alone in the face of the growing violence and terrorism of the oppressors.

4. Recognizing the significant recent advances against the forces of racism and colonialism in Africa, the white minority régimes are resorting to new initiatives to enlist and secure further external assistance. The major Western Powers—especially the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Federal Republic of Germany and France—which are continuing and increasing their political, economic and military collaboration with South Africa, bear a major responsibility for helping to sustain the *apartheid* régime. But even this growing external support from South Africa's traditional trading partners will not halt the unfolding crisis faced by the *apartheid* régime.

5. The Seminar condemns the increasing military, political and economic collaboration between the South African racist régime and Israel, which was further developed during the recent official visit of B. J. Vorster, Prime Minister of the Pretoria régime, to Israel. The Pretoria régime, in a desperate

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/104-S/12092.

attempt to ensure its survival, is forging special links with countries such as Israel, Paraguay, Uruguay and Chile with a view to establishing a new menacing alliance of régimes insensitive to African and world opinion. The Seminar warns the actual and potential allies of South Africa that any alliance with *apartheid* will provoke forthright condemnation and hostility of all freedom-loving Governments and peoples.

6. In order to counter internal resistance and international pressures, the Pretoria régime plans to confer a sham independence upon the Transkei in October 1976 as part of its contemptible "Bantustan" policy. The Seminar rejects this political fraud and invites all States to do likewise and deny any form of recognition to, and refrain from any contacts with any *apartheid* institutions, including the authorities in the Transkei. It condemns those countries and external economic interests which are planning to invest in the so-called tribal "homelands" in order to directly assist the implementation of the *apartheid* schemes of the South African régime.

7. The Seminar calls upon all Governments and peoples to give full support to the national liberation movements in southern Africa in their struggle for the total eradication of racism and colonialism, and to end all military, economic and other collaboration with the racist régimes. The Seminar declares that *apartheid* constitutes a crime against humanity, and that the international community has a duty to suppress and punish that crime.

8. Any supply of arms to South Africa and any form of military co-operation with the *apartheid* régime is a hostile act not only against the people of South Africa and the Organization of African Unity but also against the United Nations and the international community.

9. Any transnational companies and other interests which, in collaboration with the Pretoria régime, participate in the exploitation of the people of South Africa or help to reinforce the military and economic power of the racists are accomplices in the crime of *apartheid*.

10. The Seminar commends African, socialist, non-aligned and other countries for the invaluable moral, political and material assistance given by them to the African liberation movements. All Governments and peoples have a duty to help the liberation movements, which are entitled to full support from the international community in their legitimate struggle to overthrow the white minority régimes.

11. The front-line countries in Africa which have taken a firm stand against the white minority régimes in accordance with United Nations and Organization of African Unity resolutions should be given all necessary economic and other assistance by all freedom-loving countries and peoples. The Seminar declares that any attack on the countries which assist the liberation movements constitutes an attack against the international community. These countries have a right to seek and receive all necessary international support against racist aggression.

12. The Seminar invites all Governments, organizations and peoples to join in concerted international action in support of the southern African liberation movements in this crucial and final stage of the struggle for the total emancipation of Africa.

## ANNEX II

### Programme of action

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## INTRODUCTION

1. At a time when the long and arduous struggle of the South African people has reached the final and crucial stage—thanks to the advance of liberation in Africa and the world, and the determined resistance by the South African people—the international community has a duty to step up action to assist the oppressed people and their liberation movement to attain their inalienable right to freedom, human dignity and national liberation.

2. The General Assembly, in resolution 3411 (XXX) of 28 November 1975, adopted during the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, proclaimed that the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, and towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for the struggle against *apartheid*. It reiterated its determination to devote all necessary resources to concert international efforts for the speedy eradication of *apartheid* in South Africa and the liberation of the South African people.

3. The Seminar feels that this solemn commitment by the international community to the people of South Africa, in recognition of the invaluable contribution made by them to the cause of freedom and human dignity, must be translated into effective action by the United Nations and its specialized agencies; the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the non-aligned movement, the League of Arab States; the Commonwealth and all other intergovernmental organizations; and the churches, the trade unions, and all other non-governmental organizations of the peoples of the world.

4. Towards this end, participants in this International Seminar have adopted the following programme of action and commend it to all freedom-loving Governments and peoples.

### I. ARMS EMBARGO

5. The Seminar recognizes that those States which have collaborated with South Africa to build up an enormous military arsenal bear a special responsibility for South Africa's consequent arrogant and violent use of its military power. South Africa's allies in this field—and especially France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy—have not only assisted South Africa by manufacturing many weapons internally but also enabled it to export arms to other countries.

6. The major North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Powers are increasing their military collaboration with South Africa and placing a growing importance on its role in their over-all strategic plans. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization also bears a major responsibility for enabling South Africa to utilize its technical facilities such as the NATO Codification System for Spares and Equipment.

7. South Africa has also created new military links with Israel and other countries. The visit of the South African Prime Minister to Israel earlier this year has led to a closer military relationship being created between Israel and South Africa and has serious implications for the peace and security of the continent of Africa and the Middle East. The Seminar condemns such growing military and other collaboration.

8. The Seminar noted and condemned growing military links between South Africa and repressive régimes in Latin America, such as Chile.

9. Besides the supply of arms, there is a tremendous transfer of know-how and technology between South Africa and its allies. These developments include movement of scientists between South Africa and certain Western countries. The Seminar appeals to university and other research institutes to be conscious of their responsibility to the international community in order to ensure that South Africa does not obtain further access to expertise in this area.

10. The Seminar notes with alarm the extent of Western nuclear collaboration with South Africa, and especially the central role of the Federal Republic of Germany, Holland and the United States of America in providing the Pretoria régime with equipment and technology which increases its nuclear capability. South Africa is now an incipient nuclear



Power and countries engaged in nuclear co-operation with South Africa should be called upon to end all such collaboration.

11. South Africa has been responsible for the research and development of the Crotale missile system which is being promoted by France as if it is entirely a French system. The Seminar calls upon all States not to purchase this system. It further calls upon the non-aligned and other States to consider what joint measures can be taken not to buy weapons from those arms firms and countries which provide military equipment to South Africa.

12. The most imperative need in the present situation is that the arms embargo, first laid down by the Security Council in 1963, be now made mandatory under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, together with effective machinery to ensure the supervision of the embargo. In particular, the mandatory arms embargo should be made comprehensive in scope so as to include the provision of licences and patents for arms production, the transfer of technology or military information to South Africa, and the use of third States for the supply of military equipment indirectly to South Africa. It should also impose a total ban on the import of arms and military equipment for use in South Africa. The mandatory embargo decision should prohibit all forms of military and security collaboration with South Africa.

13. Anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental bodies should, in consultation with trade unions, request workers not to handle any arms order to South Africa and give full support to these workers who, on grounds of conscience, refuse to work on orders for the sale of weapons systems or other projects intended for use in South Africa by its military and security forces.

## II. ECONOMIC COLLABORATION

14. The Seminar notes that South Africa has been the recipient of vast increases in investment by foreign interests, in particular the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Belgium and Iran. Foreign investments in South Africa now total nearly \$11 billion. Foreign investment plays a major part in the supportive role in buttressing South Africa's economy and in increasing the links between the investing countries and South Africa. It plays an important part in salvaging South Africa's economic future. Investment in South African industry, the provision of loans and the conclusion of agreements for the purchase of raw materials from South Africa constitute three of the most important forms of economic collaboration.

15. Banking consortia in the United States of America and in Europe and the Eurocurrency market must be pressured by Governments, non-governmental organizations and individuals to heed the call of the liberation movement to refrain from providing loans to State or semi-State organizations in South Africa. South Africa's defence budget, the inherent instability of apartheid society and the growing strength of the liberation movements should surely reflect the need for caution on the part of such enterprises. If banks and such like bodies continue to be stubborn in their collaboration with the racist South African régime, then the liberation movements are entitled to take appropriate measures against such collaborating firms. They must choose between the liberation movements and the present régime.

16. The Seminar calls for the utmost opposition to frustrate the activities of transnational firms which invest in the border industries near "bantustans" or in the heart of "bantustans". The Seminar condemns all recent investment programmes in these "bantustans" and, in particular, calls upon the Scagram Corporation to withdraw its proposed multimillion project, and Kennecott to withdraw from the mining consortium adjacent to the Kwazulu "bantustan".

17. Maximum international opposition must be launched against the proposed sale by the General Electric Company of the United States of America of two nuclear reactors to South Africa. Such alleged "commercial" sales have a military significance, apart from strengthening the South African economy, since a by-product of the electricity-producing process

would help South Africa to produce nuclear weapons. In addition, all plutonium-enriching arrangements between South Africa and other countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany must be terminated. The Seminar appeals to the United States Government, its regulatory agencies and the United States Congress to forbid the sale of these reactors to South Africa.

18. The Seminar commends the role of trade unions, churches and other bodies who use their power as shareholders to highlight the collaboration of transnational firms in South Africa. The boycott of such firms must be strengthened by greater co-ordination among anti-apartheid bodies.

19. South African conglomerates such as the Anglo American Corporation are making increasing efforts to obtain a foothold in the European Economic Community. The Seminar appeals to the Community to oppose apartheid in South Africa by refusing South Africa any concession within the Community, and to take steps to ensure at a national level that South Africa does not receive any assistance from the Community.

20. South African firms such as Rothman's and the Anglo American Corporation should not be permitted to obtain any role in the economy of other countries. Specific campaigns to highlight the role of South African capital in such transnational firms are commended by the Seminar.

21. South Africa has become a major exporter of capital to a number of Latin American countries. Military and diplomatic links follow from economic links in such countries as Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. The Seminar strongly supports the proposal that such links be opposed through the establishment of support committees in various parts of Latin America so as to focus attention on the extent of their collaboration and to campaign against it.

22. The Seminar recommends that the Special Committee against Apartheid and OAU make a thorough study of relations between Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay on the one hand, and the South African régime on the other, particularly in the military and economic fields with a view to recommending effective action.

## III. TRADE UNION ACTION

23. The Seminar recalls the contribution of the first International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid (1973) organized with the co-operation of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the International Labour Organisation which recommended, *inter alia*, campaigns against racism in South Africa; opposition to military relations with South Africa and the recruitment of workers; actions against planes, ships, cargoes and mail to or from South Africa; the recognition of African trade unions; the release of all political and trade union detainees and prisoners; and support for the liberation movements.

24. The Seminar invites the Special Committee against Apartheid to convene, as soon as possible, a meeting together with the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid and the liberation movements to review trade union action and plan further action, especially in relation to emigration to South Africa.

25. A delegation of the Special Committee against Apartheid accompanied by representatives of OAU and the African Committee of Trade Union Co-ordination and Action against Apartheid, together with representatives of South African liberation movements, should visit the capitals of the principal trading partners of South Africa to consult with trade unions and professional bodies and encourage them to take effective action against apartheid.

26. The Seminar condemns the system of sending thousands of workers under the pretext that they are suffering from mental sickness to concentration camps in South Africa, where they are subjected to hard labour and inhuman treatment. These workers are reportedly kept in the labour camps for the rest of their lives, merely on the strength of statements by the police.

27. The racist régime of South Africa depends heavily on the migrant labour recruited from the States neighbouring on

South Africa. The Seminar strongly recommends to all Members of the United Nations to give sympathetic consideration to requests for assistance from these States in order to enable them to stop the outflow of manpower to South Africa.

#### IV. SOUTH AFRICAN PROPAGANDA

28. Faced by growing opposition to its policies, both internally and externally, the South African régime has further increased its propaganda campaign directed mainly at Western countries and their populations. Besides official agencies, private "front" organizations such as the South Africa Foundation, the Club of Ten, the Committee for Fairness in Sport, and the Foreign Policy Association are being used in order to propagate *apartheid*.

29. The Seminar welcomes the efforts of the anti-*apartheid* movements to counter the propaganda of the racist South African régime and calls upon the United Nations and its Member States to provide adequate resources to them, as well as the liberation movements, in order to help them to increase their activities in this regard.

30. The Seminar recognizes the need to establish anti-*apartheid* organizations in areas such as Latin America where there are none at present. It urges anti-*apartheid* movements to improve their co-ordination and provide information to all appropriate organizations, including the liberation movements and OAU.

31. A vigorous campaign should be launched against pro-South African lobbies in all Western countries. For this purpose, a study should be urgently undertaken of collaborators such as business interests, military officers, university staff and participants in cultural exchanges who are exerting their influence to prevent action by Western countries against *apartheid*.

32. The role of the media, especially news agencies, in moulding Western public opinion by their treatment of news from South Africa and in their description of the activities of liberation movements needs urgent study with a view to action. Special attention must be devoted to the sources of their news items and the extent to which greater emphasis is given to the views of the South African régime.

33. Special attention must be devoted immediately to the exploitation of the issue of "bantustans" and the forthcoming "independence" of the Transkei, by the South African régime. Every attempt must be made to ensure that Governments and world public opinion recognize the need to maintain the territorial integrity of South Africa and reject the pretence of autonomy and independence projected by the South African régime. Activities on the issue of "bantustans" should be organized whenever appropriate. World public opinion should be made aware of the decisions of OAU and the United Nations on this issue. The Seminar notes in particular that the General Assembly has decided that the racist régime of South Africa is illegitimate and has no right to represent the people of South Africa and that the national liberation movements are the authentic representatives of the overwhelming majority of the South African people.

34. The Seminar recommends that boycott activity on a wide front should be embarked upon or extended by anti-*apartheid* movements and non-governmental bodies in Western countries to focus attention on the need for disengagement from South Africa and to educate public opinion in those countries. For this purpose, declarations by writers, actors and other prominent personalities that they would not work or act or allow their works to be used in South Africa so long as *apartheid* is in force are to be commended. Such individual boycotts should supplement the boycott of all *apartheid* institutions in South Africa.

35. The work of the Centre against *Apartheid* in the United Nations Secretariat must be further developed. Attractive publications aimed at the general public should be published by the United Nations in various languages for mass distribution. There should be greater use of films, posters and other audio-visual material.

36. The Centre against *Apartheid* should be provided with greater support by the United Nations to enable it to help publicize the documents of the South African liberation move-

ments and the activities of Governments and organizations against *apartheid*. Governments should be encouraged to contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid* to reinforce the activities of the Centre against *Apartheid*, and to co-operate with the Centre in other appropriate ways.

37. The Seminar recognizes the need for the establishment of a powerful radio station beamed to South Africa and urges the United Nations to take the necessary steps to put this into effect.

38. The Seminar welcomes the offer of the Government of Lesotho for the establishment of a United Nations Information Centre in that country. The possibility of establishing similar centres in other countries in southern Africa should be explored.

#### V. *Apartheid* AND SPORTS

39. The Seminar salutes the gallant and courageous stand by sportsmen inside South Africa who are campaigning for non-racialism in sport.

40. The Seminar commends the activities and actions of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, the South Africa Non-Racial Olympics Committee and other bodies which have tried to isolate South Africa from all sporting competitions so long as South Africa practises the policy of *apartheid* in breach of the principles enshrined in the Olympic Charter.

41. The Seminar commends the proposal of the Prime Minister of Jamaica, the Right Honourable Michael Manley, that the General Assembly of the United Nations prepare an international convention on *apartheid* in sport. Such a convention would include an obligation by States to impose sanctions against sporting teams and organizations whose members collectively or individually participate in sports activities in South Africa or against teams from South Africa. Sanctions would include:

(a) Refusal to provide financial assistance or donations in kind to such teams or individuals;

(b) Withdrawal of access to national sporting facilities to such teams or individuals;

(c) Denial and withdrawal of national sporting honours or awards to such teams or individuals;

(d) Action to render automatically null and void all professional sporting contracts which do not specifically exclude competitions in South Africa;

(e) Non-recognition by States parties to this convention of national sporting bodies which do not adopt the convention as part of their constitution.

Until the adoption of the convention, these principles are recommended by the Seminar to States and Governments as a declaration from the Seminar.

42. The Seminar notes the call of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa for action against New Zealand, which is intending to permit its national rugby team to go to South Africa later this year. The Seminar urgently calls upon the New Zealand Government to act immediately to stop all sport exchanges with South Africa and urges all Governments and organizations to support this call. If New Zealand fails to act along these lines such failure will result in appropriate international action from all those opposed to collaboration with *apartheid* sport.

43. The Seminar condemns States and sportsmen who participate in the so-called multinational games in South Africa or tour South Africa under all-expenses-paid trips financed by the South African régime. Any attempt by the "bantustans" to establish sporting links with the outside world must be opposed.

44. The Seminar applauds those sporting codes where the membership of racist South Africa has been terminated or suspended. Any attempt to obtain an international foothold must be opposed. South Africa's plans to establish a "hospitality centre" in Montreal during the 1976 Olympic Games could have serious consequences for the Games themselves, as such a centre would be a vehicle for propaganda for white South Africa.

45. Sportsmen and others are invited to support the decision of the non-racial sporting bodies inside South Africa for recognition as authentic sporting bodies and the South Africa Council of Sport as the representative body for South Africa. Strong support should be provided for the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe to assist them in founding independent sports bodies for those countries, so that they may take their rightful place in the international sporting community.

#### VI. NAMIBIA

46. The international community must take clear and effective action to remove South Africa's illegal administration in Namibia by assisting the South West Africa People's Organization—recognized as the authentic representative of the people of Namibia—in its just struggle for independence.

47. The tenth anniversary of the revocation of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, which falls on 26 October 1976, should be observed all over the world in full solidarity with the South West Africa People's Organization and campaigns launched to support its struggle for liberation.

48. The Seminar condemns the increasing ruthlessness of the Pretoria régime in its illegal occupation of Namibia and particularly the large number of arrests and detentions of Namibians. The Pretoria régime must be warned that the carrying out of death sentences through the illegal courts constitutes an international crime.

49. The Seminar recommends that the United Nations, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should support the South West Africa People's Organization in its rejection of the so-called constitutional talks being held in Namibia under the direction and control of the South African authorities. Any attempt to transfer governmental powers to any body except the United Nations, or a Government elected under United Nations supervision and control, must be rejected.

50. The Seminar condemns the role of transnational corporations—especially those with headquarters in the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, France and the Federal Republic of Germany—which continue their operations in Namibia in defiance of United Nations decisions. All Governments must adopt and apply the provisions of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia.<sup>a</sup>

51. Urgent action must be taken to ensure that uranium produced in Namibia is not bought by Governments, their agencies or corporations. In order to focus attention on the exploitation and purchase of Namibian uranium by the United Kingdom Government and its Atomic Energy Authority, and Rio Tinto Zinc Ltd., the Seminar requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to hold hearings as soon as possible and not later than the beginning of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly and receive evidence concerning such exploitation and purchase, with a view to preparing a full report as a basis for action by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

#### VII. ASSISTANCE TO THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THEIR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

52. In this crucial phase of the struggle for liberation, the Seminar urges increased assistance of all types to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements.

53. Assistance should be provided directly to liberation movements.

54. The United Nations should provide financial assistance to the liberation movements to maintain representatives in New York.

55. The Seminar strongly recommends that Governments should make contributions to humanitarian organizations such as the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa for support to political prisoners and their families, and for

related purposes. These contributions, however, should not be considered as substitutes for support to liberation movements themselves.

56. The Seminar also appeals to Governments to contribute towards educational and training programmes organized by or for the liberation movements.

57. The Seminar urges the solidarity movements, particularly in Western Europe and the United States of America, to initiate campaigns to influence their Governments to make financial contributions to liberation movements and to humanitarian organizations providing assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa.

58. The Seminar welcomes the declaration of the General Assembly that the liberation movements are the authentic representatives of their people and that the South African régime is illegitimate; it therefore urges that the United Nations accord full permanent observer status to the South African liberation movements recognized by OAU in all appropriate organs and conferences of the United Nations.

#### VIII. ASSISTANCE TO NEIGHBOURING STATES

59. The Seminar acknowledges the important contribution made by the neighbouring States to the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa. These States—namely Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Zambia—have faced threats and armed attacks by the colonialist and racist régimes, and have borne heavy financial and other burdens because of their commitment to liberation. The Seminar urges the United Nations system, other intergovernmental organizations and the individual States Members of the United Nations to grant special financial and technical assistance to these countries.

60. The Seminar urges African and other States to develop the machinery of international co-operation that will allow speedy response to any aggression.

61. The Seminar calls for urgent and effective international economic assistance to Angola and Mozambique, as an important act of solidarity with the struggle for the total liberation of southern Africa.

62. It also wishes to draw attention to the situation of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland which are in the financial stranglehold of the South African régime.

63. Noting the heavy dependence of the racist régime of South Africa on the exploitation of migrant labour recruited from the neighbouring States, the Seminar strongly recommends to all friendly and progressive countries to consider favourably requests by these States for technical and economic assistance in order to enable them to implement, as quickly as possible, labour-intensive economic projects within their borders with a view to stopping the flow of manpower into South Africa.

#### IX. POLITICAL PRISONERS

64. The Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners—11 October—should be observed throughout the world through exhibitions, meetings and campaigns to draw attention to those valiant people who are imprisoned, banned, detained without trial, suffer house arrest or are in banishment. Special attention should be paid to the whole armoury of repressive legislation which constitutes South Africa as the most vicious police State of the world.

65. The Seminar commends the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its efforts to publicize repression against opponents of *apartheid* in South Africa, to promote solidarity with the South African political prisoners, and to make the world aware that the political prisoners are the authentic leaders of the people of South Africa and champions of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, while their captors are the practitioners of the crime of *apartheid*.

66. The Seminar calls for continuous and widespread publicity to all cases of repression in South Africa—including detentions, trials, imprisonments, banning orders and pass law arrests.

<sup>a</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Supplement No. 24 A*, para. 84.

67. The Seminar denounces all repressive legislation in South Africa, especially the so-called Suppression of Communism Act and the Terrorism Act. It expresses its indignation at the tortures and murders of political detainees, and calls for appropriate action to ensure the identification and the punishment of the perpetrators of these crimes.

68. The Seminar recommends that the United Nations look into the possibility of establishing a mechanism, in co-operation with non-governmental organizations with specific expertise in law, to study, monitor and publicize present and proposed repressive legislation in South Africa and Namibia and their effect on political and social activism.

69. The Seminar requests the United Nations to give technical and financial support through the Centre against *Apartheid* for the Symposium on South African Political Prisoners to be organized in Geneva on 5 and 6 July 1976 by the Sub-Committee on Racism and Colonialism of the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with the United Nations.

70. Taking note that, as a result of intensified repression in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, the number of refugees and displaced persons has recently increased and noting that the concerned front-line States and liberation movements assisted in meeting the humanitarian needs of such groups, the Seminar urges the international community to redouble its efforts to provide the necessary financial and other assistance. In this connexion, it appeals for support to the efforts being made through United Nations programmes, particularly those of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa.

71. The Seminar urges publication of literature of the black consciousness movement in South Africa. It suggests that the cultural boycott against South Africa be intensified by publicizing repression against black groups in South Africa.

## X. OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

72. All States which have not yet done so should be urged to sign and ratify the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [General Assembly resolution 3068 (XXVIII)].

73. The Seminar recommends the creation of an international tribunal composed of personalities, legal experts and scientists from different countries so as to compile information, testimonies and other material for analysing, denouncing and condemning the *apartheid* crimes in the light of international law and the principles of the United Nations.

74. Immediate action should be taken by those Western European States which allow mercenaries to be recruited by the illegal Smith régime in Zimbabwe and by South Africa. Such traffic must be stopped. The recruitment of mercenaries must be considered as a serious crime against Africa. Failure by these States to take immediate action to stop such traffic must be considered by OAU as an unfriendly act inviting a proper and appropriate response.

75. All Governments and organizations should support the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination to be held in Accra, Ghana, in 1978.

76. The Seminar requests the United Nations and all participating organizations to give maximum publicity to the declaration, the programme of action and other documents of the Seminar.

77. The Seminar requests the Chairman to transmit the declaration and the programme of action to: (a) the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly, as well as other organs concerned; (b) the Organization of African Unity; (c) the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries; (d) the specialized agencies of the United Nations; and (e) international trade union confederations, the World Council of Churches and other international non-governmental organizations opposed to *apartheid*.

## DOCUMENT S/12093

### Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 9 December 1975 to 5 June 1976

[Original: English]  
[5 June 1976]

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## INTRODUCTION

1. The present report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus covers developments from 9 December 1975 to 5 June 1976 and brings up to date the record of activities of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) pursuant to the mandate laid down in Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and subsequent resolutions of the Council relating to Cyprus, including most recently resolution 383 (1975) of 13 December 1975.

2. Since my report of 8 December 1975 [S/11900 and Add.1], I have submitted to the Security Council an interim report dated 24 February 1976 [S/11993] as well as a report dated 31 March 1976 [S/12031] pursuant to Council resolution 383 (1975) and General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX), pertaining to the mission of good offices entrusted to me by the Council.

### I. COMPOSITION AND DEPLOYMENT OF UNFICYP

3. The table below shows the strength of UNFICYP as of 5 June 1976:

MILITARY	Total
<i>Austria</i>	
HQ UNFICYP and military police .....	11
Infantry battalion UNAB 9 .....	300
	311
<i>Canada</i>	
HQ UNFICYP and military police .....	42
2 Battalion Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry .....	473
	515
<i>Denmark</i>	
HQ UNFICYP and military police .....	19
Infantry battalion UN XXV .....	341
	360
<i>Finland</i>	
HQ UNFICYP and military police .....	15
Infantry battalion UNFB 24 .....	410
	425
<i>Ireland</i>	
HQ UNFICYP .....	5
	5
<i>Sweden</i>	
HQ UNFICYP and military police .....	15
Infantry battalion UN 61C .....	410
	425
<i>United Kingdom</i>	
HQ UNFICYP and military police .....	72
1 battalion .....	342
1 armoured reconnaissance squadron .....	119
1 army aviation flight .....	19
1 helicopter squadron—Royal Air Force .....	30
1 transport squadron .....	110
Logistic support units .....	122
	814
TOTAL	2,855
CIVILIAN POLICE	
Australia .....	16
Austria .....	32
Sweden .....	20
	68
TOTAL UNFICYP	2,923

4. The reduction of the Swedish contingent forecast in my previous report took place in January 1976 as planned, reducing the contingent to 425. In April 1976 the Austrian contingent was reduced by 14 to 311 as the responsibility for UNFICYP Medical Cen-

tre was handed over to the British and Canadian contingents. The current detailed deployment of UNFICYP is shown on the map attached to this report.

5. The Secretary-General is keeping the strength of the Force under constant review, bearing in mind the manning requirements for carrying out the operational commitments of UNFICYP under its mandate, and financial limitations. In this connexion, the Finnish Government has signified its intention of reducing the strength of the Finnish contingent in late July 1976 from 425 to 313.

6. The Force remains under the command of Lieutenant-General D. Prem Chand. Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar continues to be my Special Representative in Cyprus.

## II. UNFICYP OPERATIONS FROM 9 DECEMBER 1975 TO 5 JUNE 1976

### A. Mandate and concept of operations

7. The function of the Force was originally defined by the Security Council in its resolution 186 (1964) in the following terms:

"in the interest of preserving international peace and security, to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions".

That mandate, which was conceived in the context of the confrontation between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, and between the Cyprus National Guard and the Turkish Cypriot fighters, has been repeatedly reaffirmed by the Council, most recently in its resolution 383 (1975). In connexion with the events that have occurred since 15 July 1974, the Council has adopted a number of resolutions, some of which have affected the functioning of UNFICYP and, in some cases, have required UNFICYP to perform certain additional or modified functions [resolutions 353 (1974) of 20 July, 354 (1974) of 23 July, 355 (1974) of 1 August, 357 (1974) of 14 August, 358 (1974) and 359 (1974) of 15 August, 360 (1974) of 16 August, 361 (1974) of 30 August, 364 (1974) and 365 (1974) of 13 December 1974, 367 (1975) of 12 March, 370 (1975) of 13 June and 383 (1975) of 13 December 1975]. In its resolution 383 (1975) the Council noted from the report of the Secretary-General [S/11900 and Add.1].

"that in existing circumstances the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed not only to maintain the cease-fire but also to facilitate the continued search for a peaceful settlement".

8. Following consultations last December with the parties concerned on the extension of UNFICYP's mandate [S/11900/Add.1], a procès-verbal was signed in Nicosia on 13 December by "His Excellency Mr. Rauf Denktas" and "Lieutenant-General D. Prem Chand, Acting Special Representative of the Secretary-General". The document reads as follows:

"During the process of consultation undertaken by the Secretary-General regarding the extension of the UNFICYP mandate, and following an exchange of views on this question with the Turkish Cypriot community, the Secretary-General has indicated that his Special Representative will discuss with the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community ques-

tions pertaining to the stationing, deployment and functioning of UNFICYP in the area under Turkish control, with a view to arriving at mutually acceptable arrangements, which will be recorded through an exchange of letters."

In pursuance of the above-mentioned *procès-verbal*, my Special Representative and Mr. Denktaş initiated discussions on the stationing, deployment and functioning of UNFICYP in the area under Turkish control. Ten meetings have so far been held at various levels, during which a number of proposals were exchanged and discussed with a view to arriving at mutually acceptable arrangements. The discussions are being actively pursued.

9. In the areas of confrontation between the Turkish forces and the National Guard, UNFICYP continues to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting by persuading both parties to refrain from violations of the cease-fire, either by firing or by movement forward of the existing cease-fire lines. Efforts also continue to provide security to farmers, shepherds and others working in the areas between the forward defended localities (FDLs), as a normalization measure.

10. UNFICYP continues to attempt to discharge its functions with regard to the security, welfare and well-being of the Greek Cypriots living in the Turkish-controlled part of the island, as it did for Turkish Cypriots in the past. However, UNFICYP access to that area remains restricted and has become more so since my last report. As a result it has only been possible to carry out humanitarian work on a limited basis.

11. Finally, UNFICYP contingents, both military and police, in addition to humanitarian measures implemented directly by them, have continued to support and assist all relief operations co-ordinated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in co-operation with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

### B. Liaison and co-operation

12. In accordance with paragraph 5 of resolution 383 (1975), UNFICYP has continued to stress to both sides the essential requirement of full co-operation at all levels to enable it to carry out its role effectively, both in the areas between the FDLs and in areas where intercommunal problems still exist. These efforts have resulted in closer liaison with both sides. An effective working relationship and clear channels of communication exist. Thus, UNFICYP has been able to introduce a number of preventive measures helping to reduce the tension between the two sides in sensitive areas, and also to prevent serious incidents and further escalation.

13. The liaison arrangements at the highest level established with the National Guard and the Turkish forces have continued to work well. Meetings are held at the Chief of Staff level on a regular basis or as required. Similar meetings are occasionally held between UNFICYP Sector Commanders and representatives of the National Guard and the Turkish forces, respectively. Local liaison with the National Guard continues to work well. With the Turkish forces local liaison has been formalized, developed and improved through new mutual arrangements. UNFICYP liaison officers have continued to play an important role in the day-to-day maintenance of the cease-fire. A considerable range of problems has been resolved through

this improved liaison with both sides, which has been especially helpful in times of increased tension. In spite of these encouraging trends in the field of liaison and co-operation, there is still room for improvement, especially in achieving personal contact between Turkish and UNFICYP senior commanders in the forward areas, with particular reference to the essential requirement of keeping a check on violations of the cease-fire by moves forward of the FDLs.

### C. Maintenance of the cease-fire

14. The main elements of UNFICYP are deployed in the areas between the FDLs with particular emphasis on the more sensitive locations. The UNFICYP surveillance system is based on observation posts established as close as possible to the FDLs of both sides, where they are in a position promptly to observe and take action regarding possible cease-fire violations. The total number of established observation posts is 108. Standing patrols are deployed on a more temporary basis whenever required; the current number of such patrols is 13. In addition to surveillance from the observation posts, UNFICYP carries out frequent patrols along regular routes. These routes have been further improved and extended and now cover most of the FDLs of both sides, making possible complete observation of those areas.

15. Strict orders placing severe restrictions on the use of weapons have been issued by both sides, and reassurances to this effect have been frequently given to UNFICYP at the highest level as well as locally. The improvement in fire discipline mentioned in my last report has been maintained. Seasonal celebrations which in the past sometimes caused serious outbreaks of firing in the Nicosia area have during this period passed with fewer disturbances. Nevertheless, there have been some incidents in which weapons were used, causing serious breaches of the cease-fire and even exchanges of fire, particularly in the area of Skouriotissa. On these occasions, the UNFICYP system of immediately deploying liaison officers to forward units stationed in sensitive areas and the establishment of close contact with the headquarters has again proved very effective. Thus, it has been possible to limit the number of serious breaches of the cease-fire by shooting and to control incidents already in progress.

### D. Violations of the cease-fire by shooting incidents

16. During the past six months UNFICYP has recorded a daily average of just over two shooting incidents, which represents an appreciable reduction in the daily average of four to five incidents reported in my report of 8 December 1975 [S/11900, para. 17]. A total of 408 shooting incidents were reported, of which 245 were initiated by the Turkish forces and 99 by the National Guard; 64 were attributable to unknown parties who were probably civilian game hunters. The shooting incidents have generally been restricted to random rifle shots which frequently were denied by both sides or recorded by them as accidental discharges. The most serious breach of the cease-fire by firing occurred in the Skouriotissa area of sector 1 [see map] where, during the period 31 March/1 April and 1/2 April, approximately 1,900 rounds were exchanged. UNFICYP observations indicate that fire was opened by the National Guard in both these instances and the Turkish forces retaliated. Another shooting incident took place on the night of 29 May, when the Turkish forces in the area of Skouriotissa

fired a total of 65 rounds of automatic and rifle fire. The shooting continued sporadically for a period of 75 minutes. The National Guard did not return the fire. As already stated, the deployment of UNFICYP liaison teams in all sectors across the island contributed in large measure towards preventing these incidents from spreading outside the immediate area. As a result of the Skonriotissa incidents both sides reaffirmed their willingness to co-operate with UNFICYP at all levels to prevent a recurrence.

17. In this period, seven instances of shooting directed at UNFICYP troops were recorded; no injuries were sustained. Five of these incidents were occasioned by the Turkish forces and two by the National Guard.

18. A fatal shooting incident occurred on the confrontation line in Nicosia on 9 April. On that date, a National Guard soldier ventured across from his own lines towards a Turkish Cypriot Fighter (TCF) position. A warning shot having been fired by a TCF soldier, the National Guard soldier took cover. He reappeared shortly thereafter directly in front of a TCF bunker. Apparently startled by the sudden appearance of the soldier, the TCF sentry shot him. It is noteworthy that this unfortunate death did not give rise to retaliatory action.

#### E. *Violations of the cease-fire by movement or by construction of new defensive positions*

19. There has been only slight improvement in the cease-fire violations by movements forward of the positions held at 1600 hours on 16 August 1974. There were 210 breaches by movement forward either by patrols or encroachment, compared to 246 during the previous period. The Turkish forces committed the greater number of these breaches of the cease-fire, with 155 violations recorded against them and 55 against the National Guard. UNFICYP maintains a constant vigil over the FDLs of both sides and through negotiation attempts to restore the *status quo* as quickly as possible to prevent escalation. UNFICYP efforts have been successful in the majority of cases, though not in all. Where UNFICYP has been unsuccessful in negotiating a withdrawal, increased surveillance has been maintained through the establishment of a United Nations presence in the area concerned, with the forward moves being reported and recorded as cease-fire violations.

#### F. *Mines*

20. Eight minefields, in addition to those previously recorded, have been detected since June 1975. One recent incident, in which a Greek Cypriot civilian was killed south of the National Guard FDL in sector 5, indicates that the mine problem continues to pose real dangers. Despite regular requests made to both sides, comprehensive minefield records have still not been made available to UNFICYP and minefields remain inadequately marked or unmarked in many cases. Three UNFICYP personnel and an unrecorded number of civilians have been killed in minefield incidents since 1974. The main areas of concern are:

(a) The Lefka district, where a number of the roads leading south from the coast are believed to be mined;

(b) North-east Nicosia, where there is evidence of the use of booby traps and mines;

(c) The vicinity of Louroujina, where several minefields are concentrated in a small local area.

21. Until UNFICYP is provided with accurate minefield records and minefields are properly marked, a serious danger to life will remain.

#### G. *Freedom of movement of UNFICYP*

22. At the third round of the Vienna talks, it was agreed that UNFICYP would have "free and normal access to Greek Cypriot villages and habitations in the north" [see S/11789 of 5 August 1975, annex]. UNFICYP freedom of movement in the northern part of Cyprus is still restricted, and is limited to access to UNFICYP camps and installations in the north; use of the New Famagusta Road by UNFICYP vehicles to a limited extent; daily resupply convoys to the north, which are restricted as to number of vehicles and are escorted by Turkish Cypriots. Similar restrictions apply to UNCIVPOL teams distributing social welfare payments. Weekly visits are carried out by UNFICYP liaison teams to the Greek Cypriot villages in the Kyrenia area, and these are likewise accompanied by Turkish Cypriot police, who are present during meetings with the villagers. Pursuant to a special arrangement, UNFICYP personnel may visit the Kyrenia area on three days a week.

23. As a result of these restrictions, UNFICYP has been unable to contribute in any effective way to the welfare, well-being and security of the Greek Cypriots in the north except for the supply of material items and distribution of social welfare benefits. There is a continued outflow of these people to the south.

24. In the area between the FDLs, both sides have on occasion interfered with UNFICYP freedom of movement.

#### III. LAW AND ORDER—UNCIVPOL

25. UNCIVPOL, the civilian police element of UNFICYP, is deployed in support of military units in all sectors in the confrontation areas, and continues to assist whenever possible in the restoration and maintenance of law and order and in fostering an atmosphere of security in the island in relation to intercommunal matters. UNCIVPOL maintains appropriate liaison with village authorities and helps to caution villagers against going into sensitive localities in the vicinity of the FDLs.

26. In the Turkish-controlled areas UNCIVPOL has no greater freedom of movement than the UNFICYP military contingents. UNCIVPOL regularly visits 28 villages in the north inhabited by Greek Cypriots in order to distribute social welfare benefits and pensions, and for this purpose it is permitted to use a few specified access roads. Contacts with these Greek Cypriots designed to obtain information about their security and well-being is monitored by the Turkish Cypriot authorities, usually Turkish Cypriot police, who generally discourage such inquiries.

27. UNCIVPOL's responsibilities cover investigation of intercommunal problems at all levels and in the area between the FDLs. UNCIVPOL assists in overseeing the security of unattended property. It has investigated one fatal shooting, interference with water facilities and equipment, thefts of vehicles and livestock, and damage to buildings and crops. It has escorted Greek Cypriots being transferred from and to the north, and continues to distribute social welfare

benefits and pensions to Greek Cypriots in the north. Also, in co-operation with ICRC, it inquires into cases of missing persons.

28. UNCIVPOL visits to villages in the Turkish-controlled area for the purpose of distributing social welfare and other benefits to Greek Cypriots are restricted. One distribution per month is the rule for all villages except Ayias Trias, Leonarisso, Rizokarpaso and Yialousa, which, because of larger populations, are visited on a weekly basis. Members of UNCIVPOL have accompanied military personnel on village patrols in the Kyrenia district, and liaison there with Turkish Cypriot police has reduced incidents, such as thefts of household items, directed at Greek Cypriot villagers. UNCIVPOL based at Xeros within the area under Turkish control carry out humanitarian escorts between Limnitis and the Turkish Cypriot enclave at Kokkina.

29. UNCIVPOL has continued to receive complaints that Greek Cypriots in the north are being subjected to pressure to move to the south and that their property is subject to confiscation. The Greek Cypriots complain that they are coerced into signing applications to leave the region with warnings that those who do not do so will be moved anyway, but without their personal possessions. Because of the existing restrictions, UNCIVPOL has been able to do little to investigate such complaints. The Turkish Cypriot side maintains that all Greek Cypriots moving to the south do so of their own free will without any pressure and that complaints are often made both to discredit the Turkish Cypriot side and to secure displaced person benefits in the south. The agreed procedure for screening applications for transfer [S/12031, para. 5] does not appear to function effectively. UNFICYP has no possibility of verifying whether people wish to leave.

30. Greek Cypriots in the north cannot leave the environs of their own villages without permission from the Turkish Cypriot authorities. While some additional elementary schools have been reopened in the Karpas, the number of teachers continues to be inadequate. Some Greek Cypriot teachers wishing to return to the north were rejected by the Turkish Cypriot side on security grounds. Others whose applications were approved are not willing to return to the north unless living conditions there are substantially improved. No secondary schools are open in the region, and as a result a considerable number of students of secondary school age have moved to the south. There are still over 500 in this category living in the north. There are no Greek Cypriot medical facilities in the region, but arrangements have been made for those Greek Cypriots who need treatment not available in the north to come south and return upon recovery.

31. The Greek Cypriot population in the Kyrenia area declined from 917 in December 1975 to 177 on 3 June 1976, and in the Karpas region from 7,890 to 7,194. Altogether 1,401 Greek Cypriots moved to the south in the last six months. The present rate of evacuations to the south is averaging some 20 persons a day. On the basis of information available to UNFICYP, there are no wholly Greek Cypriot villages left in the Karpas, as either Turkish Cypriots or Turkish nationals have been resettled in varying numbers in each of them. The Greek Cypriot authorities have given an estimate of 44,000 emigrants from Turkey into the area of Cyprus under Turkish control. The Turkish side has not given any definite figures to UNFICYP,

but maintains that the majority of the Turkish nationals are either experts or seasonal workers and are in the island only temporarily.

32. In the Famagusta area, much merchandise and other movable properties are reported to have been removed from business and other premises owned by Greek Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriot administration maintains that certain items of this property are catalogued and accountable pending a political solution to the Cyprus problem.

33. The UNCIVPOL Missing Persons Bureau assists in the collection and exchange of information on missing persons, in close consultation with ICRC. Discussions have been held in Nicosia by the representatives of the two communities in the presence of my Special Representative and ICRC representatives on the question of persons still unaccounted for since the 1974 events.

34. A number of inquiries have been made concerning persons of both communities who have crossed the cease-fire lines in recent months. Where appropriate, these persons have been assisted in returning to their own communities.

#### IV. HUMANITARIAN AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

35. Since my report to the Council of 8 December 1975, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has continued, at my request, to assist the displaced and needy population in the island in his capacity as Co-ordinator of United Nations humanitarian assistance for Cyprus. No general appeal has been made to the international community during this period; however, funds and donations in kind have continued to be forthcoming. These generous contributions have enabled the Co-ordinator, with support from other United Nations agencies, to meet not only the continuing priority requirements, such as food, medical supplies and shelter, but also some more specific needs that have become apparent as a result of the 1974 events in Cyprus. These areas of assistance have included the provision of funds towards the construction costs of old people's homes and child welfare centres. Funds have also been made available for educational materials and for the clearing of damaged forest areas in order to salvage timber and prepare the ground for reforestation. The material living conditions of the displaced persons in the island continue to improve, although bad weather conditions during the recent winter caused further hardship to many of the displaced Cypriots, particularly those living in tents and shacks. The Co-ordinator has committed more than \$1.6 million for improving temporary accommodation facilities and more than half of this has now been disbursed for the construction and infrastructure of low-cost housing units.

36. The need for humanitarian assistance to Cyprus continues to be urgent. On 30 April 1976, government statistics showed a total of 184,143 Greek Cypriots as displaced and now living in the south. This figure reflects an increase of 1,143 persons since my report of 8 December 1975 [S/11900, para. 35], and is again mainly due to the continuing transfer of Greek Cypriots from the north to the south. Of this total, the number of persons who can support themselves stands at 43,079; the remaining 141,064 persons who are both displaced and needy are being fully supported by the Greek Cypriot authorities. There are a further 14,000 persons in the south who live in



their homes but are receiving necessary support from the Greek Cypriot authorities.

37. In the north and in the enclave of Kokkina there are now, according to the Turkish Cypriot authorities, some 39,000 Turkish Cypriots who have become displaced or needy as a result of the 1974 events and who are being supplied with food commodities. Also in the northern area there are some 7,300 Greek Cypriots and some 900 Maronites who are supported with food commodities and allowances; these are delivered on a regular basis by UNFICYP to distribution centres in the north.

38. UNFICYP has supported the Co-ordinator's humanitarian relief programme by delivering food supplies and other items, distributing social welfare benefits and providing emergency medical services, including evacuations by helicopter. Escorts are provided for work parties, farmers and anti-malaria spraying teams in the area between the FDLs. Close liaison is maintained with the other United Nations agencies, ICRC and the welfare committees of both communities.

39. A total of 4,189 tons of relief supplies were distributed by the UNFICYP supply system, including 2,269 tons that were carried to the Greek Cypriots and Maronites in the north. The items delivered included food, animal feed, day-old chicks, seeds for farmers, diesel and engine oil and gas cylinders. Another 598 tons were distributed to some 1,500 Turkish Cypriots in Kokkina; these included food, fuel, diesel oil and bottled gas. In addition, 1,322 tons of food including wheat, flour and corned beef supplied through UNHCR and World Food Programme services, were transported to Turkish Cypriot welfare stores in the north. A total of 20,851 tons has been lifted since August 1974. These activities involve extra costs to UNFICYP, on average \$36,000 per month or \$216,000 per mandate period. The distribution of social welfare benefits and pensions by UNCIYPOL to the Greek Cypriots in the north continues. During the period £231,150 was paid out and a total of £695,411 has been distributed since January 1975. Restrictions on the number of visits for payment purposes were introduced by the Turkish Cypriot authorities. This gave rise to some administrative problems, which were overcome.

40. Humanitarian and welfare assistance was provided by UNFICYP to the Turkish Cypriots in Kokkina. There is a standing arrangement for a weekly resupply delivery of up to seven truckloads; a United Nations doctor visits the village for emergency cases and on request; 13 cases were evacuated on medical grounds to the Turkish Cypriot sector, including two emergency evacuations by air. A septic tanker is made available as required to clear sewage tanks. Deliveries of medicines and equipment are made on a regular basis to the Turkish Cypriot hospital in Nicosia, and a regular exchange of mail is carried out.

#### V. GOOD OFFICES OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

41. As requested by the Security Council in paragraph 6 of its resolution 383 (1975), I have continued the mission of good offices entrusted to me by paragraph 6 of resolution 367 (1975).

42. An account of the fifth round of the Vienna talks between the representatives of the two communities, held under my auspices from 17 to 21 February 1976, and of the meetings on humanitarian prob-

lems held between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktas in the presence of my Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, from 5 to 31 March, is contained in my report to the Council of 31 March 1976 [S/12031] pursuant to Security Council resolution 383 (1975) and General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX).

43. As indicated in that report [*ibid.*, para. 6], my Special Representative remained in close touch with the two interlocutors with regard to the exchange of written proposals on the territorial and constitutional issues that was foreseen in the second paragraph of the Vienna communiqué of 21 February [see S/11993, annex]. In this connexion, problems arose with regard to the timing of the exchange and the substance of the proposals.

44. Concerning the timing of the exchange, the arrangements agreed upon at the fifth round of talks in Vienna gave rise to considerable public controversy. The question of timing was eventually resolved in accordance with the Vienna understanding. Mr. Clerides thereupon resigned as negotiator and Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos was named as his successor. The Turkish Cypriot community then designated Mr. Umit Sulci-man Onan as its representative.

45. The second problem, which remains pending, refers to the territorial question. At the first meeting of the fifth round of talks in Vienna on 17 February 1976, I made a procedural suggestion to the effect that the interlocutors might take up the discussion of the territorial item where they had left it off during the first round of the Vienna talks in April 1975. The Greek Cypriot representative, Mr. Clerides, thereupon resubmitted a geographic suggestion, involving three areas now under Turkish control, which he had initially put forward during the first Vienna round in the context of the question of the return of the Greek Cypriot refugees. It was made clear by Mr. Clerides that the repetition of this suggestion did not constitute new territorial proposals, but referred exclusively to a first possible step in the return of refugees. The Greek Cypriot proposals which my Special Representative in Nicosia transmitted to Mr. Denktas on 8 April 1976 contain a section on the territorial question [see annex I] in which my procedural suggestion of 17 February appears linked to Mr. Clerides' suggestion concerning "three areas". When my Special Representative handed the Greek Cypriot proposals to Mr. Denktas, the latter explained that it was impossible for him to accept a paper linking the Secretary-General to the Greek Cypriot proposals.

46. In view of the controversy relating to the mention of the Secretary-General in the body of the Greek Cypriot proposals, I found it necessary to issue on 13 April the following statement:

"During the recent talks in Vienna, the Secretary-General made no substantive suggestions concerning the territorial aspects of a settlement of the Cyprus problem. The suggestions that the Secretary-General made in the exercise of his good offices were procedural and were solely for the purpose of facilitating the talks in Vienna."

47. On 16 April, the Cyprus Government spokesman issued a statement emphasizing that the Greek Cypriot side "formulated its proposals well bearing in mind and adopting the procedural suggestions made by the Secretary-General".

48. The Turkish Cypriot proposal, which was submitted to my Special Representative on 17 April and was immediately handed to the Greek Cypriot negotiator, states that when the Greek Cypriot proposals on the territorial question had been "duly received", the Turkish side would be willing to begin negotiations on this issue "on the criteria already outlined to the Greek Cypriot side in Vienna, and, if necessary, to elaborate on these . . . with a view to adjusting the line between the two Federated States" [see annex II, sect. c].

49. Mr. Papadopoulos, the Greek Cypriot negotiator, responded in a letter of 22 April addressed to my Special Representative in which he noted that the Turkish proposals omitted "any concrete proposals on the territorial aspect" [see annex III]. On 5 May, Mr. Onan, the Turkish Cypriot negotiator, wrote to my Special Representative, on this same subject, that the Greek Cypriot side had failed to produce "reasonable concrete proposals" [see annex IV].

50. On 4 May, the Cyprus Government spokesman issued a statement that "regardless of the reference to the Secretary-General's suggestions of a procedural nature, the proposals submitted were formulated by the Greek Cypriot side and are regarded and hold good as its proposals". In a letter of 18 May, Mr. Papadopoulos informed my Special Representative that the above statement correctly reflected the position of the Greek Cypriot side [see annex V].

51. On 25 May, Mr. Onan sent a letter to my Special Representative expressing the readiness of the Turkish side "to start talks for the determination of the boundary line between the two regions" of the Federated Republic of Cyprus, and expressing the opinion that the territorial aspect should at this stage be discussed confidentially in the committees envisaged by the Brussels accord. He also outlined the principles which, in the opinion of the Turkish side, should provide the framework for the talks on the territorial aspect [see annex VI].

52. Mr. Papadopoulos responded on 1 June by a letter to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar in which he stated that Mr. Onan's communication provided "no basis for constructive negotiations and its whole content is completely unacceptable". According to the Greek Cypriot negotiator, the position of the Turkish side aimed at the abolition of the Republic of Cyprus and at partition, which ran counter to United Nations resolutions. However, the Greek Cypriot side was ready to resume the talks "if in the Secretary-General's view there are hopes that the Turkish Cypriot side will be prepared to enter into meaningful and constructive negotiations" [see annex VII].

53. I myself and my Special Representative have remained in close touch with the parties and have continued to explore actively with the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot representatives how best to overcome the present difficulties and to pave the way for the continuation of the negotiating process. Both sides, while expressing certain reservations, have indicated publicly that the intercommunal talks under my auspices continue to provide the best method of making progress towards an agreed settlement of the Cyprus problem.

54. In the course of his contacts with the two sides, my Special Representative also stressed the importance of resuming the meetings on humanitarian prob-

lems at the Ledra Palace United Nations conference area, especially since it is understood that political questions may also be raised at those meetings. The Turkish Cypriot representative having not been available earlier, the first meeting of the two new negotiators took place on 27 May. Matters relating to missing persons and to Greek Cypriots in the north were discussed, in particular educational and medical facilities there, as well as the movement of Greek Cypriots to the south and Turkish Cypriot movable property in the south. It was agreed to channel information on these and other matters through the United Nations.

55. In addition to the territorial, constitutional and humanitarian questions to which the representatives of the two communities have addressed themselves in the first instance, other aspects of the Cyprus problems have been set out by the General Assembly in the operative paragraphs of its resolution 3395 (XXX). The situation concerning the implementation of those other aspects of that resolution has remained unchanged since my report of 31 March [S/12031, paras. 9-10].

## VI. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

56. Voluntary contributions in the amount of approximately \$177.9 million have been paid to the UNFICYP Special Account by 57 Member States and three non-member Governments in respect of the periods from the inception of the Force on 27 March 1964 to 15 June 1976. In addition, voluntary contributions from public sources, interest earned on investment of temporarily undisbursed funds and other miscellaneous income received by the Account have totalled about \$3.8 million. Accordingly, some \$181.7 million have so far been made available to the UNFICYP Special Account towards meeting the costs of UNFICYP to the United Nations for the periods through 15 June 1976.

57. The costs to be borne by the United Nations for the operation of UNFICYP for the periods from the inception of the Force to 15 June 1976 are estimated at \$225.3 million. This figure includes the direct cost to the United Nations of maintaining the Force in Cyprus, as well as the amounts to be paid to Governments providing contingents in respect of their extra and extraordinary costs for which they seek to be reimbursed by the United Nations.

58. The amount of \$181.7 million so far received by the UNFICYP Special Account falls short of the requirement of \$225.3 million indicated above by approximately \$43.6 million. However, in addition to the voluntary contributions that have already been paid to the Account, some \$2.7 million are expected to be received in due course against pledges made by Governments but not yet paid by them.

59. If to the amount of \$181.7 million so far received the amount of \$2.7 million of anticipated receipts is added, the receipts of the UNFICYP Special Account since March 1964 can then be expected to total approximately \$184.4 million. The difference between this figure and the costs to be met of approximately \$225.3 million becomes \$40.9 million. Accordingly, unless additional contributions from existing or new pledges are received before 15 June 1976 the UNFICYP Special Account deficit as of that date will be \$40.9 million.

60. If the Security Council should decide to extend for six months beyond 15 June 1976, the period

during which the Force is to be stationed in Cyprus, it is estimated that the additional cost to the Organization for a Force at approximately its present strength, assuming continuance of present reimbursement commitments, would amount to approximately \$12 million, as detailed below.

UNFICYP COST ESTIMATE BY MAJOR CATEGORY OF EXPENSE  
(In thousands of United States dollars)

I. Operation costs incurred by the United Nations	
Movement of contingents .....	180
Operational expenses .....	1,480
Rental of premises .....	340
Rations .....	1,080
Non-military personnel, salaries, travel, etc. ....	1,090
Miscellaneous and contingencies .....	200
TOTAL	4,370
II. Reimbursement of extra costs of Governments providing contingents	
Pay and allowances .....	6,850
Contingent-owned equipment .....	650
Death and disability awards .....	100
TOTAL	7,600
GRAND TOTAL	11,970

61. The above costs for the next six-month period do not reflect the full cost of UNFICYP to Member and non-member States, inasmuch as they exclude the extra costs that Members providing contingents or police units to the Force have agreed to absorb at their own expense rather than seek as reimbursement from the United Nations. Indicative figures of the amounts involved are estimated as follows: Australia, \$0.4 million; Austria, \$0.2 million; Canada, \$0.9 million;<sup>6</sup> Denmark, \$0.4 million; Sweden, \$0.7 million; United Kingdom, \$1.6 million.<sup>6</sup> Finland is also absorbing certain UNFICYP costs at its own expense.

62. In order to finance the costs to the Organization of maintaining the Force for a period of six months after 15 June 1976 and to meet all costs and outstanding claims up to that date, it will be necessary to receive voluntary contributions to the UNFICYP Special Account totalling \$52.9 million.

## VII. OBSERVATIONS

63. During the period under review, the situation in Cyprus has been relatively quiet in the sense that there have been no major military confrontations and few cease-fire violations of a serious nature. But tension in the island has continued to be high and the problems resulting from the events of 1974 have remained largely unresolved.

64. Although there has been a marked reduction in the number of shooting incidents along the cease-fire lines, violations of the cease-fire by movement forward from those lines have remained at a high level, which is a matter of serious concern to UNFICYP. I hope that it will be possible for the parties concerned to increase their liaison and co-operation with UNFICYP and also to issue the necessary instructions to their commanders to ensure that their troops keep well within their forward positions. Regarding the area between the forward lines, I would express once again

my hope that both sides will extend their full co-operation to UNFICYP in order that it may continue to assist, on a humanitarian basis, in the pursuit of normal civilian activities in that area.

65. The situation of Greek Cypriots in the north is also a matter of serious concern, not only on purely humanitarian grounds, but also because it increases tension between the two communities and tends adversely to affect the efforts towards a just and lasting peace in Cyprus. This concern would be considerably alleviated if the agreements reached in this regard at the third round of the Vienna talks and recorded in the communiqué of 2 August 1975 [see S/11789, annex] were adequately implemented and in particular if UNFICYP were granted free and normal access to Greek Cypriot habitations in the area.

66. In this connexion, I should mention that the discussions between Mr. Rauf Denktaş and my Special Representative concerning the stationing, deployment and functioning of UNFICYP in the north in accordance with the procès-verbal of 13 December 1975 (see para. 8 above) are making progress. It is my hope that once these discussions are completed UNFICYP's functioning in the north may be improved.

67. After a period of suspension the humanitarian meetings with the representatives of the two communities resumed on 27 May 1976. I hope that those meetings will be held from now on at regular intervals and will help in the settlement of outstanding humanitarian problems, especially as regards the Greek Cypriots in the north.

68. Concerning efforts to reach a solution of the basic problems of the island, I have continued to use my best efforts to carry out the good offices mission entrusted to me by the Security Council. After lengthy and difficult consultations the fifth round of the Vienna talks finally took place under my auspices in February 1976. The sixth round was scheduled for May but had to be postponed because the exchange of written proposals on the territorial issue had not been fully carried out as foreseen in the agreement reached during the fifth round.

69. I and my Special Representative are continuing our efforts to remove the various obstacles in the way to a resumption of the negotiating process. Before reconvening the talks, it is obviously necessary to have reasonable assurances that they will be meaningful and productive.

70. Despite all the difficulties I continue to believe that the best hope of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem is through negotiations between the representatives of the two communities. But for those negotiations to serve a useful purpose, all the parties concerned must be willing to show the necessary flexibility, taking into account not only their own interests but also the legitimate aspirations and requirements of the opposing side. It is also important that agreements reached at previous rounds should be respected and carried out.

71. In the circumstances, I consider the continued presence of UNFICYP to be essential, not only to help maintain quiet in the island, but also to facilitate the continued search for a peaceful settlement. I therefore recommend that the Council extend the stationing of the Force in Cyprus for a further period of six

<sup>6</sup> Exclusive of the normal costs of pay and allowances.

months. The parties concerned have expressed their agreement to the proposed extension.

72. In making this recommendation, I feel obliged to warn the Security Council again about the increasingly critical financial situation of UNFICYP. Despite my repeated appeals, voluntary contributions have continued to be made in insufficient amounts and by a disappointingly small number of Governments, and the deficit in the budget of UNFICYP now exceeds \$40 million. As a consequence of this deficit, the troop-contributing Governments must assume an increasingly heavy and disproportionate burden for this peace-keeping operation, and understandably some of them want to reduce their commitments. This development lends an added gravity to the warning I voiced in my last report that if no remedial measures can be achieved UNFICYP may well one day find itself unable to continue to function for lack of funds. I feel in duty bound at this stage to bring this matter to the attention of the Security Council.

73. In concluding this report, I wish to express my appreciation to the Governments providing contingents for UNFICYP as well as to those who have made voluntary contributions for its financing. Without their generous support it would not have been possible to maintain this important peace-keeping operation of the United Nations. I wish also to take this opportunity to pay tribute to my Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, to the Force Commander, Lieutenant-General D. Prem Chand, to the officers and the men of UNFICYP and to its civilian staff. They have carried out with exemplary efficiency and devotion the important and difficult task entrusted to them by the Security Council.

[Map. Deployment of UNFICYP, June 1976. See p. 51.]

## ANNEXES

### ANNEX I

#### Proposals of the Greek Cypriot side, dated April 1976, on the various aspects of the Cyprus problem

At the fifth round of the Cyprus talks held in Vienna, from 17 to 21 February 1976, under the auspices and personal direction of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities agreed to exchange written proposals, through the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, within six weeks from 21 February.

For the purpose of this exchange, and in fulfilment of this undertaking, the Greek Cypriot side presents its proposals on the various aspects of the Cyprus problem. The proposals are interrelated and interdependent and should be taken together as a whole, with a view to reaching a solution to the Cyprus problem on a "package deal" basis.

These proposals are made:

(1) On the fundamental assumption that the territory of the Republic of Cyprus shall be one and indivisible and that the integral or partial union of Cyprus with any other State or any separatist independence or partition are excluded;

(2) Within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations and without derogating from the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning Cyprus;

Particularly —

(a) The solution of the Cyprus problem should ensure the well-being of the people of Cyprus as a whole and should preserve the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus;

(b) All foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel should be withdrawn without further delay from the Republic of Cyprus and all foreign interference in its affairs should cease;

(c) Urgent measures should be undertaken for the voluntary return of all refugees to their homes in safety and the settlement of all other aspects of the refugee problem;

(d) Unilateral actions in contravention of the United Nations resolutions, including the colonization of Cyprus and changes in its demographic structure should cease;

Generally —

Any situation already created, which is inconsistent with any of the above, should be rectified;

(3) Subject to agreement on the question of international guarantees, which shall be wide and effective.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

1. The Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus shall provide for the establishment of a federal State, the Federal Republic of Cyprus which shall be a federation, and not a confederation and shall:

(a) Preserve the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus;

(b) Ensure that the Federal Republic of Cyprus shall be the sole subject of international law, to the exclusion of its constituent parts;

(c) Preserve the economic unity of the Republic of Cyprus.

2. In the Federal Republic of Cyprus and its constituent parts, the fundamental human rights and liberties, as set out in international Conventions ratified by the Republic, shall be safeguarded.

3. Particularly, and without prejudice to the generality of the above, for every citizen of the Republic:

(a) There shall be a right of free movement throughout the territory of the Republic and freedom of residence in any place in which he may choose to reside;

(b) His life, security and liberty shall be safeguarded and his private and family life shall be respected and his home shall be inviolable;

(c) His right to property shall be respected and safeguarded;

(d) His right to work, practise his profession or carry on his business in any place he chooses shall be assured.

4. The participation of the two communities in the federal organs should be proportionate to the ratio of the population. Constitutional arrangements, however, should be made providing for equitable safeguards on certain specific matters to be agreed upon.

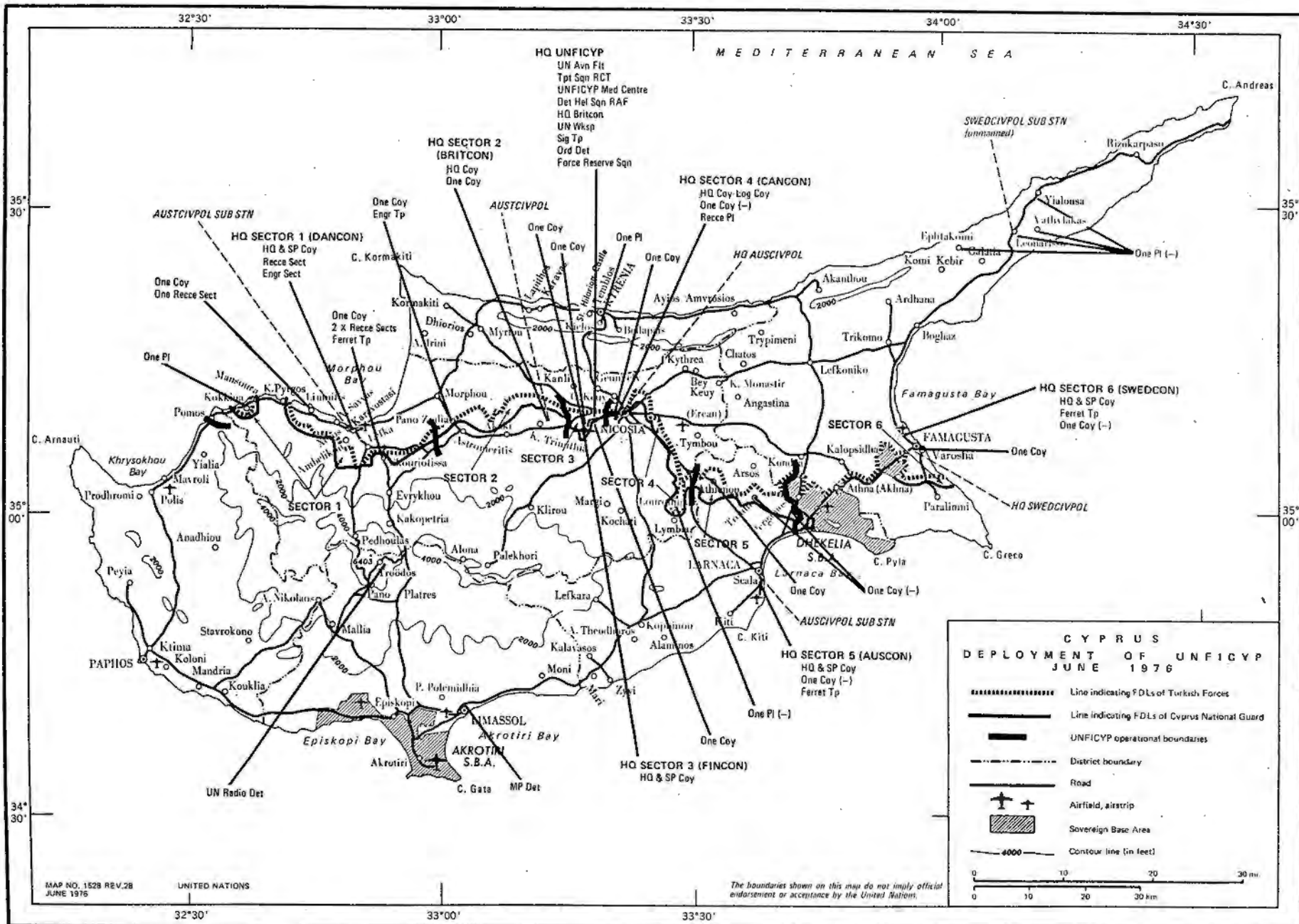
5. Every citizen shall enjoy and exercise his political rights, in so far as the Federal Government is concerned, irrespective of his place of residence in the Republic. The exercise by a citizen of political rights with respect to the administration of the constituent part of the Republic in which he resides shall be regulated by constitutional arrangements.

#### TERRITORIAL ASPECT

At the first and second rounds of the Cyprus talks in Vienna the representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities discussed three areas with regard to the commencement of the return of Greek Cypriot refugees.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, at the fifth round of the Cyprus talks in Vienna, in an effort to find a starting point for the discussion of the territorial aspect of the Cyprus problem, suggested to refer for this purpose to the areas discussed as above by the representatives of the two communities.

The Greek Cypriot side accepts the suggestion of the Secretary-General that these three areas could be used as the starting point for the discussion of the territorial aspect of the Cyprus problem.



The said three areas (at present under the military occupation of Turkey) and other areas as shall be agreed through negotiations shall not be under Turkish Cypriot administration which shall, within the framework of the Federal Republic of Cyprus, extend to 20 per cent of the territory of the Republic.

#### POWERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND OF REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION

The powers of the Federal Government and of regional administration in the Federal Republic of Cyprus are enumerated in the lists set out herein below.

##### A. FEDERAL LIST

*The Republic (Federal Government) shall exercise power on all matters other than those specifically and expressly assigned to its constituent members (regions). Such power comprises all subjects hereinafter enumerated for the purpose of illustration only and not exhaustively.*

##### 1. Foreign affairs

Foreign affairs includes all matters which bring the Republic or its citizens into relation with any foreign State or any other subject of international law.

There shall be deemed to be included therein, *inter alia*, the recognition of States, diplomatic, consular, commercial and other relations, the conclusion and implementation of treaties and of any other international obligations, the declaration of war and the conclusion of peace, and the participation in any international organization and conference.

##### 2. Defence

Defence includes all matters relating to the protection and defence of the Republic and any part thereof against any threat either from outside or from within or against any calamity.

There shall be deemed to be included therein, *inter alia*, the raising, training and maintaining of the necessary armed or other forces, the establishment and maintenance of bases and any defence works, the control of weapons, explosives, munitions and war materials, the taking of all measures necessary for the prosecution of war, the restoration of peace, the meeting of any calamity, and the securing of the essentials for the well-being of the community and the readjustment of its economic life.

It should be noted, however, that the Greek Cypriot side supports the full demilitarization of Cyprus.

##### 3. Security

Security includes all matters relating to peace, order and good government throughout the Republic.

There shall be deemed to be included therein, *inter alia*, the raising, maintenance and distribution of the necessary security forces, any matters pertaining to weapons, ammunition and explosives, the declaration of a state of emergency throughout the Republic or in any part thereof, and the regulation of any matter relating thereto.

##### 4. Criminal, public and civil law and procedure

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to the determination of the scope and content of the criminal, public and civil law of the Republic, and the rules of evidence and of practice and procedure applicable in criminal, public and civil law proceedings.

##### 5. Administration of justice

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to the administration of justice, the constitution, organization and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court (which shall include original jurisdiction to hear disputes between the Regions themselves and between the regions and the Federal Government and appellate jurisdiction from the federal and regional courts) and of such other federal courts and tribunals as may be necessary for the administration of justice, the persons entitled to practise before the courts, and the composition and mode of enforcement of the judgements and decisions of courts and tribunals.

##### 6. Citizenship, aliens, immigration, emigration and extradition (including passports and visas)

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to citizenship of the Republic (and the acquisition of any foreign citizenship), to aliens, their naturalization and their control, such as the entry and stay in the Republic and the acquisition of property by them, the movement of persons in and out of the Republic and the conditions of such movement, passports and visas, and extradition.

##### 7. Trade, commerce and industry

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to the regulation of trade and commerce in their international or interregional aspects or in so far as they concern or affect the interests of the Republic as a whole, the formation, registration, regulation and winding up of companies, partnerships and economic associations, the regulation of industry, including tourism and industrial undertakings.

##### 8. Shipping, navigation (including air navigation), ports and transport

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to shipping, navigation (including air navigation and air traffic), the delimitation of territorial waters, ports and airports, transport.

Transport also includes the construction, maintenance and control of highways, mechanically propelled vehicles, regulation of traffic, carriage of passengers and goods by land, sea and air, except carriage of passengers and goods by land solely within the limits of a region.

##### 9. Federal works and power (including public works, electricity, water and other public utility undertakings)

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to any works, even though situated wholly within the limits of a region, which are aimed at serving the interests of the inhabitants of the Republic as a whole, and any works relating to nuclear energy and atomic power plants.

##### 10. Mines, forests, fisheries and other natural resources and environment

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to mines, quarries, mineral and quarry materials, gas and oil, water (whether surface water or not) and generally all kinds of natural resources (including the resources of the continental shelf), forests and forest materials, fishing and fisheries, and the protection and preservation of the environment.

##### 11. Antiquities

##### 12. Currency, legal tender and coinage, weights and measures, as well as computation of time, money, banking, exchange control and stock exchanges

##### 13. Postal and telecommunication services

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to posts and telecommunications and to wireless, broadcasting and television.

##### 14. Customs (including customs and excise duties)

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to customs, and customs and excise duties, the unity of the customs and commercial territory, the freedom of movement of goods, the exchange of goods and payments with foreign countries.

##### 15. Industrial property (including patents, trade marks, business names, copyrights)

##### 16. Bankruptcy and insurance

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to bankruptcy and insolvency and insurance of any kind.

##### 17. Finance

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to the economic policy and the administration of the finance of the Republic, to the preparation and administration of the federal budget, to the raising of money by any mode or system of taxation direct (such as income tax, estate duty, corporation tax, capital tax, property tax) or indirect (such as customs and excise duties already referred to under heading 14,

and stamp duties), the regulation of taxation for the whole of the Republic, and the regulation of the raising of money by borrowing, the making of grants and loans to the regions, and the taking of all measures to ensure the uniformity of taxation throughout the Republic.

#### 18. *Labour and social welfare*

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to the registration, operation and dissolution of trade unions, the promotion of employment, wage, trade and productivity standards and the advancement of good labour relations; institutions and machinery for the solution of labour disputes in the federal service or in fields affecting the supply of services and the well-being of the inhabitants of the Republic as a whole, the establishment of institutions for, and the regulation of, training of labour, the safety of employees, the establishment, operation, regulation and financing of federal schemes of social insurance, pension schemes and the setting of standards and control of provident fund schemes.

#### 19. *Professions and professional associations*

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters concerning formalities, conditions or restrictions relating to the qualifications required for the exercise of any profession or the participation in any professional associations, and standards required for the obtaining of qualifications from institutions of higher learning in the Republic.

#### 20. *Movable and immovable property (including non-privately owned properties)*

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to ownership, tenure, registration and valuation, town and country planning, as well as compulsory acquisition and requisition of property.

#### 21. *Prisons*

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to the establishment, maintenance and regulation of penitentiaries, prisons and other correctional institutions.

#### 22. *Establishment of federal authorities and other federal agencies*

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to the establishment and maintenance of such federal authorities and agencies as may be necessary, including the establishment and regulation of the federal public service and the qualifications and duties of persons to be admitted to such service.

#### 23. *Public health*

This heading includes, *inter alia*, all matters relating to the protection of public health in the Republic, exclusive of local sanitation and first-aid services, to the regulation of standards for hospitals, nursing homes and other similar institutions, to drugs and poisons, food-stuffs, diseases and quarantine.

#### 24. *Agriculture*

This heading includes, *inter alia*, agricultural policy in the interests of the Republic as a whole, agricultural research, protection against pests and prevention of plant and animal diseases.

#### 25. *Matters incidental or supplemental to the execution of any power vested in the Federation.*

#### 26. *Any other matter not explicitly assigned to the regions.*

The abstinence of the Federal Government from legislating to the full limits of its powers shall not have the effect of transferring to any regional legislature any power which has been assigned to the Federal Government by the Federal List.

### B. REGIONAL LIST

*The powers of a regional administration shall extend to all matters expressly and specifically provided hereinafter.*

#### 1. *Organization and administration*

This heading relates to all matters concerning the structure and organization of the government of the region and the administration therein.

#### 2. *Implementation of federal legislation*

This heading relates to the implementation of all federal legislation in so far as it applies to the region, where such implementation is expressly entrusted to the region by such federal legislation.

#### 3. *Local government*

This heading relates to the structure and organization of local government and its functioning within the region.

#### 4. *Public order*

This heading relates to such matters concerning the maintenance of public order and security as are of a purely local and regional nature.

#### 5. *Offences under regional laws*

This heading relates to the making of provision for the creation of offences for contraventions of regional laws and the imposition of punishment therefor.

#### 6. *Police*

This heading relates to the organization and maintenance of local police for the enforcement of regional laws in the region.

#### 7. *Administration of justice*

This heading relates to the constitution, organization and jurisdiction of all regional courts of criminal and civil jurisdiction, including the practice and procedure in proceedings before such courts, provided that a final appeal shall always lie from the judgements or decisions of such courts to the Federal Supreme Court.

#### 8. *Trade, commerce and industry*

This heading relates to all matters concerning the regulation of trade, commerce and industry within the region, of a purely local and regional nature.

#### 9. *Transportation*

This heading relates to the carriage of passengers and goods by land solely within the limits of the region, the construction of regional roads within the region and the control of traffic therein.

#### 10. *Regional works*

This heading relates to all matters concerning any works of a purely local and regional nature other than works which, though situated within the region, are carried out by the Federal Government.

#### 11. *Forests*

This heading relates to matters concerning forests assigned to the region, and their control, conservation, protection and development.

#### 12. *Producers' and consumers' co-operatives and credit establishments*

This heading relates to the structure and organization of co-operatives and credit establishments, their functioning and supervision.

#### 13. *Charitable and sporting organizations*

This heading relates to the structure and organization of charitable and sporting organizations, their functioning and supervision within the region.

#### 14. *Cultural and educational affairs*

This heading relates to all matters concerning cultural, teaching and educational affairs in the region, provided that the minority community within the region shall be at liberty to establish and operate its own schools, which shall be of a standard not below the minimum standard required for public schools in the region.

#### 15. *Finance*

This heading relates to matters concerning the raising of money by way of rates, tolls, licensing fees, loans locally contracted and lotteries, and the receiving of grants and loans from the Federal Government. Such mode of receiving money

should not be of a destructive or prohibitive nature and should not exceed a ceiling which may be fixed by a federal law.

#### 16. *Labour and social welfare*

This heading relates to the inspection of places of work and to regional programmes of public and social welfare.

#### 17. *Professions and trades*

This heading relates to matters concerning the raising of revenue by licensing of persons possessing the qualifications required under federal law for carrying on, exercising and practising any business, trade, calling or profession within the region other than the licensing of a corporate body incorporated under federal law.

#### 18. *Correctional institutions*

This heading relates to reform schools and other quasi-educational correctional institutions for young persons.

#### 19. *Public health*

This heading relates to all matters concerning the protection of public health and sanitation within the region and the running of hospitals and nursing homes and other similar institutions.

#### 20. *Agriculture*

This heading relates to all matters concerning agriculture within the region of a purely local and regional nature.

#### 21. *Compulsory acquisition and requisition of property*

This heading relates to all matters concerning the compulsory acquisition and requisition of property within the region, for such purposes of public benefit of a purely local and regional nature on such terms and in accordance with such provisions, as provided by federal law.

#### 22. *Services of a local character*

This heading relates to services of a purely local and regional nature, such as fire brigades, except in the capital of the Republic, inspection of boarding houses and lodging houses, burial and cremation grounds, pounds and cattle trespass, markets and fairs, and licensing of theatres, cinemas and other places of public entertainment.

#### 23. *Matters incidental or supplemental to the execution of any power vested in the region*

#### 24. *Matters assigned by the Federal Government to the regions*

This heading relates to matters which may be assigned specifically by federal law to the regions, though not expressly enumerated in this List.

If a region purports to exercise competence on a matter not specifically and expressly vested in the region, the exercise of such competence shall be void.

Nicosia, April 1976.

### ANNEX II

#### Proposals of the Turkish Cypriot side, dated 17 April 1976, on various aspects of the Cyprus problem\*

In accordance with the agreement which was reached at the fifth round of the Cyprus intercommunal talks, which were held in Vienna from 17 to 21 February 1976, in pursuance of the Secretary-General's "mission of good offices and in accordance with the procès-verbal agreed on by the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey in Brussels on 12 December 1975" [see S/11993], I enclose herewith the proposals of the Turkish Cypriot side on the peaceful settlement of the problem of Cyprus. I would be grateful if you would kindly transmit the enclosed proposals to the leadership of the Greek Cypriot community.

You will observe that part A of the proposals contains the "General principles concerning the establishment of a Federal Republic in Cyprus" and part B contains the "Powers and functions of the Central Government of the Federal Republic

\*Text reproduced in its entirety as delivered to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

of Cyprus" and is given solely in relation to those parts of the paper in accordance with the accord reached in Brussels and Vienna as to the subject-matter of negotiations at this stage. An introductory part is also included. With regard to proposals on the territorial aspect of the Cyprus problem you will recall that as explained in my letter to you of 8 April 1976 [see S/12048, annex], I have had to return that part of the Greek Cypriot proposals concerning the territorial aspect, because of the false and misleading references which had been made therein to the Secretary-General's role on the matter. Nevertheless, as proof of its intention to begin meaningful negotiations without delay on all aspects of the problem and with a view to presenting a complete picture of the over-all problem (as envisaged in Brussels and in Vienna) the Turkish Cypriot side has indicated its views and criteria on the territorial aspect in part C.

I should like to take this opportunity to recall through you the proposals which were made by the Turkish Cypriot side on 18 July 1975 [see S/11770, annex] for the establishment of a Transitional Joint Government with a view to preventing any further alienation and separation of the two communities.

The Turkish Cypriot side considers those proposals still valid and all the more relevant to initiate regular contacts between the two communities and a proof of goodwill by instituting a Joint Government between the two partner communities pending a final solution. The setting up of such joint machinery along those lines without further delay would not only serve the interest of the two communities by engendering a degree of confidence-building co-operation, but also would enhance the climate for, and facilitate the work of, the mixed committees to be set up in Cyprus in accordance with the Vienna accord.

As to the question of guarantees, which does not fall within the context of the present talks, I would like to place on record that there could be no change in the well-known stand of the Turkish Cypriot side on the question of national guarantees.

(Signed) Rauf R. DENKTAS  
President of the  
Turkish Federated State of Cyprus

#### A. GENERAL PRINCIPLES CONCERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN CYPRUS

1. Cyprus shall be a Federal Republic composed of two Federated States, one in the north for the Turkish national community and one in the south for the Greek national community.

2. The Federal Republic shall be independent, sovereign and territorially integral.

3. The sovereignty shall continue to be shared equally by the two national communities as co-founders of the Republic.

4. The Federal Republic shall be secular. Religion shall be kept strictly out of politics in federal and federated affairs.

5. Equality of power and status of and non-discrimination between the two Federated States shall be ensured. Either of the States can in no way overpower, dominate, overrun or interfere with the other in political, juridical, military, economic or other fields.

The Federal Government can in no case abolish, engage in any warlike activity against, or otherwise interfere with, any of the Federated States.

6. Each Federated State shall be free to maintain and regulate its own constitutional structure and take all such measures relating to its administration as may be necessary.

7. Under no circumstances shall Cyprus, in whole or in part, be united with any other State. Unilateral declaration of independence by either of the Federated States shall be prohibited.

8. The Federal Republic of Cyprus shall henceforth follow a policy of friendship with Turkey and Greece in addition to promoting good neighbourly relations with countries in the region and shall pursue a policy of non-alignment.



9. All necessary measures shall be taken to prevent the Island of Cyprus from becoming involved, directly or indirectly, in any activity endangering the peace and security of the region.

10. Each Federated State shall ensure respect for human rights within its respective territory.

11. Laws and all other measures, such as administrative, economic, social, etc., of the Federal Government shall not discriminate against either of the two Federated States or of the two national communities.

12. All kinds of hostile activities of the two States against each other in both the internal and international spheres shall be excluded, while every effort shall be made to enhance peaceful coexistence, reconciliation and co-operation between the two national communities. Likewise any activity tending to foment enmity, hatred and ill-feelings between the two national communities shall be prohibited.

13. Concurrently with the building up of mutual confidence and trust and subject to security needs of the Federated States, the over-all effort of the two States shall be directed towards normalization of the relations between the two national communities in all respects.

14. The question of proprietary rights and claims arising therefrom or relating thereto, as well as any other claims, shall be settled by mutual agreement between the parties concerned, in conjunction with the question of compensation and other related matters in such a manner as not to obstruct the setting up of the proposed Federal Republic.

#### B. POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

1. The Turkish Cypriot proposals under this heading are made with the understanding that equality in participation and exercise of authority of the two national communities in the Federal Government shall constitute the fundamental basis thereof.

2. All powers and functions other than those expressly and specifically entrusted to the Federal Government shall remain vested with the Federated States which shall enjoy full powers and authority in their respective territories.

3. It will be recalled that on 21 July 1975 the Turkish Cypriot members of the Expert Committee set up by the first round of Vienna talks on 28 April 1975, submitted their proposals, of a preliminary nature on the powers and functions of the Federal Government, to the Greek Cypriot side through the then Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Luis Weckmann-Muñoz. The Turkish Cypriot side considers that those proposals in so far as they relate to the powers and functions of the proposed Federal Government and subject to the general principles set out in part A above and to the accord reached in Brussels can be used as a starting-point for discussion.

A copy of the said proposals drafted by the Turkish members of the Expert Committee is enclosed herewith for easy reference:

PROPOSALS ON THE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS MADE BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOT MEMBERS OF THE EXPERT COMMITTEE SET UP BY THE FIRST VIENNA CONFERENCE ON 28 APRIL 1975

[Same text as appendix II of the annex to document S/11825 of 19 September 1975.]

#### C. TERRITORIAL ASPECT

It was agreed in Brussels and confirmed in the fifth round of Vienna talks that the proposals on the territorial aspect of the problem, which is part of the problems to be taken up on the basis of a "package deal", were to be presented by the Greek side first and that these proposals would be reasonable.

Subject to the above, the Turkish side is willing to begin negotiations on this issue on the criteria already outlined to the Greek Cypriot side in Vienna and, if necessary, to further elaborate on these when the aforesaid Greek Cypriot proposals are duly received, with a view to adjusting the line between the two Federated States.

It is felt that a short outline of the origin and development of the problem of Cyprus will be useful in understanding the context in which the Turkish Cypriot proposals are being made and in appreciating the causes and motivation behind them. The events of the past are related very briefly, for no other purpose than this.

Cyprus has been in search of a political settlement for more than two decades. In view of the existence in Cyprus of two national communities with diverse political outlooks, the search has been overshadowed by recurring intercommunal violence each time the Greek Cypriot leadership, inspired and led by the Greek Orthodox Church, tried to impose its political will (of uniting what they considered to be a Greek island with Greece) on the Turkish community by use of force.

The Turkish Cypriot reaction and resistance to this Greek attempt at "union with Greece" was always strong and sincere because all Turkish Cypriots believed that what was "freedom" for the Greek Cypriot leadership was "enslavement" for the Turkish Cypriots. "Freedom" to the Greek Cypriot leadership was used as a synonym for "enosis" (union of Cyprus with Greece) and this, to the Turkish Cypriots was neo-colonization and forced exodus from Cyprus.

It was this clash of divergent beliefs and opposing national policies which led to the intercommunal strife of the 1955-1958 period and in the end necessitated an honourable compromise between the parties. With the help of the two motherlands (Turkey and Greece) this compromise was reached in 1959-1960 on the basis of (1) a bi-national independence (2) resting on the political equality and administrative partnership of the two communities (3) who were given full autonomy in what were strictly defined as communal affairs (4) while leaving the residue of power to a strong Central Government; (5) the bi-national independence, so founded, was guaranteed by Turkey and Greece against any kind of union with any other country thus ensuring permanence to the Cypriot Republic and assuring both sides that peace would be maintained in the island. It was believed by the Turkish side that this fractional federative system would eliminate discrimination and remove all causes of intercommunal friction.

This compromise having established a Cypriot Greco-Turkish Republic was not given a fair chance to work because the Greek Cypriot leaders continued to regard Cyprus as a Greek island destined to be united with Greece and thus they maintained (1) that the 1960 compromise was an unjust compromise and (2) that these agreements, though duly signed by them, could be rendered null and void by a variety of ways; (3) if necessary resort to violence was envisaged and (4) in case of intervention by Turkey as a guarantor power in order to avert the destruction of the independence it was believed that the United Nations would stall such intervention or remove its effect in such a way that the original Greek Cypriot fait accompli (of destroying the 1960 bi-national partnership and establishing a purely Greek Cypriot Government as the "final-but-one-step to enosis") would prevail.

The 13-point proposals for the amendment of the Constitution which the Greek leadership proposed to the Turkish Cypriots in 1963 had this plan in view. The events which followed and the intercommunal fighting which ensued were all anticipated and foreseen by the Greek Cypriot leaders and accepted by them as a natural outcome of their planned approach to the solution of the problem, namely, that of establishing an Hellenic government in Cyprus in complete disregard of Turkish objections. The Turkish Cypriot resistance to the implementation of this plan prolonged the issue but the original aim never changed. As part of this plan Cyprus was occupied by 20,000 Greek mainland troops as early as 1964 and just before the coup of 1974 Archbishop Makarios was on record as having said that he had established the nearest thing to enosis by keeping the Turks out of the administration.

No settlement was reached until July 1974 because the Turkish Cypriot side was still refusing to accept a solution tailored by the Greek Cypriot leadership aiming at (1) destroying the bi-national character of the partnership State and

(2) removing all impediments to *enosis* (3) by establishing a completely Greek Cypriot Government and State (4) in which the Turkish Cypriots would be accorded purely minority rights (5) with the national guarantees, which barred effectively any kind of union with any other country, removed.

Significantly, Nikos Sampson, who had staged the coup in accord with the Junta officers in July 1974, immediately named his new State as "The Hellenic Republic of Cyprus". From 1963 when Turkish Cypriots were attacked and lost 103 villages to July 1974, 24,000 Turkish Cypriots lived under subhuman conditions as refugees. Thus the number of Turkish Cypriots who had been uprooted and systematically squeezed first out of their villages and eventually out of the island over the decades by economic sanctions, oppression, discrimination and warlike activities had been increased anew. The coup of 1974 and the ensuing conflict thereafter caused the uprooting of a further 65,000 Turkish Cypriots from their lands in quest of final peace and security. The civic, political and economic rights of these Turks had been denied, their human rights ignored and trampled upon during the 1963-1974 period when they lived as political hostages thinly spread in Greek areas.

The 1960 agreements and the Constitution of the bi-national State which were meant to protect the Turkish Cypriot partner against (1) discrimination, (2) *enosis*, (3) military attack or (4) any kind of oppression by giving powers like the right of veto in limited areas or special majority vetoes in defined fields of legislation had proved completely inadequate once the numerically many decided to misuse the powers of a strong Central Government and ignore, under a variety of reasons and excuses, those parts of the Constitution which gave the Turkish Cypriot partners any protective rights.

Thus, the pre-planned violence of 1963 and the events which followed left the Turkish Cypriot community stateless in its own country, outlawed at the will of the Greek Cypriot leaders who had usurped the powers of a strong Central Government!

In November 1967, it was in reliance on this usurped authority and active backing of the Greek Mainland Forces with full armour and sophisticated arms that the Greek Cypriot side had launched another attack on two villages (Kophinou and Ayios Theodoros) with combined Greek Cypriot and Greek Mainland Forces. Turkey, in order to stop the massacre of Turkish Cypriots, demanded, under its Treaty right as a guarantor power, the immediate cessation of the onslaught and the withdrawal of all Greek Mainland Forces from Cyprus. As a result, the Greek Cypriot leaders condescended to begin unofficial exploratory talks with the Turkish Cypriot side with a view to finding a solution to the Cyprus problem while the unconstitutional Greek Cypriot Army, known as the National Guard, continued (and continues to this day) to be commanded throughout by officers from Greece.

These negotiations, which lasted from 1968 to 1972 (and thereafter continued in an expanded form with the participation of Turkish and Greek constitutional experts until the coup), brought no result because, as stated earlier, the Greek Cypriot side would not abandon its pre-tailored plan of a solution which, if accepted, would render the Turkish Cypriot Community true political hostages in a Greek island with the way wide open to *enosis* (union with Greece). The Turkish Cypriot side continued to cherish and guard its partnership rights in the independence of Cyprus at great human and economic sacrifice while Turkey, as a guarantor power, indicated that it would never agree to the dissolution of the bi-national Republic by uniting the island with Greece.

It was at this stage—in 1974—when the Turkish Cypriot Community under 12 years of attack, discrimination, oppression and economic sanctions was ebbing out (yet not softening in its protection of its basic rights and co-founder status) that the coup was staged by the Greek Junta in collaboration with extremist EOKA adherents in the island in order to speed the way to union with Greece.

It is now fully established that the coup makers were to decimate the Turkish Cypriot community and announce that union with Greece was achieved within a very short period of time. No one believed that Turkey would intervene; if by any chance, they thought, Turkey did intervene then big powers

and the United Nations would pull Turkey back and the fait accompli created by the coup would prevail. That the Greek Cypriot leaders still believe this to be possible is obvious from their unchanged approach to the Cyprus problem. They ignore the fact that but for the Turkish resistance to Greek actions during the 1963-1974 period the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus would have been destroyed by them.

It is against this background that the Turkish Cypriot Community approaches the problem and in formulating its proposals has been guided by a desire to rebuild the future of the bi-national independence of Cyprus so that the two national Communities, while enjoying lasting peace, progress and mutually beneficial economic development, the Turkish Cypriot community will not go through the grilling experience of the last 12 years.

Consequently the Turkish side has put its main and permanent objective on paper as being the establishment of a (1) permanent (2) bi-national (3) bi-zonal Federal Republic of Cyprus (4) based on the political equality of the two national communities (5) with a policy of non-alignment and (6) good neighbourliness in the region so that Cyprus can never be used by outside powers as a military base against its neighbours.

In this way it is believed that full security and equality will be achieved by the Federal set-up which, in that part of the model of a strong Central Government as set out in the 1960 Constitution, will be reversed by setting out in detail the powers of the Central Government and leaving the rest to the Federated States. As confidence is re-established between the two communities the Federated States will be free to agree to yield more powers to the Federal Government for their mutual benefit.

Thus, the Greek Cypriot leadership, having misused its powers in a strong Central Government under the 1960 Constitution by ignoring all Turkish Cypriot rights and by overriding them at will to the detriment of the Turkish community, cannot lure the same community to agree to any kind of "entrenched rights" as sole protection of its life and status in the future. The Turkish Cypriot community, having lived through the experiences of the last 12 years, is, necessarily, seeking security in the structure of the bi-national, bi-zonal State and in the continuation of the national guarantees.

The Turkish Cypriot proposals for a bi-zonal re-establishment of the partnership independence is seen as the only way for putting bridges of co-operation between the two totally separate communities who have lived in a state of war or semi-war for the last 12 years. The ultimate objective of peace, co-operation and coexistence has a fair chance under this system which will bring a sense of security and equality to both sides.

The Greek Cypriot allegation that a weak Central Government will pave the way to the disintegration of the State is a gross exaggeration. The preventive remedy for such an eventuality lies in the continuation of the national guarantees but for which Greek Cypriot leaders would have, long ago, achieved complete dissolution of the State by uniting the island with Greece. The Turkish Cypriot side cannot, therefore, accept the proposition that, while seeking ways and means for the protection of the bi-national State, it should give the Greek Cypriot side the same rights which they used exactly for the purpose of dissolving the State.

In the search for a fair settlement, it is the view of the Turkish Cypriot community that the balance should not be tilted against the Turkish Cypriot community under the guise of preserving the State because the Turkish Cypriot community (and its political and administrative re-establishment under a Federal State in its own federated land) is a fundamental factor in the preservation of the bi-national State.

The Turkish Cypriot side believes that human rights can have no meaning if they can be used for destroying fellow men. No doubt fundamental human rights and principles, according to which there must be freedom of movement, should be applied in Cyprus but, in doing so, these principles should not be used as vehicles for bringing back to the Turkish community the agony of the last 12 years. The Turkish Cypriot side knows too well the value of human rights and funda-

mental liberties because, during the last 12 years, all these were denied to the Turks at the will of the Greek Cypriot leaders. It is because these realities were acknowledged and the above principle was accepted in the third round of the Vienna talks that exchange of population was also agreed upon and fully implemented in September 1975 with the full co-operation of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

Since the Turkish peace operation Cyprus has found peace and the Turkish Cypriot community has enjoyed full security for the first time in its own land. A bi-zonal set-up has eliminated all friction and day-to-day conflict which was engineered by those who wished to endanger peace in Cyprus in order to unite the island with Greece.

The Turkish Cypriot side believes that if goodwill exists and a federal system is the aim of both sides, then an agreement for the establishment of a bi-communal transitional Government while the peace talks continue, will enhance the chances of success and will stop the process of continuing separation between the two communities.

The Turkish Cypriot side reiterates that it stands for permanent independence within the context of a bi-zonal federal system, non-alignment and full co-operation with the Greek Cypriot community on the basis of equality.

### ANNEX III

Letter dated 22 April 1976 from the representative of the Greek Cypriot community to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General

The "proposals" of the Turkish Cypriot side [annex III], which you kindly handed over to me on 17 April 1976, have been carefully considered.

I would first like to observe that the letter accompanying the Turkish Cypriot "proposals" is signed by Mr. Rauf Denktas styling himself "President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus" on paper so headed. This is not only contrary to the resolutions of the United Nations, under which the intercommunal talks are being held, but constitutes a further attempt to promote the arbitrary and unilateral action of the Turkish Cypriot side to set up a "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus". Such "State" has not been recognized either by the Government of the Republic or the United Nations and is legally non-existent. The act of receiving the "proposals", accompanied by the letter, must not be construed as a recognition of either the so-called "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus", or its alleged President.

In the same letter Mr. Denktas reverts to his earlier proposal for the establishment of a "Transitional Joint Government", allegedly "with a view to preventing any further alienation and separation of the two communities". By this proposal he obviously aims at undermining the internationally recognized Government of the Republic of Cyprus. If the Turkish Cypriot side were genuinely interested in the prevention of the separation of the two communities, it should have availed itself of the offer repeatedly made in the past, and which is still open, to participate in the Government of the Republic in accordance with the 1960 Constitution.

It is not the purpose of this letter to deal with the substance of the Turkish "proposals" which contain many unacceptable propositions, assertions and demands. It is pertinent, however, to stress the fact that the Turkish Cypriot side, under the guise of various pretexts, has again evaded presenting any concrete proposal on the crucial territorial aspect of the Cyprus problem, but has simply chosen to refer to irrelevant and inaccurate generalities, which it arbitrarily terms as "criteria".

Furthermore, the statement of the Turkish Cypriot side, contained in their documents, that any proposals by it on the territorial aspect would be made only "with a view to adjusting the line between the two Federated States" as well as the nature of the so-called criteria, clearly demonstrate the completely negative attitude of the Turkish side and deprive the talks of the possibility of success. The deliberate omission of the Turkish side to present any concrete proposals on the territorial aspect precludes a "package deal" approach to the problem.

It was hoped that the Turkish Cypriot leadership would have shown a constructive attitude which would enable the commencement of substantive and meaningful negotiations on the basis of the United Nations resolutions concerning Cyprus. It is unfortunate that the Turkish Cypriot documents do not contain any elements which could give rise to such a hope.

Careful consideration of the Turkish Cypriot proposals makes it regrettably obvious that they are incompatible with the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and that the Turkish side has no interest in meaningful and constructive negotiations with a view to a solution of the Cyprus problem but is simply aiming at protracting the negotiating process and using the intervening time for consolidating the *de facto* situation created by the use of military force.

The Greek Cypriot side wishes to reiterate that it continues to regard the intercommunal talks under the auspices and personal direction of the Secretary-General as the best available means for achieving a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem and in this spirit submitted positive proposals covering all aspects of the Cyprus problem. It does not, however, consider that meaningful and constructive talks can be resumed if the Turkish Cypriot side continues to evade submitting concrete proposals on all aspects of the problem.

(Signed) TASSOS PAPAIOPOULOS

### ANNEX IV

Letter dated 5 May 1976 from the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General

I feel compelled to comment briefly on Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos's letter of 22 April [annex III], addressed to you, purporting to question the Turkish Federated State's status and criticizing the Turkish side for not making concrete proposals on the territorial issue. In view, also, of the recent Greek Cypriot publications on these issues, a correction of the record becomes all the more necessary.

Mr. Papadopoulos has spent a great deal of space on examining the status of the Turkish Federated State forgetting that the fundamental point in this regard is the equality of the parties to the dispute. The Greek Cypriot side cannot maintain that their unconstitutional creation of a *de facto* Greek Cypriot Administration is "the bi-national Government of Cyprus", because it is not. This bi-national Government was split into two parts the moment the Greek Cypriot side attempted, in December 1963 *et seq.* to make "a Greek Cypriot Government" of it in preparation for ultimate union with Greece. It is a fundamental requirement, therefore, that we maintain and safeguard our inalienable status of equality in the Government of Cyprus as well as in the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It is precisely for this reason that the establishment of a Transitional Joint Federal Government, repeatedly proposed by us over the past year, remains a constructive and valid proposal.

Equality is also the criterion of the negotiating process as agreed and established and internationally reconfirmed at all stages of the Cyprus conflict. The attempt by Mr. Papadopoulos to gloss over this fundamental reality should be duly noted.

Furthermore, it is very well known by all concerned that in Brussels and in the fifth round of the Vienna talks, the principles and the procedure to be followed at the intercommunal talks were clearly agreed upon.

When examined from the above points of view, it is apparent that the party which has failed to comply with the aforesaid agreements is not the Turkish Cypriot side. It was for the Greek Cypriot side to produce reasonable concrete proposals on the territorial issue and so far they have failed to do so and they have tried to confuse the issue in a most undiplomatic way, by trying to envelop the Secretary-General's name into a highly nebulous and unacceptable proposition on the question of territory. It is apparent to the Turkish Cypriot side that the Greek Cypriot leadership is trying to disengage itself from solemn undertakings given at the aforesaid meetings. Mr. Papadopoulos's assertion that the Turkish Cypriot

side is at fault on this issue cannot be sustained by facts and is nothing but an attempt to divert public attention from the above-mentioned accords.

Be that as it may, this is to reiterate once again that the Turkish Cypriot side is prepared to resume the intercommunal talks on the basis of equality and within the context of Brussels and Vienna accords.

(Signed) Umit S. ONAN

#### ANNEX V

**Letter dated 18 May 1976 from the representative of the Greek Cypriot community to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General**

Further to our several conversations on the proposals of the Greek Cypriot side on the Cyprus problem and on the reply thereon and various comments of the Turkish Cypriot side, I wish to bring to your notice a statement officially made on 4 May 1976 by the spokesman of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, the full text of which I append, for easy reference, herein below.

This statement is fully adopted by me as correctly reflecting the position of the Greek Cypriot side on the subject and I wish to assure you that this continues to be the position of my side.

The full text of the statement is as follows:

"The Greek Cypriot side has already submitted its proposals on the territorial aspect of the Cyprus problem and does not intend to submit new ones. The Turkish Cypriot side, claiming that the United Nations Secretary-General's name was wrongly mentioned in the Greek Cypriot proposals on the territorial aspect of the problem, returned them and refused to present any proposals of its own on the matter.

"It has been repeatedly and officially stated that the Greek Cypriot side formulated its proposals simply having in mind and adopting certain suggestions of the Secretary-General of a procedural nature.

"The reference to the Secretary-General provided a pretext to the Turkish Cypriot leadership to continue its delaying and negative tactics.

"The pretext put forward is entirely unjustified. Besides, regardless of the reference to the Secretary-General's suggestions of a procedural nature, the proposals submitted were formulated by the Greek Cypriot side and are regarded and hold good as its proposals."

(Signed) TASSOS PAPAIOPOULOS

#### ANNEX VI

**Letter dated 25 May 1976 from the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General**

In view of the recent attempts of the Greek Cypriot side to shift the blame on the Turkish side for the lack of meaningful negotiations on the territorial aspect of the Cyprus problem, and with reference to your letter of 21 May 1976 conveying the text of Mr. Papadopoulos's letter of 18 May on the same subject [annex V], I would like to state once again that the Turkish side has always been willing to hold negotiations on all aspects of the Cyprus problem, including the territorial aspect, subject to the observations repeated in my letter of 5 May [annex IV] concerning our inalienable status of equality in rights in the Government of Cyprus as well as in the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

Regarding the territorial aspect, I wish to reiterate the following:

1. The Turkish side is prepared to start talks for the determination of the boundary line between the two regions

which will form the two wings of the Federal Republic of Cyprus, within the framework of the Brussels accord.

2. In view of the delicacy of the matter and as agreed at the Brussels talks, the Turkish side deems it necessary that at this stage the territorial aspect of the problem be discussed confidentially and free of propaganda considerations if the two sides are to arrive at a mutually desired satisfactory solution. Therefore, with regard to the definition of the boundary line, the Turkish side is of the opinion that it would not be advisable to mention in the open proposals any fixed percentage or area, before the committees envisaged by the Brussels accord are established.

In fact, the said percentage or the areas of the two regions will come to light as a result of the negotiations to be held within the framework of a package deal, inclusive of the three aspects of the problem mentioned in the Brussels accord; and in the light of the considerations mentioned below.

3. Subject to the above and within the framework of the following principles, the Turkish side is prepared to have talks on the territorial aspect of the problem:

(a) The Turkish and Greek regions of Cyprus shall be homogeneous both demographically and geographically;

(b) In view of past experiences, the boundary line of the Turkish region shall be of such a nature as to enable the two communities to coexist peacefully side by side and to meet the security requirements of the Turkish community;

(c) The area of the Turkish region shall be so determined as to provide adequately for the social and economic welfare and development of the Turkish community both at present and in the future.

(d) Each region shall be responsible for the defence of its own coasts and shall have exclusive rights over its territorial waters and continental shelf.

(e) In the negotiations concerning the determination of the boundary line between the two regions, the humanitarian problems will be taken up with due regard to the peaceful coexistence, side by side, of the two communities and in a spirit of understanding conducive to co-operation between the two.

(Signed) Umit S. ONAN

#### ANNEX VII

**Letter dated 1 June 1976 from the representative of the Greek Cypriot community to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General**

I thank you for your letter of 26 May by which you communicated to me the text of a letter dated 25 May addressed to you by the Turkish Cypriot negotiator, Mr. Umit S. Onan [annex VI].

I regret to say that Mr. Onan's letter provides no basis for constructive negotiations and its whole content is completely unacceptable. I do not, therefore, propose to comment on it in detail.

It is now, more than ever before, abundantly clear from Mr. Onan's letter that the Turkish side is aiming at the abolition of the Republic of Cyprus as one independent, sovereign and territorially integral State. For the resumption of the talks and the solution of the problem, Mr. Onan puts forward certain conditions or principles the acceptance of which would be tantamount to the partition of Cyprus, if not worse. This Turkish position is flagrantly contrary to the fundamental concept of all United Nations resolutions on Cyprus.

Furthermore, by suggesting that the territorial aspect of the problem be discussed before committees, Mr. Onan goes back on the agreement reached at the fifth round of the Cyprus talks held in Vienna, according to which proposals should be exchanged by both sides in an effort to establish a common basis "prior to referring the matter to mixed committees in Cyprus" [see S/11993 of 24 February 1976, annex].

In the light of Mr. Onan's letter, I fail to see that there are real prospects for the holding of substantive talks which can lead to progress. The Greek Cypriot side, however, is ready to resume the talks, if in the Secretary-General's view there are hopes that the Turkish Cypriot side will be prepared to enter into meaningful and constructive negotiations.

(Signed) TASSOS PAPAIOPOULOS

**Letter dated 11 June 1976 from the representative of Turkey to the President  
of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[11 June 1976]

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 11 June 1976, addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) İlter TÜRKMEN  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

**Text of the letter dated 11 June 1976 from Mr. Nail Atalay  
to the President of the Security Council**

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 9 June 1976, addressed to you by Mr. Rauf R. Denktas President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

**TEXT OF THE LETTER DATED 9 JUNE 1976 FROM MR. RAUF R.  
DENKTAS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL**

It has come to my knowledge that the Greek Cypriot Administration has sent a Greek Cypriot delegation, headed by Mr. I. Cl. Christophides, purporting to represent "Cyprus as a whole" at the forthcoming Security Council meeting in New York.

Therefore, I am once again compelled to address you on the question of the representation of Cyprus and to bring to your kind attention the following legal and factual considerations:

(a) The 1960 Constitution contains express provisions about the participation of the Turkish and Greek communities in the administration of the State and in all its organs. As the foundations of the Republic of Cyprus are based on the existence

of two distinct national communities, it is legally impossible for either one community to represent the whole of the State without the consent of the other.

(b) It will be recalled that the Turkish Cypriot community was ousted from the Administration by force of arms on 21 December 1963. Since then the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus has continuously been violated by the Greek Cypriot community. The coup of 15 July 1974 was the final blow to the constitutional order of the Republic.

(c) Following the Turkish peace operation which was launched in order to save the bi-communal State of Cyprus, the existence of two communal administrations was recognized by the three guarantor States—Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom—by their declaration in Geneva on 30 July 1974 [see S/11398]. Resolution 3212 (XXIX), adopted by the General Assembly on 1 November 1974 recognized the existence of the two communities in Cyprus and stressed the point that the constitutional system of the Republic of Cyprus was the concern of both the Turkish and the Greek communities which should be decided through negotiations on an equal footing.

In the circumstances, the Greek Cypriot Administration's continued attempts to represent Cyprus as a whole at the international forums in complete disregard of the above facts constitute a violation of the aforesaid resolution of the General Assembly, and is obviously devoid of any legal basis.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate that the Greek Cypriot delegation which has been sent to New York by the Greek Cypriot Administration cannot under any circumstances conceivably represent the Government of Cyprus as a whole and in particular the Turkish Cypriot community. The Turkish side will, during the debate on Cyprus at the Security Council, be represented by our New York representative, Mr. Nail Atalay.

I shall, therefore, be grateful if this communication is circulated as a document of the Security Council.

**DOCUMENT S/12095\***

**Letter dated 14 June 1976 from the representative of Mauritania to the Secretary-General**

[Original: French]  
[14 June 1976]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to draw your attention to the exceptionally grave and dangerous situation which the Algerian leaders have created by organizing a flagrant act of aggression against the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, an independent State and a Member of the United Nations.

The Algerian leaders, after despairing of the realization of their hopes of hegemony over Mauritania, have been pursuing for some time a systematic policy of aggression and intimidation against the Mauritanian people and Government. Thus, mercenary units organized, armed and financed by the Algerian leaders have attacked civilian objectives situated within the Mauritanian frontiers of 1960. During the month of May 1976 the localities of Ouadane and Chinguetti were hit by mortar fire which caused casualties among the innocent population.

On 8 June a column of several hundred men which included the secretary-general and deputy secretary-general of a so-called movement for the liberation of the Sahara arrived in the vicinity of Nouakchott after receiving instructions, according to confessions obtained, to overthrow the Mauritanian Government. In order to realize this objective, the Algerian leaders did not hesitate to place sophisticated weapons at the disposal of that column of mercenaries: 110-millimetre cannon, vehicles equipped with individual automatic weapons, etc. Beginning in the earliest hours of the morning of 8 June, mortar fire was directed at the offices and residence of the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and at other nerve centres of the capital.

Although this Machiavellian plan was foiled by the swift action of the Mauritanian security forces and the mobilization of the Mauritanian people, it nevertheless constitutes an extremely dangerous precedent which the

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/106-S/12095.

Algerian leaders are trying to introduce into their relations with the countries of the region, in particular with Mauritania, a fraternal and neighbouring country. The policy of hegemony of the Algerian leaders is no longer limited to interference in the internal affairs of Mauritania but now includes an attempt to overthrow by force and aggression authorities which the Mauritanian people has freely chosen.

This policy, which is contrary to the most elementary rules of good-neighbourly relations and flouts the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the General Assembly resolution concerning

friendly relations among States, should be vigorously condemned by the international community. It is a policy which dangerously affects peace and stability in the entire region and may, beyond that, endanger international security.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

(Signed) Moulaye EL HASSEN  
Permanent Representative of Mauritania  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/12097\*

### Letter dated 15 June 1976 from the representative of Indonesia to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[18 June 1976]

I have the honour to enclose herewith the texts of the following communications concerning developments in East Timor:

- I. Telegram dated 1 June 1976 sent by the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization<sup>7</sup> and Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the special envoy of the Secretary-General.
- II. Telegram dated 7 June 1976 sent by the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization and Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the special envoy of the Secretary-General.
- III. Telegrams dated 8 June 1976 sent by the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization and Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the special envoy of the Secretary-General.
- IV. Statement made by Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, Chief Executive of the Provisional Government of East Timor, on 7 June 1976 on the occasion of presenting to President Suharto the petition of the people of East Timor addressed to the Government and people of the Republic of Indonesia.
- V. Statement made by President Suharto on 7 June 1976 in response to the statement by the delegation of the Provisional Government of East Timor.

I would be grateful if you would arrange for these communications to be published as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) August MARPAUNG  
Deputy Permanent Representative of Indonesia  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/109-S/12097.

<sup>7</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

### ANNEX I

Telegram dated 1 June 1976 sent by the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization and Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the special envoy of the Secretary-General

1. On 31 May 1976, on behalf of the people of East Timor, the Popular Representative Assembly democratically expressed its view on their future, an occasion to which we had extended our invitation to Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the Special Committee on decolonization and the Security Council, orally as well as by telegram.

2. The occasion was witnessed by the representatives of foreign Governments to Indonesia and 40 foreign journalists from Jakarta, including Indonesian journalists.

3. On the basis of existing regulations in East Timor, the Popular Representative Assembly consists of 37 members properly elected so as to represent the wishes of the people of East Timor in accordance with living realities in the country as well as with the identity and cultural traditions of the people. The process of election was democratic and free from any form of pressure.

4. The decision of the Popular Representative Assembly takes the form of a petition directed to the Government and people of the Republic of Indonesia for the latter to accept East Timor as an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia.

5. The petition has been made with complete free will and with full awareness of the future of East Timor without any form of coercion from outside.

6. We request your good offices to persuade the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to accept immediately our petition for integration so as to ensure the future of the people of East Timor, which has been uncertain for quite some time, and to alleviate their suffering.

7. We also request your assistance in transmitting this petition to Members of the United Nations and to appropriate agencies of the United Nations.

8. Your advice concerning the successful implementation of self-determination by the people of East Timor towards integration with the Republic of Indonesia will be highly appreciated.

### ANNEX II

Telegram dated 7 June 1976 sent by the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization and Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the special envoy of the Secretary-General

With reference to the previous telegram of the Provisional Government of East Timor relating to the decision taken by

the open and plenary session of the Popular Representative Assembly on 31 May 1976, I have the honour to inform you that a 44-member delegation consisting of members of the Popular Representative Assembly and high functionaries of the Provisional Government of East Timor today, Monday, 7 June 1976, submitted to H.E. Mr. Suharto, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, at his palace in Jakarta the decision of the Popular Representative Assembly taken at its session on 31 May. This decision, which takes the form of a petition, reads as follows:

#### "PETITION

"With the blessing of God Almighty, we, on behalf of the entire people of East Timor, in witness of the resolution passed by the open and plenary session of the Popular Representative Assembly of the Territory of East Timor on 31 May 1976 in Dili, which in fact constitutes a realization of the aspiration of the people of East Timor as inscribed in the Proclamation of integration of East Timor on 30 November 1975 in the town of Balibó, do hereby resolve to urge the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to accept, in the shortest possible time, and to undertake constitutional measures for the full integration of the people and territory of East Timor into the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia without any referendum.

"Done at the city of Dili on the 31st day of May 1976.

"(Signed) Arnaldo DOS REIS ARAUJO  
*Chief Executive of the Provisional  
Government of East Timor*"

(Signed) Guilherme M. GONÇALVES  
*Chairman of the Popular  
Representative Assembly*

Mario CARRASCALÃO  
*Head of Liaison Office of the Provisional  
Government of East Timor, Jakarta*

#### ANNEX III

Telegrams dated 8 June 1976 sent by the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization and Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the special envoy of the Secretary-General

#### A

Having informed you on the proceedings of and decision adopted by the Popular Representative Assembly in Dili on 31 May 1976 in my previous telegram, I regret very much that no positive reply has been given to my invitation to attend the session.

However, we would like to draw your attention to the fact that the Government of Indonesia is sending a mission to East Timor on 24 June to make an on-the-spot assessment.

This will provide another opportunity for you or a mission of the Special Committee on decolonization to come to Dili to see for yourselves the firm determination of our people to be reunited with Indonesia. The Provisional Government of East Timor for its part will render its full co-operation in this regard. We are aware and we are appreciative of the fact that the Committee on decolonization is considering sending a mission to East Timor in the near future. It is our earnest hope that this is also the position of the Secretary-General.

Arnaldo DOS REIS ARAUJO  
*c/o Liaison Office of the Provisional Government  
of East Timor in Jakarta*

#### B

Following yesterday's telegram, I have the honour to inform you that today, Tuesday, 8 June, the delegation of East Timor paid a call on the leadership of the People's Consultative Assembly, the House of Representatives and that of the five factions. In his statement before the session of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, Chief Executive of the Provisional Government of East Timor, *inter alia*, reported that on 7 June the delegation submitted to President Suharto a petition representing the

total will and aspiration of the people of East Timor to be integrated with the Republic of Indonesia as soon as possible. He said it was for the same reason that his delegation appeared before the session of the House of Representatives to convey the sincere wishes of the people of East Timor to the people of Indonesia through the members of this important body. Mr. Araujo further elaborated on the process of the adoption of the petition by the Popular Representative Assembly of East Timor during its first session. The wish to be integrated with their brothers in Indonesia was not a new phenomenon, he added, but it has been kindling in the heart of each and every son of East Timor. The biggest uprising broke out in 1959 in Viqueque, where the people demanded to be integrated with the territory of Indonesia. However, this uprising was crushed by the Portuguese colonialists and any aspiration for integration with Indonesia was always smothered. Everything akin to Indonesia and knowledge of Indonesia had to be abandoned. Part of the People of East Timor previously thought that Indonesia was the western part of Timor; however, they have since realized that they and the people of Indonesia were one big family who inhabited the thousands of islands in the archipelago. He said further: "We the people of East Timor are ready for integration with Indonesia; everyone can see and sense how impatient we get awaiting that historic reunion. We have invited the United Nations Special Committee on decolonization, foreign embassies and journalists in Jakarta to come to Dili and see for themselves how determined we are to be reunited with our brothers. With the same objective in mind, we extend our invitation to the distinguished members of this house to come to East Timor to observe the firm determination of our people to be reunited in the big family of Indonesia." Concluding his statement, Mr. Araujo requested the House to convey to the Indonesian Government and people that the people of Timor were becoming impatient from waiting for the Indonesian decision with regard to the question of integration and called upon them to accept the petition without further delay in order to accelerate the process of complete integration.

Mario Viegas CARRASCALÃO  
*Liaison Office of the  
Provisional Government of East Timor*

#### ANNEX IV

Statement made by Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, Chief Executive of the Provisional Government of East Timor, on 7 June 1976 on the occasion of presenting to President Suharto the petition of the people of East Timor addressed to the Government and people of the Republic of Indonesia

Your Excellency, President of the Republic of Indonesia,  
Honourable members of the Parliament,  
Distinguished Ministers,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure for us, the representatives of the people of East Timor, to be here, since today marks for us a day of happiness and joyfulness. This is a happy occasion for us because not only are we able to meet each other but also we have the chance to know all of the officials of the Indonesian Government. Moreover, the greatest pleasure for the representatives of East Timor is to meet Your Excellency President Suharto, in your capacity as the Chief Executive of the Republic of Indonesia, and also the opportunity for us to visit Jakarta, the capital of the Republic of Indonesia, a chance for which we have been waiting many years.

The main purpose of our visit is to express the will and the wish of the people of East Timor. It is our intention, as the representatives of the people of East Timor, to present our petition for integration of East Timor with Indonesia. We are firmly determined to maintain our subsequent future development together with the rest of the Indonesian people. On this very occasion, I hereby submit the petition to Your Excellency, the President and the Chief Executive of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia.

Excellency,

The wish to integrate with Indonesia has long been alive in the hearts of the people of East Timor. The long struggle of

the people of East Timor against colonial rule is the reality of the inner desire and the wish and the will of the people in the Territory. Our struggle was inspired by the similarity of ethnic and cultural backgrounds existing between the East Timorese and Indonesian people, particularly those who are geographically located on the eastern part of Indonesia. The challenge of the various obstacles faced by the East Timorese people did not weaken this desire, but on the contrary, it strengthened their wishes until the day came when all the political parties, for example, UDT, APODETI, KOTA and Trabalhista, consolidated themselves and were able to control the majority of the territory and to proclaim the integration with Indonesia on 30 November 1975. This signified that the people of East Timor were in consensus to integrate with the country and the people of Indonesia.

Excellency,

The people of East Timor elected their representatives democratically, based on the various socio-cultural customs among the people. On 31 May 1976 those elected representatives convened a meeting in Dili and decided to reiterate the desire of the East Timorese people to reunite with the country and the people of Indonesia. We, the representatives of the people of East Timor who are present on this occasion, have been authorized by all the Timorese people to submit the petition to integrate with Indonesia.

Excellency,

On this special occasion we earnestly hope that Your Excellency will have not the slightest doubt that our petition to integrate with Indonesia is the realization of our deepest desire to become Indonesians. For this reason, we, as the representatives of the people of East Timor, request that the Indonesian Government under the guidance of Your Excellency, and also all the Indonesian people, take the necessary steps in order to implement the petition, which is as follows:

[For the text, see annex II above.]

Excellency,

We, the representatives of East Timor, humbly request that Your Excellency and the people of Indonesia take this petition into the necessary consideration with the hope that it can be implemented within as short a time as possible. On this occasion we also appeal to the international community to acknowledge the important events which have occurred in East Timor. The people of East Timor have determined their own future through their representatives in Dili on 31 May 1976.

Excellency,

We are officially submitting the petition of the Timorese people to Your Excellency, so that we, and the entire people of East Timor, are able to extend the invitation immediately to all the officials and the members of the Indonesian Parliament to visit East Timor in order to make on-the-spot assessment of the real wishes of the people on the territory.

In conclusion, Your Excellency Mr. President, honourable members of Parliament, other distinguished Ministers, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the entire people of East Timor, we express our sincere thanks and great appreciation to all of you for this opportunity to submit this petition.

Thank you.

#### ANNEX V

Statement made by President Suharto on 7 June 1976 in response to the address presented by the delegation of the Provisional Government of East Timor

Distinguished Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, Chief Executive of the Government of East Timor,

My dear brothers, members of the delegation of the people of East Timor,

First of all, I would like to convey my warmest welcome to the capital of the Republic of Indonesia to all my dear brothers, delegates of the people of East Timor.

Your arrival in Jakarta now not only constitutes an important event, but also a historic occasion in our nationhood.

You have come here to carry out the task of the whole people of East Timor, namely to submit the firm determination of the people of East Timor to reintegrate themselves with their half-brothers in the State of the Republic of Indonesia who already became independent three decades ago.

I do not feel as though I am greeting strangers today. I feel that I am meeting my own brothers again, who were separated for a long time. We were separated for hundreds of years by the artificial barriers of the colonial Governments. We were separated by force within our own backyards, separated against our will from our own brothers.

We were forced to be separated by ill fate.

But we will now be together again thanks to our struggle; we are now strongly determined to stay together bound by moral ties that will not be affected by hundreds of years of separation.

A similar fate in the past, similar ideals and a common resolve to build jointly a better tomorrow are the fundamental elements of a nation. These essential elements of the will to live together form the bonds of unity as a nation, undisturbed by other factors such as differences in language, colour or religious beliefs. Many of the modern nations which are strong and advanced nowadays, too, as a matter of fact, originated from nations located far away from their present homeland. On the contrary, there are nations which were once united but have now become divided into two or more parts. This clearly shows that the will and the ability to stay united are the only factor in building a nation.

We, too, the Indonesian nation with a population of 130 million, have our differences: we live on small islands with different local dialects, we adhere to different customs, we have colourful and beautiful local cultures, and yet we still retain other differences as well. But we are, nevertheless, determined to become one Indonesian nation and will remain so for the rest of our long future history.

We have no intention of removing those differences, because such an effort would be against fate: useless and futile.

We once were splintered into communal groups which not only felt disunited, but in many instances even perpetuated disunity. We had also been divided into different kingdoms. All of this was merely the result of foreign colonial politics and interests. Without dividing us, they would not be able to dominate this vast and densely populated archipelago.

This archipelago was once united, with an area approximately the size of the present territory of the unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. History noted the famous Sriwijaya Kingdom, as well as the well-known Majapahit Kingdom.

But history should also take note of an glorious chapter and a misfortune that befell us. For three and a half centuries we were a colonialized nation, our soul was oppressed and our body exploited. As I have mentioned earlier, we were separated from our own brothers, we were splintered into small groups. But the heritage of sharing one common destiny had never disappeared. The spirit to become independent had never been quenched.

During the entire period of colonial domination, the Indonesian nation had always fought against foreign colonialists and wanted to become a free, independent and honourable nation again. Our history is full of big and small heroes as well as thousands of minor and unknown heroes. The history of Indonesia registered the struggles to be free from foreign domination throughout this entire vast archipelago. We have our heroine: Cut Nyak Dhien, and other heroes: Teuku Umar, Imam Bonjol, Diponegoro, Hasanudin, Pattimura and many others. They fought against foreign colonialists to liberate and to advance their societies. We also have heroines in other fields who shared the same objective of their struggle: Ibu Kartini, Dewi Sartika and so forth.

If the previous struggles were for the most part manifested through armed conflicts and carried out separately, later on at the beginning of this century the struggle of the Indonesian people began to search for more nationalistic and for new methods, namely modern organizational means. Thus the Budi Utomo was established in 1908, which is now known as



the national reawakening day. Since then many Indonesian organizations began to emerge and were followed by political parties, which have actually one identical aim: independence.

In 1928 the nationalistic platform became even stronger with the enunciation of the youths' solemn oath. The Indonesian people was firmly determined to have one nation, one fatherland and one language, Indonesian. The struggle towards the independence of Indonesia was expanding and became more clear.

The whole series of struggles during those hundreds of years finally reached its climax during the independence war in 1945. We gained our independence through armed struggle and we defended it heroically through heavy sacrifices and hardships, and some of its bitterness resulting from those struggles can still be found up to now.

We proclaimed the independence of Indonesia as our own responsibility and as a result of our own struggle at that time not one single country recognized our independence. But independence is not solely a question of recognition by others, and also not by the international community. Independence is primarily a question of determination and decision; if we can show that we want independence, then the world—even though late—will eventually recognize it.

But the struggle of Indonesia was far from finished. In the following years after the recognition of independence, we were still splintered. Thus emerged several Federal States created by the colonial government which, at that very moment, still tried to maintain its domination in this land. Furthermore, the question of West Irian was also delayed and only in 1969 did it come back into the fold of the Republic of Indonesia.

Such history clearly demonstrates that the Indonesian nation had struggled hard towards its national independence which is unified and intact, and in this history, Indonesia can claim to be the pioneer of national independence struggles in the region of South-East Asia. We had already started our struggle long before the dominated African nations were awake and gained their independence such as today.

There is not the slightest doubt that Indonesia is anti-colonialist. Indonesia strongly supports the struggle of every colonized people to determine its own future. The first sentence of our Constitution clearly stipulates: "That in reality, independence is the right of every nation and, therefore, colonialism in this world must be abolished because it is not in conformity with humanity and justice."

Three hundred and fifty years under foreign domination made us one of the nations which fully understands the significance of misery. Hundreds of years of hard struggles and another five years during the independence war have made us a nation which deeply comprehends and highly respects the meaning of independence.

It is true that the principal trait of the present twentieth century is that this is the century of independence for all nations and during these coming years we will witness the drawing to a close of colonialism, which is now fast decaying.

But certainly Indonesia, which is anti-colonialist, will not commit the same bad mistakes as the colonialists. We do not have any territorial ambition and we do not have the inclination to dominate other people. But our stand on the question of self-determination is clear: we will help those peoples who want to determine their own destiny and future.

Thus when the Portuguese Government announced its decolonization policy towards East Timor we quickly supported it without any hesitation. It depends entirely on the aspirations of the people of East Timor for their own future.

But the act of self-determination also has a clear objective: namely, to promote and to distribute equally people's welfare. Progress and prosperity will not materialize if from the early stages there exist armed conflicts between groups in the society. Armed struggles always bring about spiritual and material suffering, and create fear and suppression. In such an atmosphere it would be impossible for the people to express their will quietly, in conformity with their inner feelings,

Indonesia will always support and help every process of decolonization and self-determination which is fair and orderly, not only in East Timor but also in other parts of the world.

We were therefore deeply concerned when the process of decolonization and self-determination for the people of East Timor was compelled to go through armed conflicts amongst the people of East Timor themselves. We were equally worried when the FRETILIN used force to suppress and terrorize other groups which differ in their views regarding the future of East Timor.

Now we begin to feel relieved because the armed conflicts have ceased. Thus the people of East Timor can properly contemplate and decide on their own future, without fear and coercion. This is what actually constitutes a proper process of decolonization and self-determination, orderly and peacefully, enabling the accommodation of all views and desires of the whole people of East Timor.

We will highly honour and sincerely accept any decision whatever made through such a process by our brothers, the people of East Timor.

We know now the decision you have made.

In an atmosphere of peace and order, you have reconfirmed the proclamation of integration of East Timor into Indonesia which was officially announced in Balibó on last November 30th.

I herewith accept the petition for such integration.

We accept it with our most sincere gratitude for the confidence which the people of East Timor conferred upon Indonesia. We also accept it with a sense of humanitarian responsibility, responsibility towards history, towards our independence, principles and ideals, and towards our inner self.

This is indeed a historic moment: historic for the people of East Timor, historic for the people of Indonesia.

The decision we make, therefore, must be the right one.

Panca Sila and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia affirm that Indonesia is a State based on the sovereignty of the people. Whatever our action is should be with the knowledge and the concurrence of the entire people. The problem of integration is a very important matter and of great historical significance. The people of Indonesia, therefore, must now be certain and approve it.

It is for this particular reason that before the integration of East Timor into the unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia becomes official, allow us, distinguished Chief Executive of the Provisional Government of East Timor, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, to permit the Indonesian people once again to ascertain the wishes of the people of East Timor. With the consent of our brothers in East Timor, we would like to send a team consisting of several personalities of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the House of People's Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, and also representatives of various public organizations.

This does not signify that we do not have faith in the proclamation of Balibó; neither does it mean that we are not convinced by the petition that I have just received today, nor that we are doubtful about you, all the heroic leaders of the people whom we admire, but only to allow the sovereign Indonesian people to see for themselves and to have frank and open talks with their own brothers there. Thus a quick and firm decision can then be taken on the integration.

Distinguished Chairman and delegates of the people of East Timor,

The people of East Timor is opening a new chapter in history, after suffering for hundreds of years under the yoke of foreign colonialism. The people of East Timor will join their own brothers in the unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia who have also fought for hundreds of years for its independence and who have been independent for 30 years.

We will accept you as what we are now, with all our joy and sorrow; with all our development efforts in which we are now busily engaged we are convinced that you will join us in our present condition. Indonesia has made Panca Sila its

State principle and philosophy of life, a philosophy of life which actually existed already for centuries in the soil and minds of Indonesia. Indonesia also has the 1945 Constitution, which is based on Panca Sila, and on the fact that it is a unitary State.

Therefore, after the official integration, we will ask all of you to strive shoulder-to-shoulder in jointly building our common destiny, a destiny that will bring progress, prosperity and social justice for the whole Indonesian people, within a unitary State based on Panca Sila and the 1945 Constitution mentioned earlier.

Endowed with such ardent hope, I hereby request you to join us in completing this process of integration as soon as possible.

We greatly admire your perseverance in the difficult struggle. We highly esteem your unswerving resolve in determining your own destiny and future. On the eve of this historic event, we are all reminded of those who have died in that noble and sacred struggle, the struggle of the people to fight for their legitimate rights, which cannot be taken away by anybody or by any force whatsoever. Let us bow our heads and pray to God Almighty, may their souls rest in peace, since they have sacrificed themselves in upholding the fundamental human rights which also have their origin in Him.

And may God Almighty bless us all.

Thank you.

## DOCUMENT S/12100

**Letter dated 18 June 1976 from the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[18 June 1976]

On behalf of our respective delegations and in accordance with the decision of the African Group taken at its meeting this afternoon, we have the honour to request an emergency meeting of the Security Council to consider the measures of repression, including wanton killings, perpetrated by the *apartheid* régime in South Africa against the African people in Soweto and other areas in South Africa.

In view of the urgency and seriousness of the situation, we request that this meeting be held tonight or at the very latest tomorrow morning.

(Signed) Roger D. PAQUI  
*Chargé d'affaires of the  
Permanent Mission of the  
People's Republic of Benin  
to the United Nations*

(Signed) Mansur Rashid KIKHIA  
*Permanent Representative of the  
Libyan Arab Republic  
to the United Nations*

(Signed) Salim Ahmed SALIM  
*Permanent Representative of the  
United Republic of Tanzania  
to the United Nations*

## DOCUMENT S/12101

**Telegram dated 18 June 1976 from the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar to the Secretary-General**

[Original: French]  
[18 June 1976]

The outburst of violence now being manifested at Soweto and several other places in South Africa is nothing but the logical and inevitable consequence of the legal violence inflicted for decades by the white minority on the black majority of that country. The very intensity of the demonstrations by the African population makes clear to the entire world the depth of the African masses' despair in the face of unjust laws designed not only to perpetuate white power in the political and economic fields but also to alienate the Africans culturally by imposing upon them a way of thinking completely alien to their own culture. In view of the merciless repression of the rebelling African population, the Supreme Council of the Revolution, the Government and the people of Madagascar denounce the savage and criminal acts perpetrated by the white minority of South Africa, which may exceed in horror and in defiance of world opinion the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. In order to avert in time a general war in southern Africa, I urge you:

(1) to convene the Security Council as a matter of urgency; (2) to call upon all nations, and more particularly upon the developed countries, to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, that is, to put an immediate and unconditional stop to all economic and military assistance to South Africa.

(Signed) Didier RATSIKAKA  
President of the Democratic  
Republic of Madagascar

#### DOCUMENT S/12102

Letter dated 18 June 1976 from the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[18 June 1976]

We have the honour to request that in the course of the current discussion of the Security Council concerning the situation in South Africa—killings and violence by the *apartheid* régime in South Africa in Soweto and other areas—an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure be extended to Mr. Thami Mhlambiso, representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, and to Mr. David Sibeko, representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

We request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Roger D. PAQUI  
Chargé d'affaires of the  
Permanent Mission  
of the People's Republic of Benin  
to the United Nations

(Signed) Mansur Rashid KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of  
the Libyan Arab Republic  
to the United Nations

(Signed) Salim Ahmed SALIM  
Permanent Representative of the  
United Republic of Tanzania  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12104

Note by the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[21 June 1976]

1. On 10 June 1976, the President of the Security Council received a letter from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations, which read as follows:

"I have the honour to inform you that the Popular Assembly of East Timor, in its meeting on 31 May 1976, adopted a decision to integrate the territory of East Timor with Indonesia. A petition embodying that decision was presented on 8 June by a delegation of the Provisional Government and the Popular Assembly of East Timor on 8 June to the President and the Parliament of Indonesia. In response to this petition, the Indonesian Government and Parliament have decided to send a mission for the purpose of making an on-the-spot assessment of the wishes of the people of East Timor, as formally expressed in the petition, to be integrated with Indonesia.

"On behalf of the Government of Indonesia I

have the honour to extend through you an invitation to the Security Council to visit East Timor concurrent with the visit of the mission sent by the Indonesian Government. It is the earnest hope of my Government that the Council will be able to consider this invitation favourably."

2. On the same date, the President also received a note verbale from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia which read:

"The Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations, with reference to the letter of the Permanent Representative to the President of Council dated 10 June 1976, wishes to inform the latter that the visit of the mission sent by the Government of Indonesia to East Timor for the purpose of making an on-the-spot assessment of the wishes of the people of East Timor is scheduled to commence on 24 June 1976."

3. Upon receipt of these communications, the President of the Security Council circulated them to the members of the Council.

4. After holding the necessary consultations with the members of the Security Council, the President of the Council, on 21 June, addressed the following reply to the Permanent Representative of Indonesia:

"I have the honour to acknowledge your letter and your note verbale of 10 June 1976 extending an invitation from the Government of Indonesia to

the Security Council to visit East Timor from 24 June 1976.

"As you are aware, the Security Council, which considered the situation in East Timor in December 1975 and again in April 1976, adopted resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976), on the subject.

"Having regard to the decisions which it has taken on the situation in East Timor, the Security Council has concluded that it is unable to accept the invitation of the Government of Indonesia."

## DOCUMENT S/12106

### Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 389 (1976)

[Original: English]  
[22 June 1976]

1. In the course of its further discussion of the item entitled "The situation in Timor" at its 1908th to 1915th meetings, held between 12 and 22 April 1976, the Security Council considered the report of my Special Representative [S/12011 of 12 March 1976], which I had submitted to the Security Council in pursuance of resolution 384 (1975).

2. At its 1914th meeting, on 22 April, the Council adopted resolution 389 (1976), in paragraph 3 of which the Council requested me to have my Special Representative continue the assignment entrusted to him under paragraph 5 of resolution 384 (1975) and pursue consultations with the parties concerned.

3. My Special Representative, Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva, made it immediately known that he was available to continue consultations with the parties concerned. I asked him to keep me informed of the progress of his consultations and to submit a report to me in due course.

4. On 22 June, my Special Representative submitted to me a written report, the text of which is reproduced in the annex. His report provides an account of his contacts with the parties concerned, and I hope it will assist in the Council's further consideration of the question.

#### ANNEX

Second report by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General appointed under Security Council resolution 384 (1975)

1. On 22 April 1976, having considered your report on the situation in East Timor contained in document S/12011 of 12 March 1976, the Security Council adopted at its 1914th meeting resolution 389 (1976), in paragraph 3 of which the Council:

"Requests the Secretary-General to have his Special Representative continue the assignment entrusted to him under paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 384 (1975) and pursue consultations with the parties concerned".

2. In pursuance of that request, and having in mind that in paragraph 8 of your report of 12 March 1976 you had indicated that the parties concerned had expressed their readiness to continue consultations with your Special Representative, I met in Geneva on 26 April and again on 21 May, at their suggestion, with the representatives of the "Provisional Government of East Timor" (G. M. Gonçalves, M. Carrascalão and T. P. Soares on the first occasion; M. Carrascalão and T. dos Santos Baptista on the second). On 3 May, Mr. Anwar

Sani, the Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations in New York, called on me after having met Foreign Minister Adam Malik in Paris. I had a second meeting with Mr. Sani on 21 May.

On 7 May, Mr. J. M. Galvão Teles, the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations in New York, came to see me, together with Mr. A. de Carvalho, the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations in Geneva, with whom I subsequently had further conversations.

I made it known that I was available to continue consultations with representatives of all the parties concerned. Although a meeting could not be arranged with representatives of FRETILIN, I received from them various communications by letter and cable on behalf of the "Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor", most of them sent from Australia.

3. In my separate conversations with the representatives of Indonesia and the "Provisional Government of East Timor", I made reference to paragraph 2 of resolution 389 (1976) calling upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from East Timor. In response, the Indonesian Permanent Representative reiterated his statements to the Security Council at its 1909th and 1915th meetings, when he had declared that "Indonesian volunteers" were "in the process of leaving East Timor" and that it was expected "that the process [would] be completed within a short time". The representatives of the "Provisional Government" said, on 21 May, that repatriation of the volunteers had been taking place since February but that certain units still remained in some areas also to assist in reconstruction work, together with Indonesian civilian experts.

4. The reaffirmation by the Security Council of the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was one of the main themes of the consultations.

I indicated to the representatives of the "Provisional Government" the possible usefulness of meetings with the leaders of the different Timorese groups before final decisions were to be reached on the appropriate process of self-determination. It was evident that an act of free choice could be valid only if all Timorese, whether living in disputed regions or abroad, had the guarantees necessary to enable them to participate fully in the process and to canvass support for their respective views unhampered. In that context, I asked the representatives of the "Provisional Government" to clarify the statements which they had made to the Security Council, when they had said that the "Provisional Government" was considering a procedure in line with Law No. 7/75 of July 1975 promulgated by the Government of Portugal and that preparations for a "People's Assembly" based on consultations and tradition had reached an advanced stage [1908th and 1915th meetings].

5. At our meeting of 21 May, the representatives of the "Provisional Government" delivered to me their English ver-

sion of Act No. 1/A.D. 1976 on the formation of the "Conselho Popular Assemblies" and the supplementation of the "Regional Popular Assembly" (see appendix).

The representatives of the "Provisional Government" added that the text had been agreed upon by the "Deliberative Council" on 2 April 1976, prior to their attendance at the meetings of the Security Council, but had been promulgated only after their return at the end of April.

The law made provision for the local choice in rural areas of representatives, not necessarily tribal chiefs, from all 13 districts (*conselhos*) of East Timor. Elections were to be held on a one-man/one-vote basis in the city of Dili. It was expected that the consultation procedures in rural areas would be completed by 24 May, and the elections in Dili were planned to take place on 25 May. On 31 May, a first assembly was to be convened in Dili. I was also advised that an appeal had been issued as follows:

"To the people of East Timor who have not participated in the formation process and struggle of the Provisional Government of East Timor and are now in hiding in the country and abroad: Those who are in hiding in the country are urged to report to the closest *conselho* township, and those who are abroad are urged to return home to East Timor to exercise their right for the determination of the voice of the people of East Timor to be implemented shortly. Your safe conduct and personal security will be guaranteed by the Government."

I was informed that this appeal had been made public in East Timor and broadcast abroad. Furthermore, Timorese abroad, while guaranteed safe conduct should they wish to return, were not obliged to come in person to cast their votes but could be included on electoral rolls and participate in the election by mail or cable.

6. The "Provisional Government" of East Timor maintains that its authority now extends to all 13 districts of the Territory and that the Indonesian volunteers are being withdrawn. This is also the position of the Indonesian Government.

In their statements to the Security Council [1908th, 1909th and 1915th meetings], the representatives of the "Provisional Government" had suggested that your Special Representative should visit East Timor again. In the course of our subsequent meetings in Geneva, they confirmed that suggestion and advised that invitations to visit East Timor would be addressed also to the Security Council and to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Committee of 24), so that they could gain first-hand knowledge of the situation in the Territory and of the wishes of its people. It was later learned that the Security Council, the Committee of 24 and the Secretary-General would be invited specifically to attend the first meeting of the "People's Representative Council of East Timor", to be held in Dili on 31 May (see para. 5 above).

The "Provisional Government" proceeded with establishing a "People's Assembly" in accordance with the Act of 2 April 1976 mentioned above. That "Assembly" resolved, on 31 May, that East Timor should be integrated with Indonesia. On 7 June, a petition expressing that decision was presented to the President and Parliament of Indonesia [see S/12097, annex II]. The Indonesian Government and Parliament have responded by deciding to send a mission for the purpose of making an on-the-spot assessment of the wishes of the people of East Timor, as formally expressed in the petition, to be integrated with Indonesia (letter from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia in Geneva dated 12 June, ref. 019/DB/76).

I received, on 12 June, an invitation from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia in Geneva, on behalf of his Government, to visit East Timor on 24 June, concurrent with the visit of the mission to be sent by the Indonesian Government. I was informed that similar invitations had been extended on 10 June to the Security Council, the Committee of 24 and the Secretary-General.

In both the case of this last invitation and that of the preceding one, it was decided that it would not have been appro-

priate for your special representative to respond to them, in view of the fact that my mandate derived specifically from resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976), and taking into account the decisions which were taken by the Security Council and the Committee of 24 with respect to the similar invitations addressed to them.

Since neither the Security Council [see S/12104, para. 4] nor the Committee of 24<sup>a</sup> accepted the invitations extended to them by the "Provisional Government" and the Indonesian Government, no United Nations organ has been involved in these proceedings.

7. From the FRETILIN side, communications were received requesting, without referring to any specific area, that I proceed to East Timor from Australia as a matter of urgency by way of a vessel sponsored by Australian trade unions. However, given the fact that FRETILIN did not identify any areas, and taking into account the circumstances which had prevented me from visiting FRETILIN-controlled areas last February [see S/12011, annex, para. 31], I did not find myself in a position to accept this request.

8. Under the circumstances outlined above, it was not possible to assess accurately the prevailing situation in East Timor, particularly as regards the implementation of resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976).

## APPENDIX

Act No. 1/A.D. 1976 of the "Provisional Government of East Timor" in the English version delivered to the Special Representative by representatives of the "Provisional Government"

### Article 1

The fate and future of the people of East Timor are in the hands of the people of East Timor. The right of self-determination according to the principles of democracy is recognized as inalienable and indisputable.

### Article 2

This basic democratic right is to be implemented in accordance with the traditions and identity of the people of East Timor, meaning a representative system by means of consensus and consent.

### Article 3

To constitute a representative body for the whole of East Timor the existing representation of the region of East Timor, designated the Deliberative Council of East Timor, established at the same time with the Provisional Government of East Timor, needs to be complemented with representatives from all *conselhos*.

### Article 4

*Conselho* Popular Assemblies comprising 13 *conselhos*, complementing the regional East Timor representation, are to be formed in conformity with the principles of consensus and consent.

### Article 5

Solely for the capital city of Dili the representatives for the *Conselho* Popular Assemblies and the Regional Popular Assembly will be elected in accordance with the one-man/one-vote.

### Article 6

These Popular Assemblies on their respective levels and in their respective areas of jurisdiction have popular sovereign powers.

### Article 7

Every Popular Assembly in administrative *conselhos*/regions comprise 15 to 20 members in accordance with the number of residents of the area.

### Article 8

At the latest, one month after the promulgation of this act the formation of the *Conselho* Popular Assemblies and the

<sup>a</sup> See A/AC.109/526 and 527, dated 28 May and 15 June 1976 respectively.

perfection of the Regional Popular Assembly of East Timor should be implemented.

*Article 9*

(a) The members of the Popular Assembly are elected from the people residing in the administrative *postos/conselhos*/region concerned in accordance with the principles of consensus and consent and with consideration of the traditional and cultural values prevailing and developing in the area.

(b) The Regional Popular Assembly, besides being represented by prominent citizens of East Timor, is complemented by representatives from the *conselhos*, comprising two or three members, and should also include representatives of the tribal chiefs/kings and representatives of the religious groups.

*Article 10*

This act is drafted legally on the second day of April 1976 and is sanctioned by the Deliberative Council of the Region of East Timor.

**DOCUMENT S/12107**

**Letter dated 22 June 1976 from the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Secretary-General**

[Original: Russian]  
[22 June 1976]

I am transmitting to you herewith in Russian and English a TASS statement of 21 June 1976 on the question of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if you would issue this statement as an official Security Council document.

(Signed) Y. MALIK  
Permanent Representative of the  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
to the United Nations

**TEXT OF THE STATEMENT**

There has recently been an intensification of efforts aimed at partitioning Cyprus and liquidating the unified Cypriot State. For almost two years, as a result of constant foreign interference, the normal life of the country has been disrupted. Thousands of Cypriots have become refugees in their own country. The Security Council and General Assembly decisions aimed at resolving the Cypriot crisis are not being carried out. Negotiations between representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities on the island have reached an impasse. There continue to be foreign troops in the territory of Cyprus. It is also impossible to ignore the increasingly obvious attempt by certain circles, acting in contravention of United Nations decisions, to convert Cyprus into a NATO base in this area.

From the very outset of the Cypriot crisis, the Soviet Union has insisted at every stage, and it continues to insist, that a settlement should be based on

the principles of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Cypriot State, that all foreign interference should be excluded and that the internal affairs of Cyprus should be settled by the people of Cyprus themselves with due regard for the interests of both the Greek and the Turkish population of the island. It is, of course, precisely these principles for a settlement that were made the basis of the decisions adopted by the United Nations.

TASS is authorized to state that Soviet leading circles express serious concern at the unwarranted delay in a Cyprus settlement and at the attempts to take advantage of the difficult position in which the Republic of Cyprus finds itself in order to impose upon it decisions which are alien to the interests of the Cypriot people. The Soviet Union is opposed to attempts to seek avenues to a Cyprus settlement behind the backs of the people of Cyprus in the narrow interests of particular countries or military blocs. The Soviet Union continues to believe that the best chance for solving the Cyprus problem lies in convening a representative international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations.

The Soviet Union strongly favours immediate, full compliance with the United Nations decisions on Cyprus and is prepared to co-operate with other States with a view to achieving a just settlement of the Cypriot crisis and preventing events from developing in a way that will further aggravate the situation in that part of the world.

**DOCUMENT S/12108\***

**Letter dated 23 June 1976 from the representative of Algeria to the Secretary-General**

[Original: French]  
[23 June 1976]

In response to the letter dated 14 June 1976 [S/12095] addressed to you by the Permanent Representative of Mauritania, I have the honour, on instructions from my Government, to inform you that, while Algeria has never concealed its position of support for the legitimate demands of the Saharan people, it rejects, as being utterly baseless and contrary to the truth, any other Mauritanian accusation against the Government of Algeria.

When the Permanent Representative of Mauritania refers to the "hopes of hegemony over Mauritania" which he claims are cherished by the Algerian leaders, he shows that his recollection of history is somewhat confused, even though the history in question is very recent.

The incidents which he recounts in his letter are the direct consequence of the Madrid agreement of 14 November 1975, of the policy pursued by the Governments of Morocco and Mauritania in denying the

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/112-S/12108.

rights of the Saharan people, of illegal occupation of the Territory of Western Sahara and of flagrant aggression against the Saharan people, most of whom are now refugees in Algeria. Such a policy is totally at variance with the most solemn undertakings assumed by the highest Mauritanian authorities towards the Saharan people. To shift this problem from the context of decolonization of the Territory of Western Sahara and the struggle of a people against an occupier to that of a dispute with another country, Algeria, is an exercise in deception and an attempt to evade a grave historical responsibility.

The Government of Algeria has repeatedly drawn the attention of the international community to the inescapable consequences of such a policy and to the deterioration of the situation which it inevitably entails. It is no use trying to cloak this reality and going to extreme lengths to find other causes for the aggravation of tension in the region.

The Government of Algeria continues to affirm that the only possible step to rectify this situation, with its dangers to all the countries of the region, is the effective exercise by the Saharan people of their right to self-determination. That step should be accepted and encouraged by the Mauritanian leaders if their genuine desire is in fact to avoid any exacerbation of their conflict with the Saharan people, as was proved by the recent incidents at Nouakchott. It would in any event be the best course to a peaceful settlement of the Sahara problem, since it would enable the root causes of tension to be eliminated.

I shall be most grateful if you will circulate this letter as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdellatif RAHAL  
Permanent Representative of Algeria  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/12109

### Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations

[Original: English]  
[23 June 1976]

1. At its 1931st meeting, on 22 June 1976, the Security Council had before it the application of the People's Republic of Angola [S/12064] for admission to membership in the United Nations. In accordance with rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure and in the absence of a proposal to the contrary, the President of the Council referred the application to the Committee on the Admission of New Members for examination and report.

2. At its 53rd meeting, held on 23 June, the Committee considered this application.

3. The representative of the United States urged the Committee to defer action on the application of the People's Republic of Angola to a date not later than 35 days in advance of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, in accordance with rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure. He stated that such a procedure would maximize the chances for positive action by the Council and would permit the General Assembly to take action at the beginning of the session.

4. The representatives of the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Japan supported the United States suggestion that a decision on the substance of the application for admission should be deferred until a later date. Each of those delegations made it clear that it fully supported the application and would vote in favour of it should it come before the Council. None of them wished to see the admission of Angola to the United Nations delayed even by a single day. They were, however, impressed by the consideration that a deferment of the Committee's decision as suggested by the United States would not cause such a delay but would, on the contrary, improve the chances that Angola's admission would then encounter no obstacle.

5. The representative of Panama vigorously supported the admission of the People's Republic of An-

gola. Nevertheless, he stated, he would have no difficulty in agreeing to the request for postponement submitted by the representative of the United States.

6. In his statement, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania proposed that the Committee recommend to the Security Council the adoption of the following draft resolution, sponsored by Benin, Guyana, the Libyan Arab Republic, Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Republic of Tanzania:

[See S/12110.]

7. Further statements in favour of the immediate admission of the People's Republic of Angola were made by the representatives of the following members: Benin, Guyana, the Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Romania, Sweden and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

8. The representative of China stated that under the prevailing circumstances China was unable to associate itself with the recommendation for the admission of Angola to membership in the United Nations and that it would expound its position at the formal meeting of the Security Council.

9. The representative of the United States stated that his delegation would be unable at this time to concur in a recommendation to the General Assembly that the People's Republic of Angola be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

10. In summing up the debate, the Chairman stated that since the Committee was unable to make a unanimous recommendation to the Security Council, it would submit to the Security Council a report reflecting the attitudes of delegations towards the application.

11. In conclusion, the Committee approved the present report on its consideration of the application of the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations.

**DOCUMENT S/12110**

**Benin, Guyana, Libyan Arab Republic, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and United Republic of Tanzania: draft resolution**

[Original: English]  
[23 June 1976]

*The Security Council,*

*Having considered* the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to the United Nations [S/12064],

*Recommends* to the General Assembly that the People's Republic of Angola be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

**DOCUMENT S/12111**

**Letter dated 23 June 1976 from the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[23 June 1976]

We have the honour to request that in the course of the Security Council's current consideration of the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to membership in the United Nations an opportunity be given to the representative of the People's Republic of Angola, Mr. Elisio de Figueiredo, to present his Government's views on the matter.

*Signed by the representatives of the following States members of the Security Council:*

Benin                      Libyan Arab Republic                      United Republic of Tanzania

**DOCUMENT S/12112**

**Note verbale dated 17 June 1976 from the representative of Benin to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: French]  
[23 June 1976]

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Benin to the United Nations has the honour to acknowledge receipt of the note from the President of the Security Council dated 11 June 1976 transmitting copies of the communications addressed to him by the Permanent Representative of Indonesia concerning East Timor [see S/12104].

The contents of those communications clearly prove that, despite the decisions taken both by the General Assembly and by the Security Council, the Government of Indonesia intends to proceed with its policy of annexing East Timor outright on the pretext of a decision emanating from self-styled representatives of the peoples of East Timor. This is a Machiavellian approach which even flouts the principles of resolution 1514 (XV) on decolonization.

On instructions from his Government, the Permanent Representative of Benin most strongly protests against this Indonesian manoeuvre in East Timor.

The Permanent Representative of Benin wishes this note to be circulated as a Security Council document.

**DOCUMENT S/12113**

**Letter dated 24 June 1976 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[24 June 1976]

I have the honour to request that Mr. Amin Hilmy II, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, be invited to participate in the



course of the Security Council's current consideration of the question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights.

(Signed) Mansur Rashid KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of the Libyan  
Arab Republic to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12114

##### Letter dated 23 June 1976 from the representative of Brazil to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[24 June 1976]

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of Decree No. 77.742, signed by His Excellency President Ernesto Geisel on 2 June 1976, which determines the implementation by Brazil of Security Council resolution 388 (1976).

I would be grateful if you would have this text circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Sérgio CORRÊA DA COSTA  
Permanent Representative of Brazil  
to the United Nations

#### TEXT OF THE DECREE

The President of the Republic,

Using the attributes conferred upon him by article 81, item III, of the Federal Constitution and in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations, promulgated by Decree No. 19.841, of 22 October 1946,

Decrees:

Sole Article—Within the scope of their respective attributions,

Brazilian authorities shall comply with the provisions of the operative paragraphs of resolution 388 (1976), adopted by the Security Council of the United Nations, on 6 April 1976, appended hereto.

Brasilia, 2 June 1976, 155th year of Independence and 88th year of the Republic.

(Signed) Ernesto GEISEL  
Ramiro Elysis Saraiva GUERREIRO

#### DOCUMENT S/12116\*

##### Letter dated 24 June 1976 from the representative of Mauritania to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[24 June 1976]

Further to the letter dated 23 June 1976 [S/12108] addressed to you by the Permanent Representative of Algeria, I have the honour, on instructions from my Government, to inform you that, at his press conference in Nouakchott on 28 March 1976, the Head of State of Mauritania replied to a question put by a journalist concerning the participation of Algerian military elements in the fighting against Mauritanian forces. In his reply, the Mauritanian Head of State declared: "We do not want to do what we criticize others for doing. So, despite all the 'civilities' addressed to us by the Algerian information media, we do not want to accuse Algeria of anything it has not done or anything we are not sure of."

That reply proves, if proof were needed, that Mauritania does not make gratuitous or untruthful assertions,

although such practices have elsewhere become systematic policy.

The false reports concerning where the so-called "Democratic Sahrawi Arab Republic" was proclaimed, the "incredible" press releases, as *Jeune Afrique* termed them, and so on, are particularly significant in this connexion. There must be some confusion in the mind of the representative of Algeria when he describes as "contrary to the truth" the Mauritanian statements concerning the incidents which occurred in Mauritania and which the international community had ample opportunity to witness.

The flagrant act of aggression against the Islamic Republic of Mauritania on 8 June 1976, which was planned and organized by the leaders of Algeria and was headed by Algerian officers, is a grave violation of international law and an inadmissible attack on the

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/114-S/12116.

territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of a country which is a Member of the United Nations. It is nothing more or less than aggression of a kind which, when it occurred at other times and in other places in Africa, was strongly condemned by the international community, and in particular by the Security Council.

Diplomats accredited to Mauritania, and the world press (AFP, *Le Soleil* of 18 June 1976, *Le Monde* of 22 June 1976, *Jeune Afrique* of the same date), were able to see for themselves the involvement of the Algerian leaders in that military operation against Mauritania and the resources they committed to ensuring its success. In the planning, the organization, the leadership and the carrying out of the operation, nothing was spared to strike down a country whose only fault was that it had rejected the hegemony of the Algerian leaders and unmasked their megalomania. The most sophisticated Algerian military equipment was used (120-calibre mortars, 110-calibre recoilless guns, anti-aircraft launchers, a dozen Berliet-Algérie vehicles loaded with ammunition, 100 or so Land Rovers, some of them equipped with individual automatic weapons, etc.); among the documents captured was a proclamation drafted in Algiers, to be read over the Mauritanian radio once the authorities had been overthrown; the highest Algerian officials were there in person, following, from Tindouf, the progress of that act of aggression. Among the Algerians now be-

ing held by the Mauritanian army is Lieutenant Bechir Mohamed Rachid, regimental number 3737, of the El Beder Group, Algerian Army Unit N 169.

Here, then, is proof of the deceitfulness of the Algerian leaders' position when they keep repeating that the solution is the "exercise by the Saharan people of their right to self-determination". Moreover, the inconsistency of that very position of the Algerian leaders may usefully be pointed out; having created their so-called Republic of Sahara, having granted it their *de jure* recognition, they are in the worst possible situation to demand a right which they themselves have arrogated to themselves and have applied unilaterally, in disregard of all the resolutions of the General Assembly concerning Sahara.

In any event, this policy of intimidation and aggression against Mauritania and Morocco, two fraternal and neighbouring countries, cannot halt the now irreversible process of their respective national reunification, much less advance the hopes of hegemony over them cherished by the Algerian leaders; that, in fact, is the true cause of tension throughout the region.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this letter as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

(Signed) Moulaye EL HASSEN  
Permanent Representative of Mauritania  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/12117\*

### Letter dated 24 June 1976 from the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Secretary-General

[Original: Russian]  
[25 June 1976]

I am transmitting to you herewith, in the Russian and English languages, the statement of TASS, dated 23 June 1976, concerning the violence committed by the racists of South Africa against the African population of the country.

I should be grateful if you would have this statement issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Y. MALIK  
Permanent Representative of the  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
to the United Nations

#### TEXT OF THE STATEMENT

Peaceful demonstrations of the African population, demanding the liquidation of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, have been fired upon in the Republic of South Africa. Some 150 Africans—men, women and children—have been killed and more than 1,000 have been wounded in the Johannesburg suburb of Soweto and other parts of South Africa. Armed police units, armoured vehicles and army helicopters were used in perpetrating these atrocities.

The Soweto tragedy is the consequence of the inhuman policy of racial discrimination, oppression and suppression of the African population that has been legalized and is consistently pursued by the South African Government.

In this connexion TASS has been empowered to declare the following.

The policy and practice of *apartheid*, conducted by the racist régime in South Africa against the African population of the country, represent a gross violation of the purposes and principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. In their numerous decisions, the United Nations and other international organizations have qualified the *apartheid* policy as a crime against humanity and recognized the legality of the South African people's struggle to liquidate *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

The authorities of the Republic of South Africa nevertheless flout the demands of the world public and persist in violating the decisions of the international organizations, specifically the resolutions concerning this question adopted by the General Assembly at its thirtieth session. They are intensifying race oppression and resorting to mass reprisals and, as indicated by the latest events, to the physical annihilation of Africans.

The imperialist circles which ignore the decisions of international bodies and continue to co-operate with the régime of South Africa, thus encouraging it to go on with its inhuman policy, are also responsible for the actions of the South African racists.

The policy of the régime in Pretoria evokes the wrath and just indignation of all honest people on earth. It represents a threat to the freedom and independent development of the liberated countries in

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/115-S/12117.

Africa and is fraught with dangerous consequences for the peace and security of peoples.

The Soviet people are outraged and protest against the criminal actions of the South African racists.

The Soviet Union decisively and consistently condemns the criminal policy of *apartheid* and calls for

the application of effective measures aimed at the isolation and boycott of the South African régime and for the implementation of the decisions adopted by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and other international organizations, who demand the liquidation of *apartheid* and all racial discrimination and the granting to the African majority of the right to live in conditions of peace and freedom.

#### DOCUMENT S/12119

#### Guyana, Pakistan, Panama and United Republic of Tanzania: draft resolution

[Original: English]  
[29 June 1976]

*The Security Council,*

*Having considered* the item entitled "The question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights", in accordance with the request contained in paragraph 8 of General Assembly resolution 3376 (XXX) of 10 November 1975,

*Having heard* the representatives of the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, representative of the Palestinian people,

*Having considered* the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [S/12090], transmitted to the Security Council in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 7 of resolution 3376 (XXX),

*Deeply concerned* that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has been achieved, and that this problem therefore continues to aggravate the Arab-Israeli conflict, of which it is the core, and to endanger international peace and security,

*Recognizing* that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be established without the achievement, *inter alia*, of a just solution of the problem of Palestine on the basis of the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people,

1. *Takes note* of the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People;
2. *Affirms* the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right of return and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

#### DOCUMENT S/12120\*

#### Letter dated 29 June 1976 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[30 June 1976]

I have the honour to enclose herewith the statement made by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on 28 June 1976 condemning the reactionary South African authorities for their crime of suppressing the people of Azania. I would appreciate it if you could arrange for the circulation of this statement as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LAI Ya-li  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

#### TEXT OF THE STATEMENT

The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China issued a statement on

28 June 1976 strongly condemning the reactionary South African authorities for bloody suppression of the Azanian people. The statement reads:

On 16 June, the black students at Soweto township on the outskirts of Johannesburg, South Africa, rose valiantly in a massive demonstration against the regulation of South Africa's racist Vorster authorities making Afrikaans a mandatory language in teaching. This just struggle met with immediate response and support from the broad masses of black people in South Africa and rapidly spread to many other areas. Confronted with this mass movement of the black people against *apartheid* and racial discrimination, the reactionary South African authorities brazenly turned loose large numbers of police and troops to carry out bloody suppression which was most brutal and cruel, resulting in a grave tragedy of more than a hundred people massacred and a thousand and more wounded. This

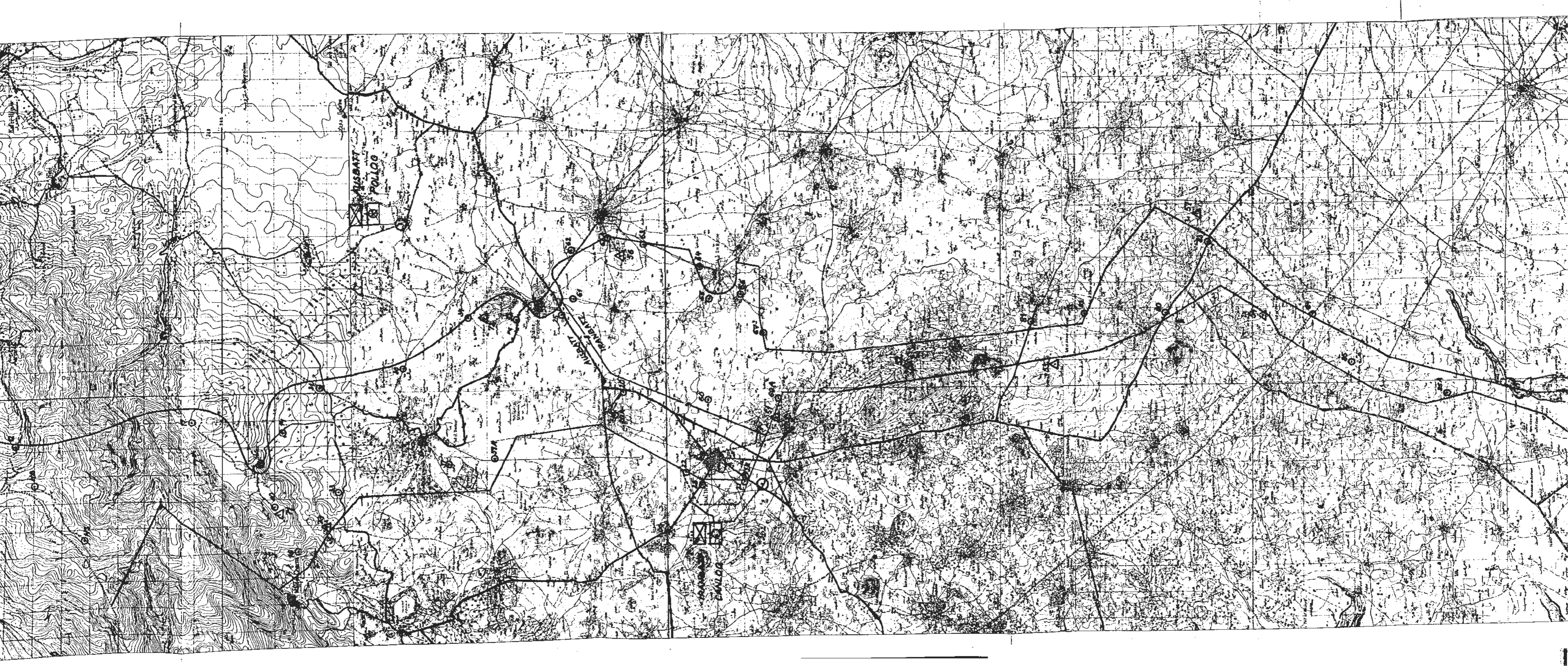
\* Circulated under the double symbol A/31/119-S/12120.

surpassed the notorious Sharpeville incident of 1960. It is a new towering crime committed by the reactionary South African authorities against the Azanian people. The Chinese Government and people express their utmost indignation at it and strongly condemn it.

This new atrocity on the part of the reactionary Vorster authorities is a last-gasp struggle put up by them in the face of the new situation of mounting upsurge in the national liberation struggle, and particularly armed struggle, in southern Africa. In recent years, they have wantonly used counter-revolutionary dual tactics in an attempt to save themselves from their doom. While stepping up suppression with police and troops, the Vorster authorities have talked profusely about "détente", advocating "racial reconciliation" at home and blathering about "dialogue" and "peace talks" abroad, in a vain attempt to extinguish

the flames of revolutionary struggle of the Azanian people, stop the African States from supporting the Azanian people's just struggle and preserve their own reactionary racist rule. Now, their naked neo-Facist atrocity has completely laid bare their counter-revolutionary dual tactics. All their perverse actions will only serve to further strengthen the will of the people in Azania and southern Africa to fight against racism and for national liberation and serve to accelerate their own doom.

The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the Azanian and other southern African peoples in their just struggle against the white racist régimes. We are sure that the Azanian and other southern African peoples, sharpening their vigilance, strengthening their unity and persevering in struggle, will win final victory.







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